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HISTORY

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In This Issue

This October marks the second occasion on which the *AHR* has devoted an entire issue to women's history. (The first was June of 1984.) Although all five articles focus on the recent history of women and social welfare, they were not solicited for their thematic unity but were submitted over a period of more than two years. We grouped them because together they suggest the diverse and complex questions being asked by historians of women. They also point to the renewed interest of historians in what commentator **Kathryn Kish Sklar** refers to as that most traditional of historical categories, the state.

In the opening article, **Susan Pedersen** locates the roots of the post–World War II welfare benefits system in the separation allowances given to the wives of British soldiers during World War I. While some contemporary feminists hailed these allowances as a state “endowment of motherhood,” Pedersen points out that they were contingent on the soldier's fighting, not the wife's mothering, and could be forfeited if wives were unfaithful to their absent husbands. They contributed to the establishment of a welfare paradigm within which women's social entitlements and citizenship were determined by their husbands' roles rather than their own work or needs.

In recent years, historians have argued that the process of migration that transformed nineteenth-century Western Europe was less disruptive than might have been expected. **Rachel G. Fuchs and Leslie Page Moch** disagree. They use a range of archival materials to document the migration patterns and experiences of single women who moved to nineteenth-century Paris. Despite the material and emotional protection offered by relatives and friends in the process known as chain migration, many poor female migrants remained unprotected and vulnerable, and this condition had important consequences for the women themselves as well as for the French government.

During the early twentieth-century, American Progressives developed a lively critique of urban governments. **Maureen A. Flanagan** argues that historians have paid too little attention to the impact of gender on Progressive Era politics. She examines the positions taken by the (Men's) City Club and the Women's City Club of Chicago on three vexing municipal problems (garbage collection, policing, and education) and concludes that male and female reformers had very different conceptions of city government and its responsibility for the general welfare of its residents.

Daniel J. Walkowitz looks at social workers, a key group within early twentieth-century U.S. social welfare organizations, and describes their efforts to develop a work identity that would both give them professional status and preserve their femininity. He finds that none of the available ideologies, whether the critical images of fiction or the more positive but nonetheless disordered representations of professionalism and unionism, could serve to orient female social workers in a world of work shaped by the contradictory imperatives of domesticity, career, and consumption.

As Sklar notes in her commentary, the essay by **Seth Koven and Sonya Michel** proposes a model of the relationship between women's movements and the welfare state that fits, to varying degrees, the stories told in the preceding four articles. Koven and Michel argue that women in Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States all played active, if somewhat different, roles as clients and shapers of early welfare states. Because late nineteenth-century political debates often featured complex and competing maternalist discourses, Koven and Michel call for a reevaluation of the role of maternalism in the formulation of modern welfare ideologies.

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Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War

SUSAN PEDERSEN

WHO IS A CITIZEN? It was during and after World War II that the classic theorists of the British welfare state—Richard Titmuss, Sir William Beveridge, and T. H. Marshall—answered this question by positing a community bound by social as well as political ties. The citizen, they said, not only participates in the political life of the community and holds political rights but also contributes to its social and economic well-being, drawing from it social and economic entitlements.¹ Their definition of citizenship was expansive, but it was also functionally based. And, by imagining a polity in which social rights stem from social functions, they begged the question of which forms of activity would properly be considered citizenship functions. If soldiering and working are to bring with them citizenship entitlements, will housekeeping or mothering do so as well? What are the gender implications of social citizenship?

When Beveridge addressed these questions in his famous report of 1942, he insisted that while the new welfare state would differentiate sharply between men and women, it would nevertheless treat women fairly. Welfare provision would be separate but equal: men and women would be granted an insurance status appropriate to their functional roles of, respectively, wage earner and mother. Yet, as feminist critics argued then and have argued since, the welfare state imagined by Beveridge and implemented by postwar planners treated the sexes not only differently but unequally. Rather than insuring each individual independently, the state determined the entitlements of entire families primarily by the economic status of the husband and father, independent of the work, waged or otherwise, of the wife and mother. For example, while men received benefits for their presumed dependent families as well as for themselves when they were ill, incapacitated, or unemployed, married women wage earners were exempted from the compulsory employment insurance covering men and single women. A nonearning wife's access to state benefits was mediated by her husband's status, and she drew independent benefits only for childbirth or in the event of his absence or death.²

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¹ *Social Insurance and Allied Services: A Report by Sir William Beveridge, Parliamentary Papers* (hereafter, PP) 1942–43, vol. 4, Cmd. 6404; R. M. Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy* (London, 1950); T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays* (Cambridge, 1950).

² An early and perspicacious feminist critique of Beveridge appeared during the war itself; see Elizabeth Abbott and Katherine Bompas, *The Woman Citizen and Social Security* (London, 1943). On

TABLE 1
Cost of Army Allowances and Pay
(pounds)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Separation Allowance</i>	<i>Total Pay</i>
Apr. 1, 1914–Mar. 31, 1915	15,107,180	44,246,908
Apr. 1, 1915–Mar. 31, 1916	52,870,267	107,278,449
Apr. 1, 1916–Mar. 31, 1917	77,843,411	144,916,273
Apr. 1, 1917–Mar. 31, 1918	113,287,606	200,167,123
Apr. 1, 1918–Mar. 31, 1919	124,571,016	289,426,746
Apr. 1, 1919–Mar. 31, 1920	31,072,604	163,231,582
Totals	414,752,084	949,267,081

The figures for separation allowances exclude the additional 8 million pounds expended by the National Relief Fund, the War Pensions Etc. Statutory Committee, and the Special Grants Committee of the Ministry of Pensions to supplement the basic rates in cases of hardship. Separation allowance figures for 1914 also exclude the small amount expended before the outbreak of war. The figures for total pay include the figures for separation allowances.

SOURCES: "History of Separation Allowance," Public Record Office, WO 32/9316; Army Appropriation Accounts for the years 1913 to 1920, *Parliamentary Papers* 1916, vol. 17; 1917–18, vol. 19; 1918, vol. 15; 1919, vol. 32; 1920, vol. 28; 1921, vol. 20. Figures for total central government expenditure can be found in B. R. Mitchell, *European Historical Statistics, 1750–1975*, 2d edn. (New York, 1981), 733–41.

The state that theoretically guaranteed a minimum standard of life to all in practice channeled that minimum through the hands of men, thus making its equal enjoyment by women and children subject to men's good will.

Examined from the point of view of gender, the Beveridgian welfare state appears less the harbinger of social equality than the guarantor of the domestic rights and status of men. This is the case not merely because the social entitlements of male citizens were different, better, or more plentiful. Rather, in Beveridge's model, such entitlements included the maintenance and representation of women and children and, by that very fact, made the possession of comparable rights for women impossible. Ironically, at a time when women were gaining civil and political equality, the construction of a welfare state assuming male maintenance of women and children excluded them from full social citizenship.

But the Beveridge Plan is, in a sense, the end of the story. Beveridge, as José Harris has argued, was an able synthesizer but no innovator. By 1942, the principles embodied in his plan had become so widely accepted that opponents found themselves armed with little more than the shield of Treasury parsimony.³ But, if the accomplishment of Beveridge was largely to systematize and extend an already familiar logic of welfare provision, at what point did the assumptions about gender roles that he so perfectly articulated become embedded in British social policy?

It was, I would argue, only during World War I that the British state made a decisive commitment to the articulation of this gendered system of welfare

recent feminist critiques of the gender bias underpinning the theory and practice of the welfare state, see especially Carole Pateman, "The Patriarchal Welfare State," in Amy Gutmann, ed., *Democracy and the Welfare State* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 231–60.

³ José Harris, "Social Planning in Wartime: Some Aspects of the Beveridge Report," in J. M. Winter, ed., *War and Economic Development* (Cambridge, 1975), 239–56.

provision. It did so almost inadvertently, through the extension and administration of universal, need-blind benefits—known as “separation allowances”—for the wives and children of soldiers and sailors. Although virtually unnoticed by historians, Britain’s wartime allowance system was remarkable for its scale and scope. It cost the government almost half a billion pounds, or almost as much as the pay given to the soldiers themselves (Table 1). By the Armistice, allowances were absorbing some 120 million pounds per year, a figure roughly comparable to two-thirds of the total annual expenditure of the central government in the pre-war years. At the height of the army’s strength, 1.5 million wives and several million children were receiving separation allowances at rates bordering on subsistence, while smaller amounts were doled out on more stringent terms to another 1.5 million dependent relatives.⁴

Yet the size of the allowance system was, by its very nature, temporary; more significant—because lasting—was its impact on the shaping of British social policy. Allowances were important for the way they committed the state to a “logic” of social citizenship structured around maintaining the domestic rights of the male citizen. For the wives, who were the most important recipients of allowances, the state became a surrogate husband: it paid them benefits because of their husbands’ citizenship status and rights, not their own work or needs, and the conditions of receipt included fidelity to their absent husbands.

The experiment with separation allowances left its mark on postwar social policy, which gradually came to reflect more clearly the ideal of a male breadwinner and dependent wife. Yet this outcome was in some ways accidental. Only the unique political circumstances of the war, in which a temporary suspension of the usual restraints on government spending coincided with a pressing need to recruit working men, made such massive social spending possible. The emergence of this logic of welfare will be traced here through three convergent processes: the privileging of the status of the citizen-soldier as a consequence of the pressures of

⁴ Allowances were paid to the wives and dependents of officers and men in both the army and navy, and varied by rank and service. Wives of private soldiers constituted the vast majority of recipients, however, since four-fifths of the army’s soldiers in 1917 were privates, and this essay will focus on their case. Allowances for “dependents” (usually mothers), paid through different administrative channels upon proof of pre-war dependence, were far less generous and cost the state only one-third as much as those for wives. Numbers in receipt of army separation allowances are as follows:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Wives</i>	<i>Dependents</i>	<i>Total</i>
Nov. 30, 1914	509,000	22,500	531,500
Feb. 20, 1915	675,000	306,000	981,000
Apr. 30, 1915	723,167	480,250	1,203,417
Jul. 31, 1915	836,498	721,441	1,557,939
Oct. 31, 1915	916,714	871,669	1,788,383
Jan. 31, 1916	977,657	1,041,653	2,019,310
Jul. 1, 1916	1,115,451	1,293,973	2,409,424
Jan. 1, 1917	1,345,427	1,556,107	2,901,534
Jan. 1, 1918	1,550,827	1,434,715	2,985,542
Jul. 1, 1918	1,525,000	1,539,000	3,064,000
Jan. 1, 1919	1,456,020	1,497,100	2,953,120
Jul. 1, 1919	354,556	578,985	933,541
Jan. 1, 1920	127,514	201,755	329,269

SOURCE: War Office, *Reports on the Account of Army Expenditure, 1914–1920*, Public Record Office, WO, 33/761 and 33/932.

war; the development of a state administration that incorporated the work of private charities; and the enforcement of the sexual and economic rights of men through the operation of moral tests of wives' eligibility for benefits. Yet the logic of welfare that developed during World War I was not so unproblematically transmitted. A final section will look briefly at the ways in which recipients and feminists attempted to subvert and recast its principles and to develop a new concept of social citizenship for women.

THE NOTION OF SEPARATE SPHERES of work and politics for men and women has a long and complex genealogy, in Britain as elsewhere. The articulation of an idealized vision of a family organized around male maintenance and female dependence appears in both the nineteenth-century evangelical revival and trade-union campaigns for a male family wage; political radicals also stressed working men's support of women and children as a sign of their worthiness for wider citizenship rights.⁵ Nevertheless, in the period before World War I, no particular model of family relations had received the unambiguous endorsement of the state. Social policies were by no means uniformly organized around the presumption of male maintenance and female dependence, and even the embryonic "rights-based" social programs introduced by the Liberal governments immediately before the war varied in their approach to the working-class family. True, the unemployment and sickness insurance schemes were intended primarily to maintain the earnings of working men, but other innovations such as old-age pensions and school meals bypassed these male breadwinners to approach deserving nonearners directly.⁶

Pre-war social policies, then, reflected no one master plan by the state to shape family structure and gender roles. Furthermore, in the period before the war, major responsibility for the relief of distress remained in the hands of local Poor Law authorities and private charities, both of which tended to distribute aid without reference to "rights" at all but on the condition of recipients' attempts at self-help and moral reform.⁷ "Welfare" before the war thus not only lacked the status of a citizenship right, it was often not in the hands of the national state.

In no area was the lack of a uniform state policy toward family welfare and the family wage more evident than in that central arena of state employment, the army. When the war broke out, marriage in the army was regulated by a system known

⁵ Regarding the development of the rhetoric of separate spheres, see Catherine Hall, "The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology," in Sandra Burman, ed., *Fit Work for Women* (London, 1979), 15–32; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987); Catherine Hall, "The Tale of Samuel and Jemima: Gender and Working-Class Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century England," in *Popular Culture and Social Relations*, Tony Bennett, et al., eds. (Milton Keynes, Eng., 1986), 73–92. On the development of the ideal of the male family wage, see the recent review of the debate by Wally Secombe, "Patriarchy Stabilized: The Construction of the Male Breadwinner Wage Norm in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Social History*, 11 (January 1986): 53–76.

⁶ On the Liberal reforms, see Bentley B. Gilbert, *The Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain* (London, 1966). Gilbert laid great stress on the significance of school meals as a prototype for later welfare measures, but I would argue that school meals represent a vision of direct welfare provision that was bypassed after 1919 in favor of the alternative policy of bolstering the position of the male wage earner. School meals were controversial precisely because they challenged the absolute responsibility of the father to maintain his family, while social insurance benefits helped him to do so even when earnings failed.

⁷ Pat Thane, "Women and the Poor Law in Victorian and Edwardian England," *History Workshop Journal*, 6 (Autumn 1978): 29–51; Charles Loch Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society, 1869–1913* (London, 1961).

as “marriage on the strength,” which had developed gradually during the Victorian period. Under this system, the army allowed a small proportion of men—fixed at 4 percent in 1876—to marry, usually as a reward for loyalty and long service. Their wives and children were designated as “on the strength” of the regiment and were entitled to housing as well as educational and welfare benefits. The policy of restricting marriage had real advantages for the army: it was cheap; it provided men with an incentive for good behavior; it gave the army the benefit of a specific amount of female labor for the “women’s work” of laundry and sewing; and it left the bulk of the army a theoretically celibate force, deemed more efficient, mobile, and single-minded.

Pre-war army regulations in no way accepted that the state had an obligation to allow men to marry, much less to pay a “family wage.” The marriage restrictions were vulnerable to serious criticism, however, being incompatible with a domestic ideology that identified marriage as the normal human condition and as central to the health and morality of an imperial society. Victorian and Edwardian sexual purity advocates objected that the army was encouraging “vice” (prostitution), and even military reformers impervious to moral pressure recognized that endemic venereal disease and drunkenness were sapping the “efficiency” of the army. The credibility of the restrictions was further undermined by the simple fact that soldiers did marry, with or without permission, helping their officially nonexistent families out of their own meager pay and rations. Wives of overseas troops were a particular problem. Only “on the strength” wives were eligible—from 1871—for separation allowances; those “off the strength” were at the mercy of the labor market, private charities, and the Poor Law.⁸

The marriage restrictions came under renewed attack from feminists, military reformers, and representatives of working men during the period of rearmament immediately prior to World War I. In 1913, the War Office responded by asking May Tennant, a former factory inspector and the wife of the undersecretary to the War Office, H. J. Tennant, to conduct an inquiry into the conditions of soldiers and wives “off the strength.” Written in consultation with many “ladies” active in philanthropic work among the troops, May Tennant’s report confirmed that unofficial marriage was widespread and inimical to the health and character of both the soldiers and their families. It did not, however, recommend that the army significantly expand the married establishment or extend allowances for wives. Rather—consistent with War Office practices—Tennant favored greater military collaboration with philanthropic societies, who would train the “off the strength” wives in needlework and child care, in an attempt to make them both self-supporting and better mothers.⁹

Tennant’s exposition of the evil effects of marriage off the strength won a favorable reception in the House of Commons; less welcome was her suggestion to meet the current poverty and distress by philanthropic visiting, training, and employment for wives. Labour member of Parliament George Roberts argued that the army’s restrictive policy on marriage was both an impediment to recruiting and a serious infringement of men’s rights. “After all,” he said, “I take it everybody will admit that a young man has a right to contemplate entering into the married state when he reaches a certain age.” Furthermore, once married, “[i]f a man is

⁸ The summary in the above two paragraphs is drawn from Myna Trustram, *Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army* (Cambridge, 1984).

⁹ Army, *Report of an Enquiry by Mrs. Tennant Regarding the Conditions of Marriage Off the Strength*, PP 1914, vol. 51, Cd. 7441.

rendering good and necessary service to the State, he ought to be assured of such a reward as will enable him to maintain himself and his family in a state of decency and comfort." A liberalization of marriage regulations would, he concluded, "tend to greater morality"—a coded way of saying that married men would no longer resort to prostitutes.¹⁰

In the conflict between Roberts and Tennant is encapsulated the debate between statist and voluntarist visions of the aims and appropriate limits of both economic assistance and state intervention. Roberts's claim was that the exercise of certain social and economic activities—including marriage and the support of a family—were fundamental rights of the male citizen. The state was thus required to provide the conditions under which such activities were possible for all men who fulfilled the basic duties of the citizen, usually seen as soldiering or working. L. T. Hobhouse, the quintessential philosopher of New Liberalism, expressed this opinion most succinctly in 1911 when he defined the state's responsibility toward its citizens (posited automatically as male) as follows: "It is not for the State to feed, house or clothe them. It is for the State to take care that the economic conditions are such that the normal man who is not defective in mind or body or will can by useful labour feed, house, and clothe himself *and his family*."¹¹ And, if the state's obligation extended to the economic oversight of society as a whole, surely it had a special responsibility for its own employees—its soldiers.

Hobhouse's point of view might have been accepted by most Liberal and Labour members of Parliament by 1914, but it would have been contested by many of those who often had the greatest jurisdiction over those in need: members of the philanthropic societies. Voluntary social workers influenced by the principles of the Charity Organization Society certainly agreed that men should support their wives but contended that they should do so through their own exertions. If they failed, they had no "right" to the benevolent assistance of the state.¹² In contrast to Liberal and Labour rhetoric, which posited a rights-based claim to social entitlements for men in particular, philanthropic workers tended to recognize not rights but needs and to insist that such needs be met not by universal provision but by self-help and the discriminating intervention of voluntary social workers. Even those settlement workers and home visitors who were receptive to an increase in state intervention stressed the importance of cross-class contact and "moralization" and feared the curtailment of their sphere of social action. Philanthropic organizations active among soldiers and sailors were—as Tennant discovered—particularly jealous of their privileges.

In the pre-war debate over the boundaries of voluntary and state authority, state bureaucracies by no means inevitably supported their own expansion. During the 1913 conflict over the degree to which the army should permit men to marry, for example, the War Office and Treasury showed themselves implacably opposed to costly extensions of government responsibilities. The presence of an organized network of philanthropic organizations made War Office intransigence possible, and the Liberal government—despite parliamentary protest—was quite willing to delegate the task of organizing the support and relief of soldiers' families to officers' wives, charitable groups, and social workers.

¹⁰ *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 59 (March 12, 1914): cols. 1518–20.

¹¹ L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (1911; rpt. edn., Westport, Conn., 1980), 83; my emphasis.

¹² The prominent social theorist and charity worker Helen Bosanquet argued, for example, that families were weakened by any reliance on state aid; see Helen Bosanquet, *The Family* (London, 1906), esp. 313, 339–40.

The war intruded on this political settlement and annulled it. Briefly, the war brought about three key changes in the structure of political opportunity. First, it swept away the usual political restrictions on government spending and expansion, as Parliament voted virtually unlimited credits for the war. Treasury control was supplanted by only the most cursory of actuarial estimates, and proliferating government bureaucracies found little check on either their spending or their extension of public control.¹³ Second, the war created a massive need for industrial and military manpower. In the absence of conscription (not introduced in Britain until 1916), such needs could be met only by voluntary enlistment from a wide range of age and social groups—a process that, in turn, dramatically altered the character and composition of the wartime army.¹⁴ Finally, this quest for increased production and recruits placed the representatives of working men in positions of some influence. Both the Trade Union Congress and the War Emergency Workers' National Committee came to act as coordinating bodies, pressuring and negotiating directly with the government in matters affecting the Labour movement.¹⁵

In this new political climate, arguments stressing the social obligations of the state and the male right to maintain a wife and family gained new resonance and power. Respectable male workers would only join up, M.P.s argued and recruiting officers corroborated, if their wives and children were adequately cared for in their absence—and by the state, not by the charities.¹⁶ The Liberal government shared their view: although the War Office hedged for a few days, on August 10, 1914, Prime Minister H. H. Asquith announced that separation allowances would be paid for all wives, including those “off the strength.”¹⁷ Concessions on rates followed in 1914 and early 1915, demonstrating the government's acceptance of the contention that, as one Liberal M.P. put it, there would be “a more speedy and more general rally to the Colours, if you relieve the minds of the men who, for many reasons, anxious to serve their country, have justly felt that their first duty was to their home, their wives, and their children.”¹⁸ Nor was political pressure isolated or shortlived. The Workers' National Committee launched a successful campaign for higher rates after the introduction of conscription for married men; a major back-bench revolt and considerable resentment in the army wrung further concessions out of a reluctant Treasury in 1918. In surveying the decisions on rates, it appears that the defenders of soldiers' rights won their argument: the Cabinet

¹³ On the supersession and subsequent revival of Treasury control, see Kathleen Burk, “The Treasury: From Impotence to Power,” in Burk, ed., *War and the State: The Transformation of British Government, 1914–1919* (London, 1982), 84–107.

¹⁴ P. E. Dewey showed that while the age structure of different industries can account in part for differential enlistment rates, the wage levels of those industries cannot: poorer workers were not necessarily more likely to enlist; P. E. Dewey, “Military Recruiting and the British Labour Force during the First World War,” *Historical Journal*, 27 (1984): 199–223. And by 1917, some 40 percent of soldiers in the army were married.

¹⁵ Royden Harrison, “The War Emergency Workers' National Committee, 1914–1920,” in Asa Briggs and John Saville, eds., *Essays in Labour History, 1886–1923* (Hamden, Conn., 1971), 211–59; Keith Middlemas, *Politics in Industrial Society* (London, 1979).

¹⁶ For typical examples of this type of argument, see the following letters, all in *The Times*: G. E. Underhill, “Married Men and Enlistment” (September 7, 1914), 4; Austen Harrison, “Provision for Soldiers' Dependents” (September 7, 1914), 4; Robert Edgcumbe, “The Separation Allowance” (September 8, 1914), 9; Lord Derby, “Keep the Home Going” (September 10, 1914), 5.

¹⁷ *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 65 (August 10, 1914): col. 2261.

¹⁸ *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 68 (November 18, 1914): col. 516. Debates and decisions on allowances in 1914 and 1915 can be found in *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 66 (September 17, 1914): cols. 967–68; vol. 68 (November 12, 1914): cols. 43–166; (November 18, 1914): cols. 444–526; vol. 69 (February 16, 1915): col. 997; Select Committee on Naval and Military Services (Pensions and Grants), *Special Report, Second Special Report, Proceedings, Minutes and Appendices, PP 1914–16*, vol. 4.

TABLE 2
Army Separation Allowances
Rates for Privates
(shillings/pence)

		Family Size						
		Wife only	Wife and children numbering					Each add'l child
			one	two	three	four	five	
Pre-war	–Sep. 30, 1914	11/1	12/10	14/7	16/4	17/6	18/8	1/2
Oct. 1, 1914	–Feb. 28, 1915	12/6	15/–	17/6	20/–	22/–	24/–	2/–
Mar. 1, 1915	–Jan. 14, 1917	12/6	17/6	21/–	23/–	25/–	27/–	2/–
Jan. 15, 1917	–Oct. 6, 1918	12/6	19/6	24/6	28/–	31/–	34/–	3/–
Oct. 7, 1918	–Nov. 3, 1918	12/6	22/–	29/–	32/6	35/6	38/6	3/–
from	Nov. 4, 1918	12/6	23/–	31/–	36/6	40/6	44/6	4/–

Upon the outbreak of war, allowances included a compulsory allotment from the soldiers' pay of 7 pence per child and 3 shillings 6 pence for the wife. The government met the cost of the allotment for children from November 9, 1914, and for the wife from September 29, 1917. The increases granted from January 15, 1917, only applied to children under fourteen; those between fourteen and sixteen received lower rates. The wife's allowance was never increased (evidence of the growing War Office disinclination to subsidize the 26 percent of wives without eligible children), but from November 4, 1918, the childless wife was granted an additional 6 shillings 6 pence by the local War Pensions Committee, provided she was not earning a wage.

SOURCES FOR RATES: "History of Separation Allowance," PRO, WO 32/9316; for distribution of children, see "Increase of Children's Allowances: Memorandum by the War Office," Paper No. 73, July 2, 1918, War Cabinet, Soldiers' and Sailors' Pay Committee, PRO, CAB 27/21.

accepted, albeit reluctantly, that basic allowances must be universal, met entirely by state funds, and at least marginally adequate for subsistence needs (see Table 2 for rates).¹⁹

As the political landscape changed, a rhetoric linking men's citizenship status to their role as heads of households became the dominant idiom of wartime discussions of separation allowances. It was not the only paradigm available, however; some alternative definitions of "social citizenship" could be found in the early twentieth-century debate over the "woman question." Many pre-war feminists, for example, pointed to women's domestic work when arguing for greater rights; H. G. Wells and a few like-minded socialists even contemplated direct payments to mothers for their "service to the state." Such claims were controversial for their insistence on mothers' individual rights, but even a more conventional ideal of

¹⁹ For pressures leading to the 1917 raises, see Workers' National Committee, *Executive Committee Minutes* (London), October 12, 1916, November 9, 1916, November 30, 1916, December 14, 1916, January 11, 1917; *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 84 (July 25, 1916): cols. 1521–1618; vol. 90 (February 7, 1917): cols. 63–64; War Cabinet 31, January 10, 1917, pp. 95–99, Public Record Office (hereafter, PRO), CAB 23/1.

The 1918 increases, granted in two stages, owed much to both parliamentary pressures and fears of unrest in the army. See *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th series, vol. 107 (June 18, 1918), cols. 276–83; vol. 108 (July 24, 1918): cols. 1825–30; vol. 109 (August 2, 1918): cols. 793–843; (August 5, 1918): cols. 1054–70; (August 8, 1918): cols. 1710–27; vol. 110 (October 17, 1918): cols. 290–94; the Sixth and Seventh Reports of the War Cabinet's Soldiers' and Sailors' Pay Committee, Paper G-217, July 17, 1918, and Paper G-231, November 13, 1918, PRO, CAB 24/5; Cabinet Minutes, Cabinet 449, July 19, 1918, pp. 35–36, PRO, CAB 23/7, Cabinet 486, October 15, 1918, pp. 28–29 and Cabinet 498, November 6, 1918, p. 64, PRO, CAB 23/8; and the records of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Pay Committee, especially "A Summary of the Principal Grievances Given Expression to at the Present Time by Associations Representing the Men, or by the Men Themselves," Appendix to the 29th Meeting, September 27, 1918, PRO, CAB 27/21.

interdependent family roles was sometimes characterized not as a system of male maintenance and female dependence but as an economic partnership of the citizen-couple. The opinion current in many working women's organizations—that the housewife was just as much a “worker” as her husband and hence had equal claim on his wage—while perhaps not orthodox thought in the pre-war Labour movement was at least paid lip service.²⁰ Separation allowances, from this point of view, could be seen as a right owed to the wives themselves because of their equal contribution to a household unit now disrupted by war.

These alternative understandings of social citizenship were expressed when the war broke out, but they proved no match for the rhetoric of soldiers' rights. Feminists, divided over support for the war, became defensive or silent about women's claims, while Labour women found their arguments undercut by the Workers' National Committee's own propensity to identify wives simply as “dependents” in its campaign for higher rates.²¹ The Leicester branch of the Women's Labour League protested: “For a hard-working wife to be called a ‘dependent’ is offensive and even insulting,” they resolved, “and is so regarded by most intelligent working-women [housewives].” In sending off the resolution, Louisa Donaldson, the branch president, astutely added, “Believe me, it is far more than a matter of words that I am objecting to—it is the beliefs often unwittingly betrayed by the words, and so perpetuated.”²² In a telling admission of the power of established discourse, Workers' National Committee Secretary J. S. Middleton wrote back, “I see your point and have some sympathy with it, but we have to be guided in this matter by the forms and phrases already in use, otherwise we may be misunderstood.”²³ The “forms and phrases already in use”—at least in use by male politicians—stressed female dependence and the male right to maintain a family, and they remained central to the statist argument. They were not challenged until the middle of the war, when suffragist Eleanor Rathbone and a group of feminist social reformers began in earnest to elaborate a rights-based theory of social citizenship for women.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIVERSAL, RIGHTS-BASED SEPARATION ALLOWANCES, paid by the state at uniform rates, was a victory for the Liberal and Labour representatives of working men. It was, however, initially only a rhetorical victory, for the government that accepted these new responsibilities had, in 1914, no means of making them good. At the outbreak of the war, only 1,100 soldiers' wives were receiving allowances; in the wake of Asquith's announcement of universal eligibility and the first wave of recruiting, the number of women due allowances jumped to half a million.²⁴ No adequate machinery existed to cope with either verification or payment of the claims that deluged the army pay office. Furthermore, since the army had never recognized “off the strength” wives, no lists existed of those entitled

²⁰ I discuss the pre-war debate over endowment of motherhood in “The Failure of Feminism in the Making of the British Welfare State,” *Radical History Review*, 43 (Winter 1989): esp. 88–92; see also Carol Dyhouse, *Feminism and the Family in England 1880–1939* (Oxford, 1989), 88–98.

²¹ For an interesting account of why war would have thrown feminists on the defensive, see Susan Kingsley Kent, “The Politics of Sexual Difference: World War I and the Demise of British Feminism,” *Journal of British Studies*, 27 (July 1988): 232–53.

²² Donaldson to J. S. Middleton, November 17, 1914, Workers National Committee Papers, Labour Party Archives (Harvester Microfilm, Series III, Pt. 3, Reel 11, Item 24/1/3).

²³ Middleton to Donaldson, November 25, 1917, *ibid.*, Item 24/1/5.

²⁴ *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 68 (November 12, 1914): col. 70.

to allowances.²⁵ Even when the appropriate claims were established, there were long delays in payment, and many women were left virtually penniless. Such government incapacity, relief committees in Birmingham discovered, caused "far more distress than the disturbed state of trade."²⁶

In this lacuna, the early work of administering, advancing, and supplementing allowances necessarily devolved on the voluntary organizations that had monopolized much of the work of relieving distress before the war. Especially important was the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association (SSFA), a prominent philanthropic society with much royal patronage that had administered allowances to "off the strength" wives during the Boer War. In August of 1914, the SSFA's viable local chapters were primarily in port and garrison towns, but new chapters were rapidly set up, often by simply incorporating new local war relief committees. In Liverpool, the suffrage society led by Eleanor Rathbone took over the local SSFA, divided the city into twenty-nine districts, enrolled some 1,000 voluntary workers, and soon established a "caseload" of 17,000 families.²⁷ Local appeals across the country brought forth an avalanche of women volunteers. By 1915, the SSFA counted 900 branches staffed by some 50,000 voluntary workers.²⁸

For the first two years of the war, and in the face of government incapacity, the SSFA acted as the administrative agent of the War Office. Some of this work was, essentially, client advocacy, with SSFA "ladies" clearing up administrative muddles and badgering paymasters about delays. More problematically, they were also responsible for investigating claims, a process that often involved "searching enquiries" into family life and income, which left one visitor "declaring that the only work left for them after the war would be to qualify as detectives."²⁹ Although, after October of 1914, the basic allowance was paid out through the post office, the SSFA continued to operate a system of "friendly visiting" and to pay out supplementary allowances, which were distributed in person, conditional on good behavior, and given in kind if the applicant was deemed unreliable. The visitors' functions of administration and surveillance were inextricably mixed: they acted as the advocates, disciplinarians, troubleshooters, and morality police of soldiers' wives.

The beliefs that motivated many of the SSFA workers, like the wartime rhetoric of soldiers' rights, reflected a complex tangle of class and gender interests. As did other charities and much of the women's movement, the SSFA placed voluntary social work, especially by women, at the center of a wider vision of social and moral reconstruction. Female home visitors claimed that a "warm feeling of regard and even affection" grew up between themselves and their beneficiaries; they believed that "a sympathy born of kindred anxiety and sorrow . . . touching all hearts and homes in like manner" forged links between class and class.³⁰ Often motivated by

²⁵ Evidence of Sir Charles Harris, November 26, 1914, Select Committee on Naval and Military Services (Pensions and Grants), *Minutes*, PP 1914-16, vol. 4, p. 1.

²⁶ H. Norwood, "The Citizen's Committee," *Women Workers: The Quarterly Magazine of the Birmingham Branch of the National Union of Women Workers*, 24 (December 1914): 62; see also "Soldiers' Wives in Distress," *The Times* (September 3, 1914), 4.

²⁷ Liverpool Council of Voluntary Aid, *Quarterly Paper*, 1, no. 15 (October 1917): 201-03; Evidence of Eleanor Rathbone, Select Committee, *Minutes*, PP 1914-16, vol. 4, 90-103.

²⁸ Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, *Annual Report 1914-15*, 14, 2002.

²⁹ Charlotte Barrington, "Soldiers' and Sailors' Families," *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 78, no. 463 (September 1915): 589.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 594; Helen Anstey, "The Home-Side of Wartime," *Contemporary Review*, 108 (August 1915): 238. For a sensitive account of the ideas and development of middle-class women's social work, see

religious convictions and ideals of public service, they saw their work as a mission with a feminist tint, from woman to woman. While they denied any intent "to preach or criticize," they accepted without question that they were, simply by social position, fit to offer guidance on everything from child care to soupmaking, and that such advice would be "taken in good part by the wife and mother."³¹ They congratulated themselves "that numberless homes have become better, happier, cleaner, through the tactful efforts of the visitors" and looked forward to the day when the soldier would return to find "a real home, money in the bank, and a sober affectionate wife—all through the influence of the SSFA."³²

The SSFA may have been the only organization capable of taking over the administration of allowances at a moment's notice, but its independence, class composition, and explicit moral agenda did nothing to endear it to politicians already critical of the vesting of administrative powers in the hands of a private charity. Having established that allowances were not charity but a "right," politicians across the political spectrum argued that their administration must be taken over by local government committees operating under ministerial and parliamentary supervision. They bolstered their case by charging the SSFA with inefficiency, parsimony, and especially with "inquisitorial methods," which were "a disgrace to everybody concerned."³³ Charges of inefficiency were not, in fact, entirely fair, since, despite its hasty mobilization, the SSFA had managed to aid more than 300,000 wives and 700,000 children by the end of 1914, with a speed unmatched by the Old Age Pensions Committees responsible for the task of processing the claims of mothers and other dependents.³⁴ Incensed by the charges, the SSFA leadership defended their visitors' competence stoutly. Liverpool branch secretary Eleanor Rathbone turned the tables by charging "a considerable section of the House of Commons, and especially . . . the Labour Party" with blocking effective administration through their "doctrinaire dislike . . . [for] any form of volunteer effort and their craze for piling every conceivable new function upon the already overworked town councils."³⁵ By the end of 1914, battle lines were clearly drawn, the administration of allowances had become something of a *cause célèbre*, and the government turned the matter over to a high-level parliamentary select committee for solution.³⁶

It was in these hearings that the conflict between the "voluntarist" and "statist" agendas—and between women and men—emerged most clearly, particularly in the vitriolic exchanges between George Barnes, the committee's Labour representative, and the witnesses for the SSFA. While Barnes, the Workers' National Committee, and the Women's Labour League all argued for a generous flat rate, administered through the local Old Age Pensions Committees, and free of all charitable

Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920* (Chicago, 1985), 211–46.

³¹ SSFA, "War Circular No. 1," August 12, 1914, *Annual Report 1914–15*, 1900; Anstey, "Home-Side of Wartime," 239.

³² Anstey, "Home-Side of Wartime," 243.

³³ The phrase is Arthur Henderson's: *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 68 (November 12, 1914): col. 50. For other criticisms, see cols. 56–67; and (November 18, 1914): cols. 500–06; Kingsley Wood, "Soldiers' and Sailors' Allowances," *The Times* (January 4, 1915), 9; Workers' National Committee *Minutes*, May 18, 1915, September 16, 1915.

³⁴ Figures on wives and children aided are given in SSFA, *Annual Report 1914–15*, 32, 200. Evidence of the difficulties faced by the Old Age Pensions Committees—which were forced to enlist Customs and Excise officers as interviewers—is found in PRO T172/509.

³⁵ Eleanor Rathbone, "Pensions and Allowances," *Common Cause*, 6, no. 302 (January 22, 1915): 664.

³⁶ *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 68 (November 18, 1914): cols. 499–500.

supervision, the SSFA representatives and other social workers argued for lower rates administered by the voluntary organizations, which would also use home visitors to monitor children for neglect. Rathbone gave a ringing defense of voluntary administration, arguing that women visitors had been more sympathetic and more competent than the male officers employed by the Pensions Committees. She urged that, at the least, any new public committees should be required to coopt "a reasonable number of women, by which we do not mean one woman on each committee."³⁷

The Select Committee's two reports on separation allowances, issued in February and April of 1915, did not raise rates to the levels urged by the Labour representatives, but they did take administration out of the hands of the charities. Acting on their recommendations, the government passed the Naval and Military War Pensions Bill later that year, which divested the SSFA of its responsibilities and placed these powers in the hands of a new statutory committee composed of military, political, and philanthropic representatives. Lack of parliamentary oversight aroused the criticism of the House of Commons, however, and, after a year of operation, the Statutory Committee's functions and local committees were transferred to the newly created Ministry of Pensions, headed by George Barnes, who by this time had become something of an expert on pensions. By the end of 1917, charitable administration would seem to have been entirely superseded.³⁸

But had it? When the Statutory Committee prepared to take over administration of allowances in the spring of 1916, Walter Hayes-Fisher—a junior minister, long-time SSFA officer, and a member of the new committee—met with SSFA branch representatives to quiet their fears of being made redundant. The new local pensions committees, he said, would probably have to appoint subcommittees to deal with allowances, and he hoped "that they will largely delegate the matter of looking after the separation allowances of wives and families to those who have so ably looked after them till now."³⁹ Eleanor Rathbone also viewed state expansion as a chance to win new authority for female social workers. "I think we must make it quite clear," she told her fellow SSFA representatives, "that we are not a party of kindly busybodies who will do odd jobs that the local committees cannot find time to do for themselves, but that we have the experience on which they ought to draw."⁴⁰ In fact, the SSFA claim to continue its work under state aegis met with little resistance from the new state bodies, which found themselves unable to take over their duties on schedule and repeatedly appealed to local SSFA branches to continue their work.⁴¹ Indeed, in May of 1916, the Statutory Committee wrote to the local authorities that, "unless there is any strong reason to the contrary," the existing SSFA branches administering allowances should simply be appointed as subcommittees, an arrangement that survived under the Ministry of Pensions.⁴²

Although the SSFA managed to retain the rights to much of their day-to-day

³⁷ Select Committee, *Minutes*, PP 1914–16, vol. 4, 98.

³⁸ For the recommendations of the Select Committee, see their *Report* cited above. Parliamentary debate over and criticisms of the War Pensions Bill are found in *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 72 (June 29, 1915): cols. 1832–93; vol. 73 (July 6, 1915): cols. 212–338; SSFA protests at its exclusion are in *Annual Report 1914–15*, 2002–04. For a history of the short-lived Statutory Committee, see the War Pensions Etc. Statutory Committee, *Report for the Year 1916*, PP 1917–18, vol. 17, Cd. 8750. Discussions and memos concerning the establishment of the Ministry of Pensions are in PRO, CAB 37/155, nos. 29 and 30; PRO, CAB 37/159, no. 10; and PRO, PIN 4/111.

³⁹ SSFA, *Annual Report 1915–16*, 1780.

⁴⁰ SSFA, *Annual Report 1915–16*, 1794.

⁴¹ SSFA, *Annual Report 1915–16*, 21–24, 1725–35.

⁴² "Circular No. 4," May 10, 1916, War Pensions Etc. Statutory Committee, *Report*, 48.

work, they were, as Rathbone had feared, to some extent marginalized. The Statutory Committee was happy to recommend their summary appointment because, it noted, separation allowances were a temporary issue less central than war pensions and thus could presumably be safely delegated to subcommittees of women.⁴³ Furthermore, while SSFA workers continued to register claims, they now operated under regulations not of their own making and with which they occasionally disagreed. They were, for example, distressed to find that government regulations disqualified them from supplementing allowances out of charitable funds for women with high rents.⁴⁴ Their authority as an alternative institution with sweeping powers over relief had been effectively neutralized. Incorporated into the state, they had to play by its rules.

The bitterness of the debate over charitable control was not only a disagreement over access to (unpaid) work, although volunteer social workers were understandably protective of the profession they had created. Something more fundamental was at stake: the question of who could "speak for" working-class women and on what terms they would be incorporated into the state. Labour representatives denounced the inquisitorial methods and colonizing vision of the SSFA, but their hostility stemmed in part from the perception that, by bypassing working men to approach wives directly, the charities attacked Labour's claim to represent women's interests. While Labour leaders routinely stressed that allowances were a "right," granted in recognition of men's struggle to support their families on inadequate wages, Rathbone said men were sometimes simply selfish, keeping a disproportionate amount of the "family wage" for their own use. Yet, while SSFA visitors were able to uncover the presumption of male domestic control hidden in Labour rhetoric, they did so largely to defend their own professional status, itself riddled with assumptions about middle-class women's qualifications as moral exemplars. The SSFA was at this stage unable to hear or to produce any egalitarian theory of working women's own legitimate and unmediated claims on the state. Raised in a philanthropic tradition that stressed the performance of reciprocal duties rather than the possession of rights, voluntary workers fell back on their defense of cross-class sympathy and moral reform—a vision deeply out of step with wartime democratic sentiment.

This conflict between parliamentarians and voluntarists, men and women, was quickly cast in terms of progress and reaction. Having captured the rhetorical high ground of rights-based claims, the parliamentary spokesmen for the soldier-citizen went on to argue that "rights" must necessarily be enforced in the public sphere, through state action. Labour in particular distinguished sharply between public control (good) and private control (bad); thus eliding the question of whether state control was any more "democratic" for voteless women than that of the charities. But the identification of allowances as a right guaranteed by the state could only be read as a victory for women if one assumed (as Labour did and as Rathbone hotly denied) that wives' interests could automatically be collapsed into those of their husbands. In the absence of such an assumption, the new recognition of male social citizenship merely opened the relationship of the couple to official scrutiny, as bureaucrats attempted to determine when, in the absence of husbands, wives were entitled to support by his surrogate, the state.

⁴³ "Circular No. 4," May 10, 1916, War Pensions Etc. Statutory Committee, *Report*, 48.

⁴⁴ SSFA, *Annual Report 1915–16*, 11; see also Winifred Coombe Tennant, "Notes on the Work of War Pensions Committees," *Common Cause*, 8, no. 394 (October 27, 1916): 363–64.

ONE OF THE MAJOR MOTIVES behind the extension of public control was the desire of many politicians and reformers to end the surveillance of women by charitable visitors. Labour leaders in particular reacted with outrage to the SSFA's early use of moral "tests" for benefits, arguing that such tests were inappropriate and even odious when receipt of this income was a fundamental citizenship right. But the shift to state control failed to end the surveillance of wives and the use of moral tests. A comparison of the administration of allowances during the two years of SSFA and War Office collaboration with the system operated by the Ministry of Pensions in the period of state control reveals that moral tests were revised and extended by the Ministry of Pensions, even though army morale, public order, and rational administration replaced moral reform as the aim of such intervention. Both the charities and the state took their role as surrogate for the husbands seriously, replacing them as the breadwinners while also making benefits contingent on the temperance, diligence, and chastity of their wives.

When the SSFA began organizing the payment of benefits to wives in the fall of 1914, they did so in a political climate in which claims for generous benefits conflicted with a widespread "moral panic" about the behavior of working-class wives in their newly endowed and unhusbanded condition. Early in October of 1914, a range of social workers and SSFA volunteers wrote to *The Times* to complain that, while women insisted their children were starving, they were "all the time puffing into our faces fumes of whisky, gin and the like."⁴⁵ Writers proposed combating drinking among women by restricting public house hours and by paying allowances in kind, not cash, already SSFA policy in such cases. Yet letters did not hold women entirely responsible for such dissolute behavior; rather, consistent with the charities' propensity to view working women as moral minors, writers blamed the atmosphere of "abnormal excitement" and the absence of the husband's restraining hand. His place, these letters implied, must be taken by the volunteer social worker, who, in alliance with the state, could convert the wife to the cause of moral uplift.⁴⁶

The letters to *The Times* fit easily into contemporary critiques of the charitable agenda and help to explain the hostility to SSFA administration. The SSFA's policies on wives were not reached in isolation, however, but were supported—and even preceded—by central government plans to supervise wives. A mere month after the outbreak of war, the War Office produced guidelines identifying "cases of immorality definitely established, conviction on criminal charges, or gross neglect of children" as grounds for cessation of allowances; the public furor about drinking among women merely served to add drunkenness to the catalog of bad behavior. Nor was the War Office content to leave the supervision of wives to charity visitors alone; it also forwarded its guidelines to all chief constables, urging police cooperation in War Office investigations.⁴⁷

When the War Office's plans to place wives under police supervision were leaked to the press, they aroused an immediate outcry. Labour's War Emergency Committee lost no time in protesting them, and on November 12 Arthur Henderson, chairman of the Labour party, exploded in the Commons. It was bad enough, he

⁴⁵ Margaret Taylor, "A Teetotal War," *The Times* (October 3, 1914), 9.

⁴⁶ See the correspondence concerning drinking among women in *The Times*, October 5, 6, 7, and 9, 1914.

⁴⁷ War Office, "Cessation of Army Separation Allowances and Allotments of Pay to the Unworthy," no. 192, September 9, 1914, PRO, HO 158/16; Home Office to Chief Constables, no. 191, October 20, 1914, PRO, HO 158/16.

said, that the War Office had let the charities administer allowances and badger soldiers' wives, but police surveillance was "the limit." Separation allowances were part of the soldiers' pay, and, if wives did not always spend well, the same was true of other husbands and wives.⁴⁸ The "New Liberal" periodical *The Nation* angrily attacked the War Office assumption that allowances were relief, not pay:

Relief! Then we do not *pay* our soldiers and sailors for fighting for us. We give them relief. And if the Local Relief Committee or the branch of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Fund is satisfied that Policeman Smith, who has been shadowing Mrs. Jones, who is in the highly suspicious position of a soldier's wife, has caught her drinking, the War Office may and will stop the relief.⁴⁹

In response, the Home Office and the Army Council tempered the language of the circular, recommending lenient treatment of wives "deprived of the company and guidance of their husbands." Yet they left its essential message unchanged: allowances would be cut off for offenses of a moral nature.⁵⁰

War Office intransigence crystallised public opposition. Both Sylvia Pankhurst's East London Federation of Suffragettes and Charlotte Despard's Women's Freedom League held demonstrations protesting state surveillance of soldiers' wives, and the two leaders formed a "League of Rights" to help women press their claims.⁵¹ More surprisingly, when police were furnished with lists of all soldiers' wives, the chief commissioner of the London police himself opposed the policy, stating that he could not "understand why anybody should assume that the wife of a soldier is necessarily a person who required the police to look after her."⁵² Even the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children intervened on behalf of the wives, concluding their own investigation of drunkenness and neglect of children with the finding that "no greater slander has ever been circulated . . . than the assertion that soldiers' wives as a class were lacking in the spirit of self-restraint, or that they were given to neglecting their children."⁵³

Critics of state surveillance stressed, once again, that the allowance was a "right." As Liberal M.P. Robert Outhwaite told the Commons: "This [separation allowance] is an amount paid by the state as part of the wage of the soldier. That is what it amounts to; and he [*sic*] has no right to be debarred from the receipt of it because the police may think that his wife is not conducting herself in a fit and proper manner."⁵⁴ Yet the demand that allowances be treated not as a "dole" but as "a national obligation for services rendered"⁵⁵ only underscored the fact that the allowance was the rightful property of the man "rendering services," and that the woman was eligible to receive *his* income only by virtue of her relation to him as "wife." Labour and Liberal politicians opposed any surveillance—charitable or state—of soldiers' wives, but investigation of women's marital status flowed inevi-

⁴⁸ Workers National Committee *Minutes*, November 9, 1914; *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 68 (November 12, 1914): cols. 50–52.

⁴⁹ "The Soldier's Wife," *The Nation*, 16 (November 14, 1914): 189.

⁵⁰ Home Office to Chief Constables, no. 226, November 28, 1914, PRO, HO 158/16.

⁵¹ Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Home Front* (London, 1932), 102–04, 131–32; Andro Linklater, *An Unhusbanded Life: Charlotte Despard, Suffragette, Socialist and Sinn Féiner* (London, 1980), 181. On the issue of surveillance of women during the war, see Lucy Bland, "In the Name of Protection: The Policing of Women in the First World War," in Julia Brophy and Carol Smart, eds., *Women-in-Law: Explorations in Law, Family, and Sexuality* (London, 1985), 23–49.

⁵² Women's Advisory Committee, Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic), Minutes of Evidence of Sir Edward Henry, p. 3, PRO, HO 185/258.

⁵³ *The Child's Guardian*, Special Edition (January 1915), 5.

⁵⁴ *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 68 (November 12, 1914): col. 160.

⁵⁵ Rowland Kenney, "Soldiers' Dependents," *English Review*, 19 (December 1914): 116.

tably from their own definition of allowances as the husband's right. The state, paying out income in the absence of men, thus could not avoid a peculiar question: under what conditions, and for how long, would a woman be considered a "wife"? Legally, the marriage contract entitled the wife to maintenance and enjoined fidelity and cohabitation, although the bargain was often popularly understood as maintenance for housework.⁵⁶ The War Office, like the charities, endorsed both definitions, scrutinizing legal and economic ties and moral behavior when determining wives' eligibility.

When state administration replaced charitable control, then, the use of moral "tests" continued. Indeed, when the Statutory Committee took over the administration of allowances, it showed itself particularly eager to enforce the domestic regularity of wives. In drawing up new guidelines for forfeiture, it used a report by the Liquor Control Board's "Women's Advisory Committee" to revive the campaign against the excessive use of alcohol by wives. The Advisory Committee contended that a range of social ills—including crime, "race suicide," improvidence, "feeble-mindedness," "reckless procreation," and "immorality and faithlessness . . . to their absent husbands"—could be traced to drinking among soldiers' wives. The Statutory Committee appeared to believe the committee and, in order to deal with such social deviants, happily endorsed a wide range of restrictions and reforms, including the payment of allowances through trustees for a probationary period when the woman was felt to be using the money improperly.⁵⁷ The probationary system was deemed, in the words of Mrs. H. F. Wood, honorary secretary of the London SSFA, "the most powerful weapon with regard to women in receipt of allowances . . . where an undue proportion of the income is spent on drink."⁵⁸ Judged successful by the Statutory Committee, the probationary system was maintained when responsibility for forfeiture was transferred in 1917 to the Ministry of Pensions, under which investigations and forfeitures reached an all-time high.⁵⁹

The Ministry of Pensions also took its role as the husband's sexual surrogate seriously, investigating accusations of infidelity with care. In a rather bald admis-

⁵⁶ For the law on maintenance in Britain, see Morris Finer and O. R. McGregor, *The History of the Obligation to Maintain*, Appendix 5 to Volume 2 of the *Report of the Committee on One-Parent Families*, PP 1974, vol. 16, Cmd. 5629; Iris Minor, "Working-Class Women and Matrimonial Law Reform, 1880–1914," in David E. Martin and David Rubinstein, eds., *Ideology and the Labour Movement* (London, 1979), 103–24. Minor convincingly argues that "[a]lthough the rules governing sexual conduct featured centrally in the divorce code, there does not seem to be any evidence of this being of such great importance in the lives of the working population"; 114. Popular understandings of marriage are also fruitfully explored in Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890–1940* (Oxford, 1980); Diana Gittins, *Fair Sex: Family Size and Structure, 1900–39* (London, 1982); Pat Ayers and Jan Lambert, "Marriage Relations, Money, and Domestic Violence in Working-Class Liverpool, 1919–39," in Jane Lewis, ed., *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850–1940* (London, 1986), 195–219; Ellen Ross, "'Fierce Questions and Taunts': Married Life in Working-Class London, 1870–1914," *Feminist Studies*, 8 (Fall 1982): 575–602.

⁵⁷ Women's Advisory Committee, Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic), *Report*, February 18, 1916, PRO, HO 185/258. There is no evidence to sustain the committee's conclusions of overall temperance among the moral majority and utter dissolution among the drunken few. To the contrary, some social investigators found that moderate social drinking by young working women became acceptable for the first time during the war, but that overall drunkenness declined. See "Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into Excessive Drinking among Women in Birmingham," August 10, 1916, PRO, HO 185/238; Pankhurst, *Home Front*, 98–101.

⁵⁸ The quote is from materials sent to the War Office by the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic), May 25, 1916, PRO, PIN 15/3304.

⁵⁹ For forfeiture regulations under the Statutory Committee, see Home Office to Chief Constables, October 4, 1916, PRO, PIN 15/3304; War Pensions Etc. Statutory Committee, "Forfeiture of Separation Allowance," Circular No. 19 to Local Committees, December 1916, PRO, PIN 15/3304.

TABLE 3
Forfeiture of Allowances by the Statutory Committee
and the Ministry of Pensions,
October 1916–March 1920

<i>Period</i>	<i>Cases considered</i>	<i>Allowances forfeited</i>	<i>Decided by</i>
Oct. 1916–Dec. 1916	1,000	n.a.	Statutory Committee
Jan. 1917–Jun. 1917	5,000	n.a.	Statutory Committee
Jul. 1917–Aug. 1917	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Sep. 1917–Mar. 1918	10,151	4,292	Ministry of Pensions
Apr. 1918–Mar. 1919	16,983	6,302	Ministry of Pensions
Apr. 1919–Mar. 1920	8,702	2,824	Ministry of Pensions
Totals	41,836	13,418	

It has proven impossible to locate reliable figures on forfeiture for the period before October 1916, when responsibility for deciding cases was transferred to the War Pensions Etc. Statutory Committee, although information sent by the War Office to the Women's Advisory Committee to the Liquor Traffic Control Board states that a total of some 4,500 cases were considered by the army authorities in cooperation with the SSFA during the period from September 1914 to November 1915.

SOURCES: War Office to Women's Advisory Committee, Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic), December 13, 1915, PRO, PIN 15/3304; Annual Reports of the Minister of Pensions, First through Third (*PP* 1919, vol. 27, Cmd. 14; 1920, vol. 22); Report of the War Pensions Etc. Statutory Committee, *PP* 1917–18, vol. 17, Cd. 8750.

sion that marriage was, in legal terms, a contract exchanging the obligation to maintain a woman for exclusive sexual access, the ministry stated "[t]hat the woman by her infidelity has forfeited her right to be supported by her husband. Separation allowance being a payment by the State in lieu of the civil maintenance of which the wife is deprived by reason of her husband's military service, there is no obligation on the State to continue this payment if the husband would no longer be under a duty to maintain her if he were now in civil life."⁶⁰ Since the wife's infidelity would give the husband the right to claim a divorce, the ministry claimed to make every effort to contact the soldier and ask whether he condoned his wife's misconduct; if he did not, they stopped the allowance, "the woman's repentance and present good character notwithstanding."⁶¹ Between October of 1916 and March of 1920, the Statutory Committee and the Ministry of Pensions investigated at least 40,000 women (between 1 and 2 percent) for misconduct of various types and cut off the allowances of more than 13,000 of them (see Table 3). This was not in itself a high number, but it served to deter other women. As the Women's Advisory Committee to the Liquor Control Board noted, the stoppage of an allowance had a "good effect" on the offender's entire neighborhood.⁶²

The system of surveillance, probation, and forfeiture operated by the Ministry of Pensions was deeply influenced by the ideology and administrative practices of the charities. Yet, although both the SSFA and the Ministry of Pensions made

⁶⁰ Minister of Pensions, *First Annual Report of the Minister of Pensions to 31st March 1918*, *PP* 1919, vol. 27, Cmd. 14, p. 69.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* Despite these claims, parliamentary spokesmen for the Ministry of Pensions and the War Office admitted that, although the husband was always informed, forfeiture could not be delayed until he replied. See *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 98 (November 6, 1917): cols. 1966–67; vol. 123 (December 16, 1919): col. 257.

⁶² Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) to War Office, May 25, 1916, PRO, PIN 15/3304.

allowances conditional on moral “tests,” the logic and purpose of these tests differed. The SSFA visitors hoped to reform the home life of the nation by raising the standard of housework and “mothering”; they therefore made aid conditional on tests of cleanliness, temperance, and child health. The War Office, on the other hand, was principally concerned with the viability of the war effort, the Ministry of Pensions with justice for soldiers. They approached women essentially through their husbands, probably interfering less in their lives but nevertheless acting as the guarantors of domestic regularity and wifely chastity through their forfeiture rules. The shift in administrative control from the charities to the state thus strengthened the alliance between the emerging welfare state and the citizen-soldier. As the soldier’s surrogate, the ministry made aid conditional on the wife’s fulfillment of her obligations, contractual and moral, to her absent husband.

The role of the Ministry of Pensions as the arbiter of domestic morality went virtually unnoticed—with the exception of a blistering protest sent by Nina Boyle of the militant Women’s Freedom League to the ministry in December of 1917. Why were women investigated, she asked, since no inquiries were made “in regard to the husbands or male relations of these women and their moral conduct at the front, either in relation to alien women or the houses of ill-fame tolerated in the military areas”?⁶³ Compelling as Boyle’s criticism was, it was not really relevant. Forfeiture for infidelity was not an isolated and egregious case of administrative prurience; it was central to a benefit system structured around marital status insofar as marriage was defined, legally and conventionally, as a contract exchanging male maintenance for female chastity. In view of the amount of attention paid by feminist historians to the ways the state sanctions the paradigm of the male breadwinner and dependent wife, it is worth underscoring the centrality of these issues of sexual morality to the governmental and parliamentary concept of the marital bargain. Members of Parliament did not object to allowances being cut off for immorality, only to forfeiture without the husband’s consent.⁶⁴ Issues of sexual control and sexual access underlay both the “right to maintain” rhetoric and the state’s sanctions. Bluntly, it was women’s bodies and not women’s labor that were to be “bought” by the state and safeguarded until the husband’s return.

BY 1917, THE PRESSURES OF WAR had led the state to accept the introduction of benefits for soldiers’ wives on an unprecedented scale. The logic underlying this program assumed not only that male maintenance of women and children was desirable but also that state recognition of economic and sexual rights over wives and children was a right of the male citizen. Women’s access to state benefits was made independent of their own work or need and mediated entirely by men. From this viewpoint, the provision of separation allowances appears as a key moment in which the presumption of male maintenance was implanted at the heart of an incipient welfare state.

But how, precisely, could allowances influence the later development of social

⁶³ Boyle to Hodge, December 8, 1917, PRO, PIN 15/3305.

⁶⁴ *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 98 (November 6, 1917): cols. 1966–67; vol. 123 (December 16, 1919): col. 257. Similarly, the government was able to quiet objections to the Statutory Committee’s rights to declare allowances forfeited by agreeing to limit forfeiture to pensions and allowances of wives, widows, and dependents, excluding those of the men themselves. The clause was then agreed to without discussion; *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 73 (July 6, 1915): cols. 310–30.

TABLE 4
Allowances, Wages, and the Cost of Living
(shillings/pence)

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
<i>Separation Allowances</i>						
Wife and two children	14/7	21/-	21/-	24/6	24/6	31/-
Wife and four children	17/6	25/-	25/-	31/-	31/-	40/6
<i>Wages</i>						
MEN'S						
Fitter and Turner	38/11	42/10	43/2	52/2	67/4	77/5
Coal Miner	31/9	36/5	42/6	50/2	60/2	70/2
Bricklayer's laborer	29/1	30/2	33/7	39/-	53/7	65/2
Agricultural laborer	16/10	18/10	n.a.	23/6	31/9	38/-
WOMEN'S						
Women (non-munition)	13/6	14/9	15/10	19/1	23/6	n.a.
<i>Cost of Living Index</i>						
Ministry of Labour	100	125	145	180	205	210
Bowley's modification	100	120	135	160	180	185

Wages and allowances are as of July, except for those for agricultural laborers, which are from April 1915, January 1917, August 1918 and May 1919. Men's wages and cost-of-living indexes are from A. L. Bowley, *Prices and Wages in the United Kingdom, 1914-1920* (Oxford, 1921). Fitters' wages are time rates, not earnings, derived from Bowley's indexes; miners' wages are average weekly earnings for given year at Sir Hugh Bell's Messrs. Bell Bros. Women's wages, which are weekly May-August weekly averages, are from Ministry of Reconstruction, Women's Employment Committee, *Report, PP*, 1918, vol. 14, Cd. 9239, pp. 82-83; War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, *Report*, 1919, vol. 31, Cmd. 135, pp. 150-51.

policy, since they would not, to any significant extent, outlast the war? The answer to this question can be found in part in the central government's response to demobilization, labor dislocation, and popular unrest immediately after the war. Ironically, the shift toward a gender-based model of welfare provision was also unwittingly aided by the responses of feminists and Labour women, who misunderstood the administrative logic underlying the allowance system but welcomed its practical effects. Their confusion was understandable, since the beneficial consequences of the direct payment of almost half a billion pounds to women and children were far more visible than the Ministry of Pension's attempt to mediate receipt by the husband's consent. Before turning to the administrative legacy of allowances, it is worth looking briefly at the impact on the women who received or administered them, because only in such a context does the course of social policy in the interwar period become fully comprehensible.

Recipients and observers disagreed heartily among themselves about the adequacy and impact of allowances; wartime tales of wives "spending freely on gold watches and bracelets, fur coats and gramophones" coexisted with outraged protests that rates were far below the level necessary to live decently.⁶⁵ Reactions varied in part because the flat rates of benefit meant very different things to different people. A comparison of allowances to male wages (as in Table 4), shows that, while "soldier's pay" meant real privation for most families of skilled workers,

⁶⁵ Compare, for example, Recruiting Officer, "Separation Allowances," *The Times* (December 28, 1916), 7, with the Workers' National Committee and Women's Labour League evidence to the Select Committee, *Minutes, PP* 1914-16, vol. 4, 34-64.

it could be something of a windfall for women with many children or with low-paid or unreliable husbands.⁶⁶

Such a strict comparison between male wages and allowances is misleading, however, for even though politicians invariably discussed allowances as a pure alternative to wages, the vast majority of soldiers' households counted on both allowances and wages from other family members. Some employers also paid pensions to wives of their enlisted workers; in other cases, wives fell back on other strategies of casual earning such as taking in lodgers.⁶⁷ Even where allowances were lower than wages, the absence of the family's costliest member and the nature of the payment system would inevitably affect the distribution of income within the family. Allowances, being regular, proportional to the size of the family, and at the entire disposal of the wife, could thus have safeguarded living standards for women and nonearning children.⁶⁸

The contention that women benefited as much if not more from even moderate allowances paid to them as from wages paid to their husbands was upheld by an investigation undertaken in 1915 and 1916 by the Liverpool Women's Industrial Council, of which Eleanor Rathbone was a prominent member. The council consulted health, housing, police, school, and charitable authorities and found "preponderating evidence that the effect of separation allowances has been good, especially as regards the health and general well-being of the children."⁶⁹ Crime, drunkenness, infant mortality, and convictions for child abuse had all declined, and pawnshops reported a substantial fall in business. Restrictions on pub hours and the expansion of social work were partly responsible, admitted the council, but credit was largely due to "the regular and more adequate income, and the greater economic independence of women."⁷⁰ While subsequent historical research has confirmed the council's finding of a broad improvement in civilian health during the war, it is impossible to isolate allowances from the other factors responsible for that improvement. The most that can safely be said is that families on separation allowances shared in the general rise in working-class living standards during World War I and that high wages, increased employment of women, allowances, and the absence of men all helped to ensure that those improvements were felt especially by women and children.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Contemporary accounts confirm this judgment. Robert Roberts, writing of life in Salford during the war, recalled that "[m]any wives of fighting men discovered that they could manage far better on government allowances than they ever did on their breadwinner's meagre wage"; his recollections are corroborated by the detailed evidence presented by social workers to the Select Committee on Naval and Military Services (Pensions and Grants), which showed that allowances were often roughly equivalent to the housekeeping money given to wives by unskilled laborers. See Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum* (Harmondsworth, 1973), 203; Select Committee, *Appendices*, PP 1914–16, vol. 4, 186–237.

⁶⁷ In June of 1918, one government committee collected budgets from 231 service families and found that there were 90 wage earners for every 100 such families. Working Classes Cost of Living Committee 1918, *Report*, PP 1918, vol. 7, Cd. 8980, 14. For a discussion of how women supplemented allowances by taking in lodgers, see Elizabeth Roberts, "Women's Strategies, 1890–1940," in Lewis, *Labour and Love*, 233.

⁶⁸ A good deal has been written on unequal consumption in the family; see, in particular, Laura Oren, "The Welfare of Women in Laboring Families: England, 1860–1950," in Mary Hartman and Lois Banner, eds., *Clio's Consciousness Raised* (New York, 1974), 226–44. For an analysis of the meaning of differential consumption, see Christine Delphy, "Sharing the Same Table: Consumption and the Family," in *Close to Home: A Materialist Analysis of Women's Oppression* (London, 1984), 40–56.

⁶⁹ Emma Mahler, "The Social Effects of Separation Allowances: An Experiment in the Endowment of Motherhood," *The Englishwoman*, 36, no. 108 (December 1917): 196.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 198. For corroboration of the council's findings on pawnbroking, see Melanie Tebbutt, *Making Ends Meet: Pawnbroking and Working-Class Credit* (Leicester, 1983), 138–40.

⁷¹ On the general improvement in civilian health and living standards, see Richard Wall, "English and German Families and the First World War, 1914–1918," in Richard Wall and Jay Winter, eds., *The*

This cautious conclusion takes no account, however, of the more elusive but important psychological consequences for wives of their new status as claimants on the state. Although government ministers might define allowances as soldiers' pay, for the vast majority of women who received them directly through the post office and did not attract investigation, these payments felt like their money. While relatively few wives may have shared the sentiment expressed by one—"It seems too good to be true, a pound a week and my husband away"⁷²—even those unhappy at the rupture of a companionable marriage were forced by circumstances to take on new responsibilities. Soldiers' wives learned to intervene in the public sphere in their own interest: they responded angrily to charges of drunkenness, lobbied Labour organizations for increased rates, and kept up a constant stream of letters to their M.P.s.⁷³ The experience of receiving allowances, presumably conditional on being a "dependent" of a man, forced wives beyond such "dependent" roles. In the absence of men, and in direct contrast to their administrative logic, allowances created a new direct relationship between the state and the working-class wife.

This new relationship of both independence and political activism raised the hopes of feminists and Labour women eager to transform women's status in domestic and public life and suggested to them a new model of social citizenship for women. In 1916, Eleanor Rathbone wrote:

The difference which the Separation Allowance system has made to many [dependent wives], the sense of security, of ease, of dignity that they are tasting for the first time in their lives, is one of the very few good things that the ill-wind of war has brought . . . It will be interesting to see how these women will take it when the war is over and they are asked to go back to their old status of dependency. I confess to hoping that the seeds of "divine discontent" will have been implanted in them too deeply to be eradicated, and that we feminists will then find our opportunity.⁷⁴

Rathbone hoped that wives would demand a new social order for mothers and children or, more practically, the continuation of separation allowances in peacetime and to all women. As early as February of 1916, Rathbone began arguing that, although separation allowances may have originated in military needs, in practice they functioned as "a system of State endowment of maternity" and could easily be seen as "a statutory payment to a woman in respect of her functions as wife and mother."⁷⁵ Such an interpretation would, Rathbone felt, be entirely appropriate,

Upheaval of War: Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914–1918 (Cambridge, 1988), 43–106; J. M. Winter, "The Impact of the First World War on Civilian Health in Britain," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 30 (August 1977): 487–503; J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (Cambridge, 1986); Bernard Waites, *A Class Society at War: England, 1914–1918* (Leamington Spa, 1987), 163–69.

⁷² Barrington, "Soldiers' and Sailors' Families," 589.

⁷³ On protests by soldiers' wives against charges of drunkenness, see "A Soldier's Wife," "Drinking among Women," *The Times* (October 8, 1914), 9; "The Soldier's Wife: Protest against Police Inspection," *The Times*, (December 11, 1914), 5; "The Revolt of the Soldier's Wife," *The Nation*, 16 (December 12, 1914): 326–27. Labour recognition of wives' militancy is found in WNC *Minutes*, December 14, 1916, and in William Adamson's speech to the Commons, in which he warned Minister of Pensions George Barnes that "very large associations of the dependents of our soldiers and sailors . . . feel that they are not being treated fairly and justly"; *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 110 (October 31, 1918): col. 1711.

⁷⁴ Rathbone, "Separation Allowances: An Experiment in the State Endowment of Maternity: II," *Common Cause*, 7, no. 362 (March 17, 1916): 648.

⁷⁵ Rathbone, "Separation Allowances: I," *Common Cause*, 7, no. 359 (February 25, 1915): 611–12. In her later campaign for family allowances, Rathbone referred to separation allowances as a precedent for her proposals; see *The Disinherited Family* (1924; rpt. edn., London, 1986), 173–75. Suzie Fleming, in "Eleanor Rathbone: Spokeswoman for a Movement," the introduction to the new edition of *Disinherited Family*, extended Rathbone's claim by describing allowances as "the first extensive experiment in a State

since the "service" of motherhood was undoubtedly a citizenship function that merited social rights.

Allowances were never intended to serve as a system of payment for motherhood, however, since they were contingent on the soldier's fighting, not the wife's mothering. They were paid directly to women because no other option was possible (the men being at the front), but the effects on wives' own health and independence were largely unintended and unforeseen. The feminist "misreading" of allowances did have consequences, though, especially for the shift toward maternalism within women's politics in the postwar period. Between 1916 and 1918, arguments for the endowment of motherhood were revived by women in feminist organizations and on the Labour left and placed before politicians and government committees. These women abandoned the moralizing model of the charities to argue that social and economic benefits for women were a "right" due women themselves, because of their own distinct contribution to the state: motherhood. Social policies, rather than votes or wage work, would be the means of freeing the nation's mothers: with that claim, feminists began a campaign for cash benefits for mothers that ended only with the passage of the Family Allowances Act in 1945.⁷⁶

In arguing that mothering was a citizenship "function" equivalent to that of soldiering, feminists produced a rhetoric capable of sustaining demands for independent social rights for mothers. But they also allowed a dangerous analogy between the national obligations of the soldier and those of fertile women and betrayed their naïveté about the malleability and disinterestedness of the British state. Like many other early twentieth-century politicians, Rathbone clung to a concept of the state as, in the phrase favored by socialists, "the community organized," unproblematically translating democratic sentiment into policy; she thus viewed the prospect of state-supervised reproduction without apprehension.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, while the wartime state proved to be a porous entity, absorbing and expelling public and private bodies when faced with new needs, the question of which needs were recognized was by no means popularly determined. Separation allowances went through on the scale they did only because they were seen as a military necessity; even then, the nerve centers of government—the Treasury and the War Office—consistently showed themselves less than enthusiastic over rate increases and widening state control.⁷⁸ The ability of soldiers to force the hand of the state was strictly contingent on their ability to muster parliamentary support for

wage for housework"; 45. She avoided the problem of the conditions tied to allowances by simply claiming that popular protests forced the government to grant them with "no strings attached" (46)—an appealing assertion quite at odds with the historical record.

⁷⁶ For these later campaigns, see Susan Pedersen, "Social Policy and the Reconstruction of the Family in Britain and France, 1900–1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1989); John Macnicol, *The Movement for Family Allowances, 1918–1945: A Study in Social Policy Development* (London, 1980); a more optimistic assessment of "welfare feminism" is offered in Jane Lewis, "Beyond Suffrage: English Feminism in the 1920s," *Maryland Historian*, 6 (Spring 1975): 1–17.

⁷⁷ Rathbone did in fact justify some degree of state surveillance of mothers. Discussing wartime pensions and allowances for women, she wrote, "surely if the state is acting *in loco parentis* it has a right to be satisfied that they [the children] are properly looked after. It seems to me a pseudofeminism which assumes that all mothers are good mothers and denies or ignores the principle that to take money from the State for discharging a certain duty involves a responsibility to the State and justifies such supervision as is necessary to see that the duty is being properly carried out"; Rathbone, "Pensions and Allowances," 664.

⁷⁸ For War Office and Treasury objections, see the evidence of Sir Charles Harris to the Select Committee, *Minutes, PP 1914–16*, vol. 4, 1–18; and the dissenting notes by H. W. Forster (War Office) and Stanley Baldwin (Treasury) to the Sixth Report of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Pay Committee, July 17, 1918, Paper G-217, PRO, CAB 24/5.

their case and, ultimately, on their power to withhold their essential service in wartime. Unorganized and scarcely represented in party politics, mothers had no such power.

BY THE END OF THE WAR, the lines for the political battle over the nature of citizenship and the structure of the postwar welfare state had been redrawn. The Labour and Liberal representatives of working men had won their campaign for state recognition of universal, need-blind welfare benefits for those fulfilling the functions of the (male) citizen. They had also successfully routed the charities, which would never again seriously challenge the state monopoly of the means and conditions of relief and entitlement. Most critically, by establishing wives' dependency as not merely normal but as a male right, and by introducing welfare benefits that presumed that dependency without tests of the woman's own economic status, Labour and Liberal politicians constructed a logic of welfare administration that has remained at the heart of the British state ever since.

The state shed its network of economic controls in the years after the war, but the administrative logic developed in allowances held. The government had developed plans during the war to ease the impact of demobilization on servicemen and their families by extending separation allowances in the form of an "out of work" donation, but such aid was intended as a temporary expedient only. However, the failure of wartime plans to extend unemployment insurance to new classes of workers, and fears of labor unrest, led the government to respond to the immediate postwar dislocation by introducing a comparable scheme for civilian workers. Although the inclusion of dependents' allowances in such benefits was roundly denounced by experts and by parliamentary committees as contrary to the principles of insurance, they proved impossible to abolish. At first only part of the temporary "dole," they were extended to insured men with the passage of the Unemployed Workers' Dependents (Temporary Provision) Bill in 1921. The interwar period saw a piecemeal extension of this logic, as other social programs, however parsimonious, incorporated benefits for wives and children on the assumption that men had a right to have their families maintained during legitimate interruptions of earnings.⁷⁹

That these benefits were considered the property of male citizens rather than their wives was reiterated during the debate over an analogous policy to separation allowances: pensions for widows. Widows' pensions were one costly consequence of this most idealistic and sanguine of wars; by 1921, some 239,000 widows and 395,000 children had been awarded war pensions.⁸⁰ Politicians had won extended eligibility and increased rates for these women during the war by employing the

⁷⁹ For criticism of the out-of-work donation, see Committee of Inquiry into the Scheme of Out-of-Work Donation, *Final Report*, PP 1919, vol. 30, Cmd. 305, p. 9; also Sir William Beveridge, "Unemployment Insurance in the War and After," in *War and Insurance* (London, 1927), 227–50. For the impact of the war on unemployment insurance and relief, see Noelle Whiteside, "Welfare Legislation and the Unions during the First World War," *Historical Journal*, 23 (1980): 857–74; W. R. Garside, *British Unemployment, 1919–1939* (Cambridge, 1990), 34–38; Paul Johnson, *Land Fit for Heroes* (Chicago, 1968), 332–34; Maurice Bruce, *The Coming of the Welfare State* (London, 1961), 239–42; and Bentley B. Gilbert, *British Social Policy, 1914–1939* (London, 1970), 75–86. For the extension of dependents' benefits in the interwar period, see Hilary Land, "The Introduction of Family Allowances, an Act of Historic Justice?" in Phoebe Hall, et al., *Change, Choice and Conflict in Social Policy* (London, 1975), 157–230; John Macnicol, "Family Allowances and Less Eligibility," in Pat Thane, ed., *The Origins of British Social Policy* (London, 1978), 173–202.

⁸⁰ *Fourth Annual Report of the Ministry of Pensions*, PP 1921, vol. 20, pp. 25, 31.

familiar rhetoric of soldiers' rights, but, as with allowances, such a language was not easily containable. If soldiers' widows deserved aid, politicians asked soon after the war, why not the widows of miners or railwaymen? Rhys Davies, a Labour member, put the case perfectly in 1924:

I have always held that there is no duty that a man could ever perform of greater value to the state than that of being a miner, a bricklayer, a farm labourer, or anything else of that kind; and we shall not be satisfied on these benches until the man is dealt with as generously by the State in his capacity as a worker as he is when he dons khaki or wears a naval uniform.⁸¹

Such arguments were successful, with pensions for civilian widows incorporated into the insurance system in 1925 and 1929. Yet the women receiving these pensions were, by such rhetoric, almost entirely effaced: they merited concern only as the residual legatees of their citizen-husbands. Policy makers, while granting men's claims on behalf of dependent wives, limited women's independent access to wages and welfare by unequal pay, discriminatory insurance legislation, and the selective use of the marriage bar. In this twofold manner—by collapsing family benefits into an insurance system structured around the male wage and by limiting women's economic opportunities—the emerging welfare state helped to create the very gender relations it took as normative. Separation allowances contributed to the construction of a linkage between male domestic authority and social policy that reached its ultimate expression in the Beveridgian welfare state.

Feminists, drawing on an uncomfortable rhetoric of motherhood as national service, continued to expose the restrictive and gender-based assumptions underlying British social policies. Motherhood, they argued, should be seen as a form of service to the state, rewarded by "separate but equal" welfare rights. Yet, while the feminist development of a rhetoric of social citizenship posited an ethical equivalence between male and female forms of "service," this theoretical equality was traduced and undercut by institutional structures and political forces able to define women's role as reproductive but private, of concern to the state only in the absence of men. Feminists spent the interwar years mired in pro-family rhetoric, while looking vainly to the state to iron out domestic inequalities of wealth and power.

⁸¹ *Parliamentary Debates* (H.C.), 5th ser., vol. 161 (March 6, 1923): col. 382.

Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth-Century Paris

RACHEL G. FUCHS and LESLIE PAGE MOCH

JULIETTE SAUGET SET OUT FOR PARIS at the age of seventeen in the company of an elder, married sister who resided there. Born in 1886 into an impoverished woodcutter's family, Juliette left home as a gesture of solidarity with another sister, whom her father had struck in anger. In Paris, her married sister advised her to work as a domestic servant, because Juliette needed lodgings as well as a job. In her first position, she complained one night at supper that the seventeen-year-old son of the family had come to her room with the intention of having sexual relations with her. The family laughed in reply, so she felt she had to leave. This incident marked the beginning of a series of jobs: first in Paris, then in Amiens—the capital of her home province, where other of her siblings resided—then back in Paris. Eventually, she developed a social life at the public, outdoor dances in Paris. At age twenty-four, she became pregnant.¹

The story of Germinie Lacerteux is better known, for this fictionalized account of a domestic servant who worked in the home of Edmund and Jules Goncourt appeared in a popular novel of the 1860s. Emile Zola, in his introduction to one of the many editions of *Germinie Lacerteux*, calls our attention to the plight of this “whole bleeding corner of humanity.”² The character Germinie was born some fifty years earlier than Juliette Sauget, in eastern France. The youngest daughter of poor weavers, she and her sisters struggled to make ends meet after the deaths of her mother, father, and elder brother. At the age of fourteen, Germinie followed her elder sisters to Paris, where she worked as maid to the mistress of a café. Before the year was out, an old waiter raped and impregnated her. After bearing a stillborn baby, Germinie returned to domestic service. Eventually, she met and courted the son of a neighborhood shopkeeper. Germinie wanted nothing more than to marry, but instead she again became pregnant.

Neither Germinie Lacerteux nor Juliette Sauget married the father of her children. Both the woman and the character had come to Paris following siblings who had worked as servants. Their story was far from unusual for single migrant women in the nineteenth century. During this century of mass migration, men and women, predominantly single, left rural areas for the cities of the European

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¹ Marthe-Juliette Mouillon, “Un Exemple de migration rurale: De la Somme dans la capitale: Domestique de la Belle Epoque à Paris (1904–1912),” *Etudes de la région parisienne*, 44 (1970): 1–9.

² Emile Zola, “Edmond and Jules Goncourt,” in Edmond Goncourt and Jules Goncourt, *Germinie Lacerteux* (Paris, 1910), viii.

continent and for the New World in unprecedented numbers. Frequent movement in and out of cities made this an especially mobile age.³ Women traveled farther from home than ever before. In France, each generation of nineteenth-century women was more mobile than the last; by the generation born in the 1890s, women were more likely than men to leave their home districts. Migration streams of workers from the countryside to cities came to include, and even be dominated by, women.⁴

Despite its importance, female migration in Europe and the aspects of migrant life unique to women are only now being explored. The major studies of migration on the European continent have emphasized male labor migrants. Consequently, migration has been defined in terms of the male experience, and differences between male and female migration patterns are not well understood.⁵ Upon arrival in the city, men and women found different jobs, and, oftentimes, men and women from the same villages moved to different locations to take employment.

³ Abel Châtelain, *Les Migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1976); Steve Hochstadt, "Migration and Industrialization in Germany, 1815–1977," *Social Science History*, 16 (1981): 445–68; Dirk Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies* (Westport, Conn., 1985). Although population records suggest that mobility reached unprecedented levels in the period between 1850 and World War I, the absence of comparable data for the earlier period makes it impossible to know for certain. German migration statistics reveal an extremely high population turnover for the period 1880–1914. For example, up to 60 percent of the population of West German industrial cities of Essen and Bochum, and up to 30 percent of the administrative center Cologne, left or entered the city every year in the last half of the nineteenth century; James Jackson, Jr., "Migration in Duisburg, 1867–1890: Occupational and Familial Contexts," *Journal of Urban History*, 8 (1982): esp. 244–45; see also Hochstadt, "Migration and Industrialization in Germany, 1815–1977." For the mobility revealed by Belgian and Italian population registers, see George Alter, *Family and the Female Life Course: The Women of Verviers, Belgium, 1849–1880* (Madison, Wis., 1988), chap. 2; David Kertzer and Dennis Hogan, "On the Move: Migration in an Italian Community, 1865–1921," *Social Science History*, 9 (1985): 1–23.

Migration was not measured directly in France or England. High population turnover is measured only indirectly in French records; censuses and urban marriage records indicate that a high proportion of the urban population was born in the provinces. National trends are described in Châtelain, *Les Migrants temporaires en France de 1800 à 1914*; Yves Tugault, *La Mésure de la mobilité: Cinq études sur les migrations internes* (Paris, 1973), 30–37; Daniel Courgeau, "Three Centuries of Spatial Mobility in France," *UNESCO Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences*, 51 (1982); Philip Ogden and Paul White, eds., *Migrants in Modern France: Population Mobility in the Later 19th and 20th Centuries* (London, 1989); see also Louis Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1950). Only a few case studies and specialized public assistance records suggest the actual volume of movement in France; see Michael Hanagan, "Nascent Proletarians: Migration Patterns and Class Formation in the Stephanois Region, 1840–1880," in *Migration in Modern France*, 74–96. Some public assistance records that suggest the volume of movement into and out of Paris are the annual reports of L'Assistance Publique. See Administration Générale de l'Assistance Publique à Paris, Service des Enfants Assistés de la Seine, *Rapport présenté par le Directeur de l'Administration générale de l'Assistance publique à M. le Préfet de la Seine* (Montevrain, 1877–1904).

⁴ For the gender composition of migration streams, see Châtelain, *Les Migrants temporaires*, *passim*; Pierre Guillaume, *La Population de Bordeaux au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1972), 251–54; Leslie Page Moch, *Paths to the City: Regional Migration in Nineteenth-Century France* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1983); Jean-Pierre Poussou, *Bordeaux et le sud-ouest au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1983), 104–14. For exemplary studies of women and migration, see Caroline Brettell, "Hope and Nostalgia: Portuguese Migrant Women in Paris" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1978); and *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish* (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

⁵ See, for example, Lenard R. Berlanstein, *The Working People of Paris, 1871–1914* (Baltimore, Md., 1984); Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*; Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe, 1600–1900* (London, 1987); Hochstadt, "Migration and Industrialization in Germany, 1815–1977," 445–68; Steve Hochstadt, "Migration in Preindustrial Germany," *Central European History*, 16 (1983): 195–224; Leslie Page Moch, "The Family and Migration: News from the French," *Journal of Family History*, 11 (1986): 193–203. Studies of Old Regime migration are especially likely to ignore female migration altogether; see Jean-Pierre Bardet, *Rouen aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1983); and Abel Poitrineau, *Remues d'hommes* (Paris, 1983). Two recent exceptions are Poussou, *Bordeaux et le sud-ouest au XVIII^e siècle*; and William Sewell, Jr., *Structure and Mobility: The Men and Women of Marseille, 1820–1870* (Cambridge, 1985).

Women moved and lived in familial contexts more often than men; they moved to marry or, if single, to live with relatives, with their employer's family, or in supervised employer dormitories.⁶ Finally, although both male and female newcomers to the city were subject to exploitation in dangerous and ill-paying jobs, only the women were at risk of pregnancy. This was the biological manifestation of their economic and social vulnerability, and pregnancy was particularly devastating for a woman who did not marry. Aware of this situation, families, the church, private philanthropies, and municipal agencies tried, in different ways, to protect migrant women.

Like contemporaries of Juliette Sauget and Germinie Lacerteux, today's historians see a clear link between migration to the city and sexual vulnerability—that is, a connection between leaving home and the loss of social protection. Research on out-of-wedlock births seeks to explain the “illegitimacy boom” in West European cities between 1750 and 1850 in terms of women's poverty, geographic mobility, occupational instability, and absence of social protection.⁷ Louise Tilly, Joan Scott, and Miriam Cohen have pointed out that, while these women may have expected to marry their partners, the circumstances of migrant women's lives rendered them powerless. Cissie Fairchilds suggests that the increase in illegitimacy resulted from changes that limited women's security and familial protection, especially in the late eighteenth century, when poor women increasingly left home at an early age. Some migrated to the city, where their wages were insufficient. They frequently changed jobs, which made them susceptible to economic appeals and threats, vulnerable to seduction. Gradually, many eighteenth-century female servants realized that their only chance for male companionship was outside of marriage. George Alter has demonstrated that, in the nineteenth-century textile town of Verviers, similar social and economic pressures acted on women to deprive them of leverage in courtship and the marriage market.⁸

Illegitimate births were common in many, but not all, large European cities from the nineteenth into the twentieth century. In France, they were recorded most frequently in Paris.⁹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost 40 percent of all reported births in Paris and the surrounding area were illegitimate. By mid-century, that proportion declined to approximately 25 percent of the total reported births, where it remained until the end of the century. In the 1880s, when

⁶ Gay Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers of Auffy: Rural Industry and Sexual Division of Labor in a French Village, 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1986); Moch, *Paths to the City*, chap. 2; Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, *Women, Work and Family* (New York, 1978), 108.

⁷ Edward Shorter, “Female Emancipation, Birth Control, and Fertility in European History,” *AHR*, 78 (June 1973): 605–40; Edward Shorter, John Knodel, and Etienne van de Walle, “The Decline of Non-marital Fertility in Europe,” *Population Studies*, 25 (1971): 375–93. Illegitimacy in Germany was highest in the Southeast (esp. Bavaria and Saxony) with rates at the turn of the century higher than in French *départements*, except for the *département* of the Seine where Paris is located. Only Austria, Hungary, and Portugal had higher rates of illegitimacy. Illegitimacy rates were lower in western provinces of Germany at the turn of the century. See John Knodel, *The Decline of Fertility in Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 1974), 75–77; Etienne van de Walle, *The Female Population of France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1974), 181–82.

⁸ Alter, *Family and the Female Life Course*, chap. 5; Cissie Fairchilds, “Female Sexual Attitudes and the Rise of Illegitimacy: A Case Study,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 8 (1978): 627–67; Louise Tilly, Joan Scott, and Miriam Cohen, “Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6 (1976): 447–76.

⁹ The index for illegitimacy in nineteenth-century Paris is the percentage of illegitimate births of all live births. This ratio, though imprecise, is the only computation possible because of the lack of age-specific data on single women. In France, the urban *départements* surrounding the cities of Strasbourg, Marseille, Bordeaux, Lyon, and Paris stand out as the ones with the highest rates of illegitimacy; in addition, the industrial *départements* of the north have high illegitimacy rates; Etienne van de Walle, “Illegitimacy in France during the Nineteenth Century,” in Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith, eds., *Bastardy and Its Comparative History* (Cambridge, 1980), 264–77.

29 percent of Parisian babies were illegitimate, the figure for Vienna and Prague was 50 percent, 45 percent for Rome, 40 percent for Stockholm, 38 percent for Moscow, and 31 percent for Budapest. By contrast, only 4 percent of London's babies were born out of wedlock.¹⁰

Out-of-wedlock births were not an urban phenomenon alone; rural illegitimacy was high in some regions. In fact, historians, anthropologists, and demographers have emphasized the variety of contexts that produced high rates of illegitimacy: these have included local courtship culture in the Zurich highlands, marriage law in southern Germany, international emigration patterns in Portugal and Italy, and economic downturns in the English midlands.¹¹ Scholars have urged that pregnancies of single women be investigated in light of the particular circumstances that gave rise to them, rather than forcing a mechanistic, unitary framework on a phenomenon that occurred under a great variety of conditions.

We investigate the pregnancies of unmarried women in the context of migration to nineteenth-century Paris in order to illuminate the social and demographic context in a large city. Like most large cities on the Continent, Paris housed more women than men at the end of the nineteenth century, when its inhabitants numbered 3.8 million and its sex ratio was 89 for the city proper (that is, there were 89 men for every 100 women).¹² Its population became more female because French administration and Parisian commerce offered jobs for women in the expanding service sector and in the garment industry supported by the middle-class. The expansion of the bourgeoisie in Paris increased demand for domestic servants, the female workers who played a key role in both the history of migration and the nineteenth-century city.¹³ Such women, if they did not enter a well-established urban milieu, could have sexual relations but could not muster the resources to compel men to marry them. French law explicitly forbade the single mother to search for the father of her child or to hold him responsible for any child support. Their physical vulnerability and geographical mobility placed women at the heart of the processes that transformed the continent of Europe between 1815 and World War I—on the move away from home, out into the world, susceptible to the vagaries of social and economic fortune both at home and away.¹⁴

¹⁰ Emile Levasseur, *La Population française*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1889–92), 2: 400–01; Adna Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899; rpt. edn., Ithaca, N.Y., 1965), 405.

¹¹ For illegitimate birth rates in German cities and rural areas, see Weber, *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, 332–33, 335; John Knodel and Steven Hochstadt, "Urban and Rural Illegitimacy in Imperial Germany," in *Bastardy and Its Comparative History*, 301–02. For a comparison of regional illegitimacy rates in Europe, see Shorter, Knodel, and van de Walle, "Decline of Non-marital Fertility in Europe," 386–92. Rudolf Braun, "Early Industrialization and Demographic Change in the Canton of Zurich," in *Historical Studies of Changing Fertility* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), 289–334; Brettell, *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait*, chap. 5; Donna Gabaccia, "Migration and Women in 19th-Century Italy" (unpublished paper, Mercy College, 1988); Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers of Aulnay*, chap. 9; Frances Kraljic, "Round Trip Croatia, 1900–1914," in *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies* (Westport, Conn., 1985), 412–13; David Levine, *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism* (New York, 1977), chap. 9; Susan Cotts Watkins, *From Provinces into Nations: Demographic Integration in Western Europe, 1870–1960* (Princeton, 1990), chap. 2.

¹² Weber, *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, 289.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 278–79, 284, 289, 371, 374–76; Abel Châtelain, "Migrations et domesticité féminine urbaine en France, XVIII^e siècle–XX^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 47 (1969): 506–28; Theresa McBride, *The Domestic Revolution: The Modernization of Household Service in England and France, 1820–1920* (New York, 1976).

¹⁴ See, for example, Danielle Delhome, Nicole Gault, and Josiane Gonthier, *Les Premières institutrices laïques* (Paris, 1980); Olwen Hufton, "Women without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Family History*, 9 (1984): 355–76; Martine Segalen, *Love and Power in the Peasant Family*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago, 1983). Article 340 of the French Civil Code, in effect throughout the nineteenth century, forbade *recherche de la paternité*.

This article explores the complex connections between urban migration and illegitimate births in nineteenth-century Paris by looking at four issues: the link between the process of migration and single women's pregnancies, the extent to which single migrant status shaped women's occupational and sexual experience, the role of single mothers in the changing patterns of migration to Paris, and the connections between the migration of single women, networks of wet nurses, and traffic in foundlings. To do so, we investigate women's productive and reproductive behavior, their vulnerability and agency, as well as gender relations and the political and social constraints on poor women in a nineteenth-century metropolis. Such issues have significance beyond the nineteenth-century Parisian world because they advance historians' understanding of women's role in the larger drama of urban life.¹⁵

INFORMATION ABOUT PREGNANT MIGRANT WOMEN in the city is sparse. They appear briefly in accounts by French social reformers and agents of public welfare programs in the last decades of the century.¹⁶ We can observe them in shelters for the homeless at the end of the century in Paris. We see others being refused public assistance because they had been in Paris for less than a year before they delivered a child. Such shreds of data can be augmented by the court records of women accused of abortion or of killing their newborn. Their trial records offer a rare glimpse into the individual lives of poor migrant mothers and personalize institutional admissions records.¹⁷

The greatest number of single mothers in public records over the course of the century were patients in the free, state-run maternity hospital for the destitute called La Maternité, where two to four thousand women delivered their babies annually—an estimated total of 200,000 women between 1830 and 1900. Hospital admissions officers recorded the woman's birthplace, address in Paris, age, and occupation; these records constitute this study's major source and allow us to sketch out a portrait of the single mother in Paris.

Women in La Maternité were among the poorest of mothers. Most women preferred midwife-assisted delivery, and until the 1880s hospitals were more dangerous than home delivery with a midwife. Consequently, women in La Maternité tended to be those who could not pay a midwife's fee or did not have a

¹⁵ This article does not focus on all illegitimate births; rather, it focuses solely on the kind of illegitimacy that illuminates the nexus of gender and migration to the large city. For a general view, see Laslett, *et al.*, *Bastardy and Its Comparative History*; Shorter, Knodel, and van de Walle, "Decline of Non-marital Fertility in Europe." For an excellent local urban study, see Alter, *Family and the Female Life Course*. Rural illegitimacy was significant in some areas of Europe, and village out-of-wedlock conceptions were produced by the departure of migrating males; see Brettell, *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait*, chap. 5; Donna Gabaccia, "Migration and Women in 19th-Century Italy"; Gullickson, *Spinners and Weavers of Auffyay*, chap. 9; Kraljic, "Round Trip Croatia, 1900–1914," 412–13.

¹⁶ For example, see Rachel G. Fuchs, "Morality and Poverty: Public Welfare for Mothers in Paris, 1870–1900," *French History*, 2 (1988): 288–311; and "Preserving the Future of France: Charity and Welfare in Nineteenth-Century Paris," in *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*, ed. P. Mandler (Philadelphia, 1990), 92–122.

¹⁷ Archives de la Ville de Paris et Département de la Seine (hereafter, AD Seine), D2 U8 Dossiers Cour d'Assises. Court records are used here for their illustrative value. We attempted to identify and eliminate outright lies or strategies that women and their attorneys employed in an attempt to secure an acquittal or conviction with attenuating circumstances. The stories used in this article are all corroborated by witnesses and letters. While the cases of infanticide and abortion brought before the courts do not present a broad picture of pregnant migrants in Paris, they offer valuable glimpses into the lives of individual women. There are no memoirs and autobiographies by single mothers. By agreement with the appropriate authorities, we use no actual names.

room of their own in which to have a baby; they were therefore unlikely to be married or live in a consensual union.¹⁸ The vast majority were single migrants in Paris. At the turn of the century, migrant women were 82 percent of the single mothers in La Maternité, yet they made up only 63 percent of the women of childbearing age in the city of Paris. The average age of a single migrant mother was twenty-four years.¹⁹ Her experiences suggest the links between migration, urban life, and illegitimacy for single women.

MUCH SCHOLARLY WORK ON THE BOOM OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS in European cities between 1750 and 1850 assumes that migrant women in the city were villagers with an urban future. Yet migration often involved more than a single move from a town or village to a capital city like Paris. Records such as urban censuses obscure the fact that many Europeans moved more than once, that many were temporary workers in the city and that some, like Juliette Sauget, returned to their home region. Others moved to the city by stages, going from home village to provincial town to a great city like Paris.²⁰

Moreover, the relationship between migration and pregnancy is not unidirectional, with migration preceding pregnancy. Although single women were vulnerable to pregnancy in the city, pregnancies in the provinces did not always result in marriage. Instead, failed relationships and pregnancies caused many women to migrate to Paris, where they hoped to deliver their babies in the anonymity of a

¹⁸ The hospital was particularly dangerous during the 1850s and 1860s, when epidemics of puerperal fever struck. In 1869, hospital authorities instituted a program of paying midwives to deliver women who could not be admitted to La Maternité because of overcrowding or epidemics of puerperal fever.

¹⁹ This figure compares the birthplaces of single French women admitted to La Maternité in the decade 1890–1900 with the birthplaces of women aged fifteen to forty-four listed in the 1901 census. Ninety-eight percent of the women who gave birth in La Maternité in this decade were aged fifteen to forty; 62 percent of the migrant women in Paris were of this age group; Ministère du Commerce, de l'Industrie, des Postes et des Télégraphes, *Résultats statistiques du recensement général de la population effectué le 24 mars 1901*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1906), 1: 312. The majority (63 percent) of women who gave birth in La Maternité in the nineteenth century were between twenty and twenty-seven years of age; 11 percent were teenagers; 14 percent were between twenty-eight and thirty-one, and the remainder were over thirty-one years old. During the 1890s, 72 percent of the women who gave birth at La Maternité were single.

After 1853, La Maternité may have had fewer migrant women because women not in “imminent peril of delivery” were required to prove they had lived in Paris for at least one year. The Hôtel-Dieu had no such requirement, and admissions there rose by 19 percent (196 cases) in the next year, a rise credited by the Hôtel-Dieu administrators to La Maternité's restrictions on immigrant deliveries; Archives de l'Assistance Publique, Fosseyeux 151, Notes relatives au Service des accouchements de l'Hôtel-Dieu.

The birthplace information in the hospital records provides a history of migration of women to La Maternité that can be put in the context of the history of all migration to Paris. Birthplace data for all Parisians made available with the 1901 census allows a precise comparison of the origins of women in La Maternité with all women in Paris at the end of the century. This census also gives an occupational profile of migrant women and a more detailed portrait of women in Paris from each *département* of France. A study of migrant women who did not become pregnant or of migrants who married is beyond the scope of this article.

²⁰ Sydney Goldstein, “The Extent of Repeated Migration: An Analysis Based on the Danish Population Register,” *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 59 (1964): 1121–32; James Jackson, Jr., and Leslie Page Moch, “Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe,” *Historical Methods*, 22 (1989): 27–36; Jackson, “Migration in Duisberg”; Hochstadt, “Migration and Industrialization in Germany”; Kertzer and Hogan, “On the Move: Migration in an Italian Community”; Paul White and Robert Woods, “Spatial Patterns of Migration Flows,” in *The Geographical Impact of Migration* (London, 1980), 21–41.

large city.²¹ A small proportion were doubtless from elite provincial families and took great care to disguise their purpose in the city by the use of private homes for unwed mothers, pseudonyms, and incognito birth registrations.²² They successfully elude the historian. The arrival of the more numerous and more dependent poor pregnant women concerned the public assistance authorities, for, by the late nineteenth century, about 250 new mothers per annum who had been in Paris less than one year requested aid.²³ In hopes of discouraging these arrivals, in 1852 the public assistance hospitals barred such newcomers from La Maternité and other public hospitals unless they were in hard labor or presented a medical emergency. The welfare institutions of Paris did not want to be inundated by paupers from the countryside, who, they feared, would abandon their infants. It is unclear how many new arrivals knew about the one-year residency rule, but evidence from infanticide trials suggests that some pregnant newcomers who had been denied admission to La Maternité did not return with the onset of labor. Unable to afford a midwife, they delivered alone in their rooms.²⁴

Most mothers in the hospital had established prior residency. Demographer Etienne van de Walle concluded that, "in the instance of Paris at least, there exists abundant statistical evidence that mothers of illegitimate children were almost always domiciled in the city at the time of delivery."²⁵ Thus, although there is no way of knowing exactly where they conceived or how long they had been in Paris, it is certain that the thousands of migrant women who delivered in the public assistance hospitals had been in the city for at least several months before their pregnancy.

²¹ For examples from the eighteenth century, see Alain Lottin, "Naissances illégitimes et filles-mères à Lille au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 17 (1970): 302; Poussou, *Bordeaux et le sud-ouest*, 163.

²² One family's efforts were preserved in correspondence; see *Marthe: A Woman and a Family: A Fin-de-siècle Correspondence*, trans. Donald Frame (New York, 1984), 10, 16–17, 49–50. Letters reveal the care taken to conceal the pregnancy and the labor invested in finding a suitable spouse for the mother after the child's birth.

²³ L'Assistance Publique, *Rapport*, 1888: 15–16; 1889: 41; 1892: 6–8; 1893: 27–28; 1894: 22–24; 1895: 2–4. See also Rachel G. Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany, N.Y., 1984).

²⁴ Rachel G. Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the Nineteenth Century* (New Brunswick, N.J., forthcoming), chaps. 4, 6, and 8.

²⁵ Fewer than 5 percent of the single mothers who gave birth in Paris in 1880 had a legal residence elsewhere; *Annuaire statistique de la ville de Paris*, 1880: 185, also cited in van de Walle, "Illegitimacy in France," 276. The data from La Maternité put the figure at under 2 percent. One might suspect that the proportion of migrant mothers at La Maternité is artificially low because of the one-year residency requirement. But this requirement seems to have made little difference, because only 15.8 percent of women who delivered at the Hôtel-Dieu (where it was not enforced) were born in Paris. (Records from La Maternité proper do not reveal how long migrant patients had resided in Paris; they note only birthplace.)

Of the mothers in La Maternité who subsequently abandoned their babies, an 1844 inquiry showed that two-thirds had arrived in Paris pregnant; the one-year residency requirement was instituted the next year and reinforced in 1852. A. Boicervoise, *Rapport au Conseil général des Hospices de Paris sur le service des enfants trouvés du département de la Seine* (Paris, 1845), 24–25. For the Hôtel-Dieu, see Archives de l'Assistance Publique, Fosseyeux 151, Notes relatives au Service des Accouchements de l'Hôtel-Dieu, n.a., November 16, 1853.

The question remains whether or not women falsified information about residency in order to gain admission. It is unlikely that this was possible (or even necessary, given the ease of admission if they were in labor): several weeks before the expected date of delivery, women had to supply the hospital admissions authorities with certificates from the *arrondissement* mayor testifying that they were Paris residents and indigent; prior addresses in Paris and statements from their landlords (or employers, in the case of domestic servants) were also required. Hospital authorities often verified such residency claims. See Archives de l'Assistance Publique, l'Hôpital Port Royal, Registres des Correspondance, 1856–1897.

This assertion is borne out by the sole direct evidence on the length of time migrant women lived in Paris before delivery: the records of a program to send pregnant women who applied to La Maternité to a welfare midwife. During the 1869–1880 period, these records noted how long each woman had resided in Paris. The vast majority of these women (who are like those in La Maternité in every other respect—age, occupation, and birthplace) had resided in Paris at the time of conception. Only 22 percent had lived in Paris less than nine months before delivery.²⁶ In 1889, Emile Levasseur estimated that a quarter of all the city's illegitimate babies were conceived outside the city.²⁷

Those women who arrived in Paris pregnant often were desperate. In the absence of systematic data about them, we offer two emblematic cases gathered from court records. In her early twenties, Marie Gérard had already left her small-town home in northern France when she became pregnant. While working as a domestic servant in the provincial capital of Reims in 1880, Gérard had a sexual relationship with another worker in her employer's house—a carter with whom she planned marriage. The father of her child married another woman without warning after Gérard became pregnant. Humiliated and demoralized by her inability to enforce his promise of marriage, Gérard could no longer face working with her former lover. Unable to return to her family in her condition, she chose to hide her pregnancy in Paris, where she sought domestic work.²⁸

Anna Bordot, daughter of a poor, pious family in the Auvergne in central France, had worked as a domestic since the age of fourteen. In her mid-twenties, in 1875, she was courted by an Alsatian brewery worker in her hometown. Her suitor did not inspire her parents' trust, but after eight months they gave their approval to her marriage. This permission achieved, Bordot "abandoned" herself to him six weeks before the wedding. The Saturday before the nuptials, her fiancé disappeared, taking the trunk that contained her hard-earned trousseau. This humiliation was followed by her realization that she was pregnant. Bordot had one thought: to hide her condition. She took the train to Paris, where she found work as a domestic.²⁹

The pregnant newcomer faced the problem of survival in Paris: where to stay, how to find others in the city who would, and could, help her. When public assistance officials interrogated hundreds of post-partum migrant women not eligible for assistance because they had lived in Paris less than a year, these women described their survival strategies.³⁰ Just over a quarter of them had worked as domestic servants for wages that the authorities explicitly recognized as extremely low. A slightly smaller group (22 percent) stayed with friends and relatives until delivery, and the same proportion lived *en garni*—in the cheap, crowded lodgings clustered around the railroad stations and in the central portions of the city that rented beds to the poor. A few more found small apartments or rooms to rent.

²⁶ Archives de l'Assistance Publique, l'Hôpital Port-Royal, Femmes en Couches Envoyées chez les sage femmes, 1869–1880. Data are based on a random sample of 400 women sent to a welfare midwife by L'Assistance Publique for the years 1869 through 1880, the only years in which length of residency in Paris was recorded.

²⁷ Levasseur, *La Population française* (Paris, 1891), 2: 34.

²⁸ AD Seine, D2 U8 (12D) Dossiers Cour d'Assise, Dossier September 12, 1881. Her employer in Reims secured her a position with one of his relatives in Paris.

²⁹ AD Seine, D2 U8 (48) Dossiers Cour d'Assise, Dossier June 9, 1876.

³⁰ Data on where migrant women stayed between their arrival in Paris and delivery is based on information for the 563 women who delivered in Paris less than one year after arrival in 1894 and 1895 and were offered repatriation; L'Assistance Publique, *Rapport*, 1894: 23–24; 1895: 3–4. These are the only years for which data exist.

Only one in thirteen was accompanied by the father of the child. Those who arrived near term—about one in seven—could stay in the Asile Michelet shelter for the pregnant homeless. Some went to shelters upon arrival, others just before delivery, and many more after their children were born; some women had several stints in the shelters. One in twenty arrived so late in her pregnancy that she went directly to the hospital to deliver.³¹

If we consider these alternatives from the perspective of the women being interviewed rather than the interviewers, both the people who met them at the station and the choices facing the newcomer—pregnant or not—appear in a different light. A relative or compatriot met some new arrivals; others had to find lodgings and a job on their own, and two kinds of strangers awaited the lone woman descending from the train in nineteenth-century Paris: procurers and employees from servant employment bureaus. In a study of Parisian prostitution, Alain Corbin wrote about procurers who recruited at railroad terminals. Their victims related harrowing tales in court. Recruiting employment bureaus could also be exploitative; some charged a stiff fee from the servant in exchange for temporary lodgings and job placement.³² Fortunately, religious or philanthropic organizations also exhibited a genuine concern for new arrivals, such as the Maison Protestant de Convalescence and the two houses of the Catholic Soeurs de la Croix, who welcomed migrant women and servants who were ill or between positions. They had been established to help young women from Brittany but took in other migrants as well.³³ After 1900, about 3,900 arrivals per year sought refuge in one of the temporary shelters for women established by municipal, departmental, and private philanthropic organizations around 1900.³⁴

The more fortunate of the pregnant new arrivals were part of a migration stream from their homeland to Paris and, like Juliette Sauget, were met at the station by a compatriot with whom they could lodge until they secured a position.³⁵ This was the case for shepherdess Jansette Michel, age thirty, whose brother and cousin were part of the migrant group that formed a link between Paris and the alpine highlands of Savoy. She surprised and displeased her father by departing for Paris in 1874, keeping secret her impregnation by a man of fifty-seven—a close friend of her family and her godfather. Michel joined her brother when she arrived in Paris; she then lived with a cousin who was puzzled by her tears and suffering. After ten weeks as an economic burden on her relatives, she escaped from family observation and dependency by taking a job as a domestic cook.³⁶

Most single women who gave birth in Paris probably did not arrive pregnant but conceived their children in Paris. Like Juliette Sauget, migrant women became pregnant as a result of sexual relations that were part of the urban household,

³¹ L'Assistance Publique, *Rapport*, 1895: 4.

³² Alain Corbin, *Les Filles de nocé: Misère sexuelle et prostitution aux 19^e et 20^e siècles* (Paris, 1978), 109; AD Seine, D2 U8 Dossiers Cour d'Assise, cases of "Detournement d'une mineur," 1867–89; Dossier (62) July 3, 1877; Dossier (49) June 20, 1876. Anne Martin-Fugier, *La Place des bonnes: La Domesticté féminine en 1900* (Paris, 1979), 43–101.

³³ AD Seine, D2 U8 (37) Dossiers Cour d'Assise, Dossier April 13, 1875.

³⁴ Fuchs, "Preserving the Future of France"; *Annuaire statistique de la ville de Paris* (1900), 581.

³⁵ For the important role of chain migration and migration streams, see Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*; Charles Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History," in *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*, W. McNeill and R. Adams, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1978), 48–74; and works on the present such as Janice Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976); Michael Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies* (Cambridge, 1979).

³⁶ AD Seine, D2 U8 (27) Dossiers Cour d'Assise, Dossier May 7, 1874.

neighborhood, and municipal life. The particular vulnerability of single women to pregnancy is somewhat surprising, in light of research on chain migration, which indicates that people moved to cities where they had opportunities or contacts who could help them. Indeed, research on French cities reveals that the experience of moving into the growing nineteenth-century city did not produce the dislocation and anomie that scholars once thought.³⁷ Findings from La Maternité show that these interpretations of migration should be modified to take account of the women's different experiences of migrant community protection and sponsorship. Women with kin in Paris, like Juliet Sauget and Jansette Michel, were welcomed to the city by relatives who could sponsor them, help them find work, and provide them with material aid.³⁸

It was not possible, however, for the migrant community to prevent seduction or to bring partners to marriage once pregnancy occurred. An explanation is found in a close examination of the dynamics of migrant groups in the city. Compatriots could not protect women migrants from pregnancy out of wedlock or from the dangers of delivery in La Maternité, because female migrants, especially domestic servants, often lived apart. Even in the *garni* of Paris, however, where young migrant women did live in local communities, they were liable to seduction by their poor countrymen—some of whom were married men leading the single life in Paris. Court cases reveal that the married cousin or the countryman who worked in the neighborhood or lived in the same rooming house seduced young female migrants.³⁹ In either case, the migrant community had little power to force marriage on an impoverished or already married man, even less to enforce marriage with a worker from another region or a member of the middle class. The powers of a migration system—even one operating on close family ties like that of Juliette Sauget—were severely limited. Migrant networks could help newcomers get started but could not protect them from exploitation.⁴⁰ Many single women were left vulnerable to pregnancies outside of marriage.

Despite the difficulties of life in Paris for pregnant women and single mothers, few chose to return home. Whether a woman became pregnant in Paris or at home, then came to Paris to hide her "fault," as Marie Gérard and Anna Bordot testified they did, she could not return home unless she successfully hid the birth and abandoned the infant. Child abandonment, however, became increasingly difficult after 1852.⁴¹ Starting in 1888, public assistance authorities in Paris tried to encourage a few hundred women each year who had sought public welfare to return home with their babies by offering to pay their food and train fare in a "repatriation" program. Neither the city nor the surrounding *département* wanted to bear the cost of aiding indigent mothers from the rest of France, nor did they want to support their abandoned children. But the free ticket home was evidently not

³⁷ Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*; Moch, *Paths to the City*; Sewell, *Structure and Mobility*.

³⁸ In addition to materials on Paris (Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*) and on France (Moch, *Paths to the City*; Sewell, *Structure and Mobility*), see Grace Anderson, *Networks of Contact: The Portuguese and Toronto* (Waterloo, 1974); and Mark Granovetter, *Getting a Job* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974).

³⁹ AD Seine, D2 U8 (153) Dossiers Cour d'Assise, Dossier October 25, 1883; D2 U8 (285) Dossier October 14, 1891. See also Châtelain, *Les Migrants temporaires en France*, 1062.

⁴⁰ For a Parisian example, see Jeanne Bouvier, *Mes mémoires; ou 59 années d'activité industrielle, sociale et intellectuelle d'une ouvrière, 1876–1935* (Paris, 1983), 35–98.

⁴¹ Fuchs, *Abandoned Children*, chap. 2; Fuchs, "Legislation, Poverty, and Child Abandonment in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18 (1987): 55–80.

tempting, for fewer than 20 percent of those offered “repatriation” accepted the offer, despite the threat of ineligibility for Parisian public assistance.⁴²

The case history of La Maternité patient Jeannette Pazy illustrates the migrant woman’s dilemma. Pazy, a day laborer from the Nièvre, southeast of Paris, left home pregnant at age twenty-three; she worked on the outskirts of Paris as a domestic for two months before delivery, first in one location, then another. When she went into labor, Pazy hastened to La Maternité, where she bore a son on October 17, 1857. While at the hospital, she asked for welfare for herself and the baby or, in absence of that, assistance in abandoning her infant. The director of the hospital informed her that because she had not lived in the area for a year, the only form of assistance to which she was entitled was free transportation home; she could not even leave her baby at the Paris foundling home. Pazy’s mother had died, and only her father remained at home. Lacking family support, without money for a wet nurse, despairing of welfare or the possibility of legal abandonment, Pazy took what she thought to be her only recourse. She did not leave the city, but, within hours of her discharge from La Maternité, she left the infant near the entrance to the foundling hospital across the street.⁴³

MIGRANT WOMEN WERE LIKELY TO APPEAR AT THE DOOR of La Maternité because the Parisian poor of both sexes were predominantly migrants. Months or even years in Paris did not guarantee them economic security. Migrants in disproportionate numbers filled the welfare rolls and the shelters for the homeless near the end of the century. They made up three-quarters of the indigents receiving aid from the many welfare bureaus of the city in the 1880s and 1890s—despite the fact that one year of residence in the city was required to qualify for aid. Female migrants made up over three-quarters of those who found refuge in the four shelters for homeless women operated jointly by private philanthropy and public assistance in Paris during the 1890s. About a quarter of them had been in the city over two years, and about 10 percent had arrived in Paris less than two months before.⁴⁴

Single migrants who gave birth in the capital city lived in a variety of domestic arrangements: alone in their rooms, as domestics in their employers’ home, with friends or relatives, or in consensual relationships. Consensual unions were common in nineteenth-century Paris, but their exact numbers are unknown. Emile Levasseur estimated that, in 1880 and 1891, 27 to 33 percent of Paris’s illegitimate births were to couples in stable consensual unions. In 1884, he argued, about half the Parisian children born out of wedlock were the fruit of consensual unions, a quarter were from countrywomen who entered Paris to give birth anonymously, and a quarter were “the real product of Parisian immorality.”⁴⁵ Programs of aid to poor mothers reported in 1895 that 45 percent were living alone, 23 percent lived

⁴² L’Assistance Publique, *Rapport*, 1888: 15–16; 1889: 41; 1892: 6–8; 1893: 27–28; 1894: 22–24; 1895: 2–4.

⁴³ Archives de l’Assistance Publique, l’Hôpital Port Royal, Registres de Correspondance, November 16, 1857. Because names of hospital patients in Paris cannot be revealed within 150 years of admission, we have assigned a pseudonym to this patient.

⁴⁴ France, Préfecture de la Seine, Service de la Statistique Municipale, *Annuaire statistique de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1880–1900), 1889: 716–25; 1893: 84–85; 1894: 576–79; 1895: 614–19; 1896: 554–55; 1897: 518–19; 1899: 534–35, 569–71; 1900: 546–47, 580–83. The four shelters together housed over 5,800 women in 1899, and over 6,100 in the following year.

⁴⁵ Levasseur, *La Population française*, 2: 34; quote is from Weber, *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, 405. Maternity hospital records are silent on women’s domestic arrangements.

with parents or family, and only 2 percent admitted cohabiting (it is estimated that many more were cohabiting than reported).⁴⁶

According to a municipal inquiry, there was one consensual union for every four married couples in mid-century Paris. Michel Frey's research, which is centered on this report, argues that consensual unions were founded on sexual attraction but grounded in women's economic, legal, and physical vulnerability. They were perceived by the women as failed courtships. Frey concluded that "illegitimacy and concubinage are not in contradiction to marriage in the working class. The two are linked and it is the *non-realization of marriage* that determines the position of the *concubine*."⁴⁷ Single female migrants, entering Paris poor, had little hope of a lifelong relationship and legal marriage. Whether migrant mothers lived with a man or not, they lacked the economic or social clout to marry the partners of their choice. Not only were there social and economic obstacles to marriage but French regulations required visits home and multiple fees to obtain notarized certificates of birth and parental consent (or evidence of the death of parent).⁴⁸ Single mothers were not simply victims, however, for some were sexually active by choice. Both Juliette Sauget and Germinie Lacerteux were willing sexual partners with the fathers of their babies; both the man who impregnated Juliette Sauget and the old waiter who raped Germinie Lacerteux made marriage offers that were refused. But neither woman could protect herself from pregnancy: they lacked access to safe or efficacious methods of birth control and abortion.⁴⁹

Most single migrant mothers who gave birth at La Maternité worked at one of the occupations open to females in the city. The largest number were in domestic service, which was ever more prevalent as the century progressed, 33 percent in La Maternité in the period before 1870 and 46 percent in the subsequent thirty-year period. One in seven was a seamstress (*couturière*). During the first half of the nineteenth century, 6 percent worked in the other needle trades (sewing white goods, lingerie, garments, shoes, gloves, or ornamental trim), a proportion that declined to 3 percent by 1900. Together, seamstresses and women in the needle trades constituted almost one-fifth of the single women giving birth at La Maternité. Unspecified day labor was the next most important occupational category, ranging from 16 percent before 1870 to 8 percent at the end. Other single mothers at La Maternité worked as laundresses, linen menders, or cooks.⁵⁰

Single mothers' employment patterns resemble those of all the women working in Paris and of migrant women in particular. By the turn of the century, over

⁴⁶ Fuchs, "Morality and Poverty," 301; van de Walle, "Illegitimacy in France," 269.

⁴⁷ Michel Frey, "Du mariage et du concubinage dans les classes populaires à Paris (1846–1847)," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 33 (1978): 803–29, emphasis in the original.

⁴⁸ Gérard Jacquement, *Belleville au XIX^e siècle: Du faubourg à la ville* (Paris, 1984), 341–42; Katherine Lynch, *Family, Class and Ideology in Early Industrial France: Social Policy and the Working-Class Family* (Madison, Wis., 1988), 88–100; Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, chap. 4.

⁴⁹ Only after World War I were effective birth control measures available to indigent or working women. Until then, couples relied on *coitus interruptus*. Once pregnant, women could attempt abortion, but these poor migrant women rarely had the money or the information network to lead them to a midwife, doctor, or other abortionist. Most often, they resorted to a concoction usually of white wine, absinthe, and rue—a mixture that worked as a purgative rather than as an abortifacient. See AD Seine, D2 U8, for the dossiers of the women tried for abortion or infanticide in the Cour d'Assise, and the accompanying doctors' reports; see also Angus McLaren, "Abortion in France: Women and the Regulation of Family Size, 1800–1914," *French Historical Studies*, 9 (1978): 462–85.

⁵⁰ These data concern only the single women (excluding widows) who gave birth in La Maternité. For a complete statistical analysis and explanation of these changes, see Rachel G. Fuchs and Paul E. Knepper, "Public Policy and Women in the Paris Maternity Hospital during the Nineteenth Century," *Social Science History*, 13 (1989), table 4.

336,000 women from the provinces of France had jobs in Paris; they worked at a great variety of occupations, from schoolteacher to laundress. Most, however, worked at traditional female occupations in the needle trades or services. All in all, 33 percent were domestics of one kind or another, 43 percent worked in the city's industries, and another 19 percent worked in commerce. Native-born Parisian women were more likely to work in the multiple industries of the city (including the needle trades) and to seek out better-paying jobs in commerce. Only 6 percent of women born in the *département* were domestics: 73 percent worked in industries and 15 percent in commerce.⁵¹ Across nineteenth-century Europe, domestic servants came from the countryside, a smaller town, a village, or a foreign land; they were rarely natives of the city in which they served. Over 90 percent of the servants in Berlin, Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Paris—and the clear majority in London—were migrants by the end of the nineteenth century.⁵² Service offered the newcomer housing, a domestic atmosphere, and protection from the life of the streets; consequently, parents who sent their daughters to town were willing to allow them to enter this relatively private and protected situation.⁵³

But there was a less protected side to domestic service, as we have seen. Servants like Juliette Sauget were notoriously vulnerable to sexual advances both from members of the employer's family and from other servants in the household and apartment building. In a study of female workers that had nine editions between 1863 and 1891, Jules Simon described the servants' sexual vulnerability: "Many of them find a seducer in the same house where they serve. A lackey, a coachman have only too many occasions to do ill to the servants who spend the most part of their free time with them, far from all supervision; and sometimes it is the master himself who corrupts the morals of a poor girl, doubly seduced by his authority and by his fortune."⁵⁴ Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet's investigation of Parisian prostitution, first published in 1836, also links domestic service to sexual exploitation; next to the unemployed, servants were the women most likely to move into prostitution. Often, it was a pregnancy and subsequent dismissal from her post that pushed the servant into prostitution.⁵⁵

Servants' sexual vulnerability was accentuated by their housing arrangements and the structure of employment. Parisian apartment buildings typically housed all the servants in small rooms along one hallway; sometimes, two women shared a room. These rooms were under the eaves of the mansard roof on the building's top floor. On errands for the household, servants met the shopkeepers and workers of the neighborhood. At public dances and other large gatherings, they came in

⁵¹ Ministère du Commerce, *Résultats statistiques du recensement*, 1: 329; 4: 295, 305. Published census data do not isolate migrant single women as a category; rather, the census provides information on single women (migrant and native-born) and on migrant women (married and single). In 1901, women working in a combination of all industries in Paris (either in the industrial establishments or alone in their rooms as *femmes isolées*) outnumbered domestic servants. This was true for all women in Paris, but native-born women from the *département* of the Seine working in industry outnumbered native-born women in domestic service by 12 to 1. However, migrant women working in industry outnumbered migrant women in domestic service by only 1.3 to 1. Single (but not necessarily migrant) women in Paris working in industry outnumbered domestic servants by only 1.7 to 1. Domestic service employed almost as many single and almost as many migrant women as all industries combined.

⁵² Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford, 1971), 136–39; Weber, *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, 375; David Ransel, *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 164; Ministère du Commerce, *Résultats statistiques du recensement*, 1: 329.

⁵³ Châtelain, "Migrations et domesticité féminine urbaine en France," 506–28; Martin-Fugier, *La Place des bonnes*; McBride, *Domestic Revolution*; Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work and Family*.

⁵⁴ Jules Simon, *L'Ouvrière* (Paris, 1891), 229–30.

⁵⁵ Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1836), 1: 72.

contact with strangers.⁵⁶ Neither employers, other servants, neighborhood tradesmen, nor strangers at public dances were interested in protecting the chastity of female servants. What is more, they were vulnerable to seduction and rape, not only because they were poor but also because they generally lived apart from their compatriots; many slept in an unlocked room to which others had access. Domestic service, the largest single profession in the nineteenth-century city, offered a double-edged sword of sexual protection and exploitation.⁵⁷

Thus domestic servants appeared at the doors of La Maternité, as well as at the public shelters of Paris, in disproportionate numbers. Domestic service was the occupation of more than one-third of all single women who gave birth in Paris's maternity hospitals during the 1880s and 1890s. Seamstresses and day laborers (predominantly in the needle trades) together made up another third.⁵⁸ Over half of the pregnant women who were without a residence in Paris and temporarily housed in Asile Michelet, the municipal shelter for homeless women in their last month of pregnancy, listed their occupation as domestic servant.⁵⁹

The social and sexual situation of the female garment worker was more autonomous but still precarious. The housing of young women who worked in the needle trades, either sewing at home alone or in sweatshops, was no more luxurious than that of servants. In fact, the cramped, cold, and dim single rooms to rent were often the same sort of attic rooms that housed servants.⁶⁰ But this housing allowed young workers greater independence from their employers and co-workers than servants had.⁶¹ However, garment and textile workers' extremely low salaries (exacerbated by seasonal unemployment), in combination with the freedom to change residence without losing employment, led more needleworkers than servants into consensual unions. According to contemporary observers and scholar Michel Frey, needleworkers' low salaries created a "blurred boundary" between consensual unions and prostitution.⁶²

The story of Marie Renard illuminates the particular problem of domestic service. Renard came to Paris from the distant Savoy in the Alps at age sixteen because her parents had died—her mother when she was eleven, her father when she was fifteen. They had both previously worked in Paris, and her designated guardians, an aunt and uncle, lived in the city. She stayed with her aunt and uncle for about ten days until they found her a position as a domestic servant with a family virtually around the corner from their dwelling. Renard soon asked her employers for a key to her room to protect her from the advances of their

⁵⁶ McBride, *Domestic Revolution*, chap. 3; Martin-Fugier, *La Place des bonnes*, 125–47, 287–328.

⁵⁷ John Gillis, "Servants, Sexual Relations, and the Risks of Illegitimacy in London, 1801–1900," *Feminist Studies*, 5 (1979): 142–73; McBride, *Domestic Revolution*, chap. 6. Anna Clark explicated the vulnerability of domestic servants in *Women's Silence, Men's Violence: Sexual Assault in England, 1770–1845* (London, 1987), 28, 90–109.

⁵⁸ Préfecture de la Seine, Service de la Statistique Municipale, *Annuaire statistique de la ville de Paris*. See, for example, 1880: 199; 1881: 231; 1882: 163; 1883: 215; 1884: 171; 1885: 191. The remaining third consisted of laundresses, lingerie workers, linen menders, cooks, cleaning women, and female workers in a variety of occupations, such as sewing machine operators.

⁵⁹ *Annuaire statistique de la ville de Paris*; 1894, 1895, and 1900 are the only years for which such data are available for the shelters; see especially 1894: 576–79; 1895: 614–19; 1900: 582.

⁶⁰ For a description of the single seamstress's housing in turn-of-the-century Paris, see Bouvier, *Mes mémoires*, 82–90.

⁶¹ Simon, *L'Ouvrière*, 229.

⁶² Frey, "Du mariage et du concubinage dans les classes populaires à Paris (1846–1847)," 817; Bouvier, *Mes mémoires*, 90. Contemporary social observers, feminists, and novelists are unanimous in regarding marriage as a necessity for economic survival and social status, while deploring this necessity; see Othenin d'Haussonville, *Salaires et misères de femmes* (Paris, 1900), 3–124; Emile Zola, *L'Assommoir* (1877); Maria Vérone in *La Fronde*, January 14, 1903.

seventeen-year-old son; it was denied. The young man entered her room and asked to share her bed. She testified that she tried to prevent him from doing so, but he forced himself on her, and sexual relations continued after this occasion. Marie Renard became pregnant within four months of her arrival in Paris.⁶³

Like many young women who came to the city, Renard had no parents to advise or protect her. According to nineteenth-century marriage records, single migrant women were more likely to have lost one or both of their parents than were the native-born women.⁶⁴ The death of a parent—especially the father—was likely to disrupt life at home and lead to the departure of young women. A father's death was devastating to the economic and social protection a young migrant woman could marshal. With a mother's death, young women lost a personal advisor as well as a social and economic sponsor. Once in the city, orphaned women were more likely to stay.⁶⁵ While the death of a parent did not alone determine that a single woman would bear a child in the city, it was one in a series of disabilities that robbed women like Marie Renard of social power in the urban marriage market. Women without parents were at greater risk of having illegitimate children.⁶⁶ The connection between pregnancy and the process of migration for single women in the context of this metropolis will emerge from an examination of the origins of Paris's single mothers.

IN THE PERIOD FROM 1830 to 1900, women from points progressively more distant from Paris bore children at La Maternité. From 1830 through 1848, they reflected in a general way the *départements* that sent people to the capital. In the middle of the century, 1852–1869, women born in more distant provinces came to La Maternité. By the last decades of the century (1880–1900), a dramatic shift had occurred, and many more women were emigres from the west of France. (See Maps 1, 2, and 3, which divide France into twenty-one regions, for hospital registrations by regional subdivisions, the French *départementes*.)

During the hospital's first two decades, 1830 through 1848, migrant women at La Maternité generally reflected the *départements* that sent people to Paris.⁶⁷ Sixteen percent came from the Ile-de-France; 14 percent from Picardy, nearby to the north of Paris; 11 percent from Lorraine; 10 percent from Burgundy, and 9 percent from the populous Nord.⁶⁸ (See Map 1.) Women from the nearest regions worked

⁶³ AD Seine, D2 U8 (83) Dossiers Cour d'Assises, Dossier March 24, 1878.

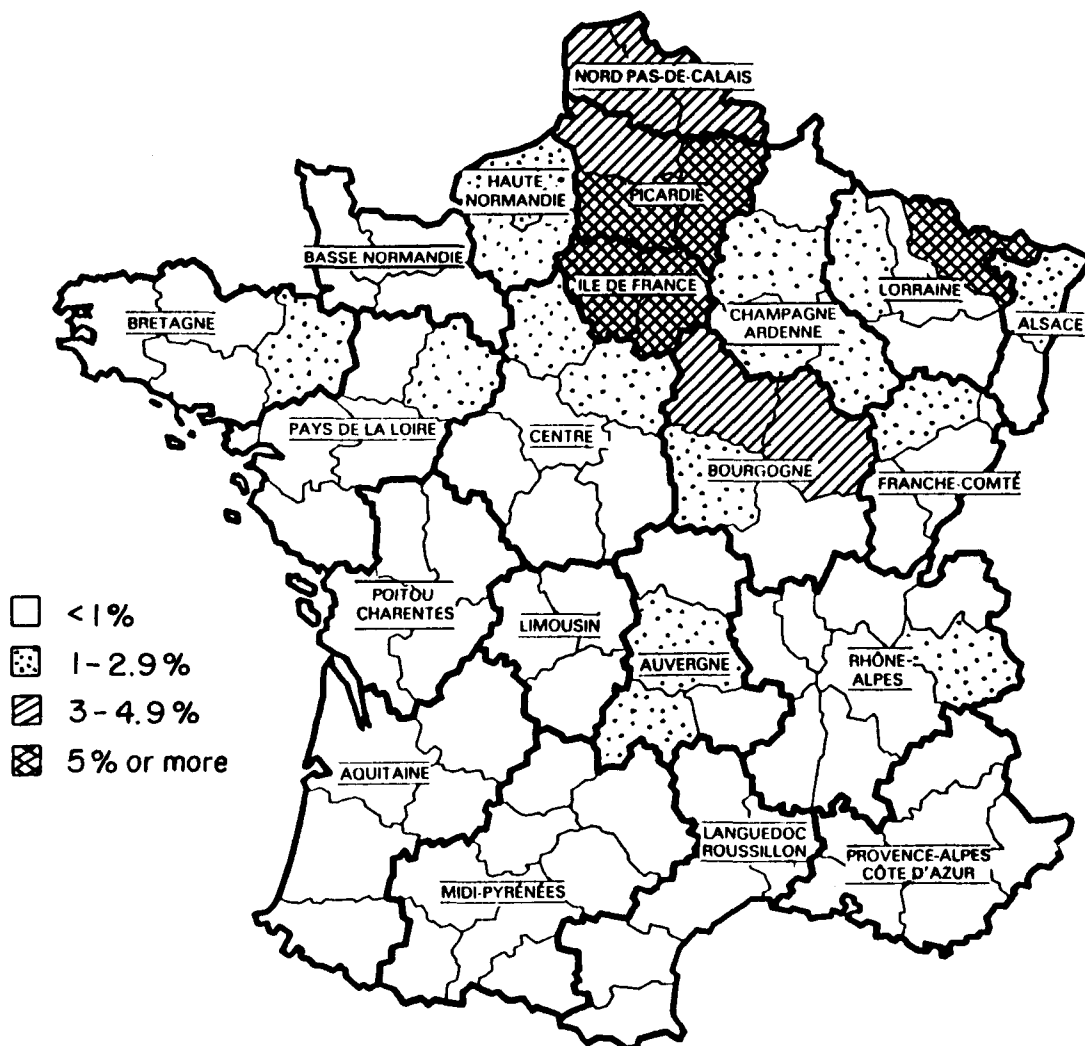
⁶⁴ Moch, *Paths to the City*, notes that over half the fathers of migrants' brides (and 35 percent of the fathers of native women) had died before their daughters' marriages in Nîmes at the turn of the century.

⁶⁵ Alter, *Family and the Female Life Course*, 183–84, 131; Lottin, "Naissances illégitimes et filles-mères à Lille au XVIII^e siècle," 305. The only person for Renard to return to, her brother, did not want her, even when she expressed a desire to marry someone who had been interested in her. Of the seventy-six women tried for infanticide in Paris between 1867 and 1891, fifteen had a deceased parent explicitly mentioned in court testimony; in ten cases, the mother's death was noted. The body of court testimony suggests that in many more cases, one or more parent was deceased; AD Seine, D2 U8 Dossiers Cour d'Assises.

⁶⁶ Alter, *Family and the Female Life Course*, table 5.5, 127, 131. Janet Potash noted that such women were more likely to abandon their child as well; Janet R. Potash, "The Foundling Problem in France, 1800–1869: Child Abandonment in Lille and Lyon" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1979), 277–78.

⁶⁷ Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*, 285. Unfortunately, a specific assessment of birthplace by gender is not available for Parisian residents in this period.

⁶⁸ This analysis follows a current division of French regions; see Courgeau, "Three Centuries of Spatial Mobility in France," 53. The analysis of twenty-two regions included Corsica, which does not appear on the maps because no women from Corsica appeared in La Maternité. These figures reflect the birthplace of all single migrant women in La Maternité for each time period, excluding those few who were foreign born. The Ile-de-France includes the *départements* of the Seine-et-Oise and the Seine-et-Marne. Picardy consists of the *départements* of the Aisne, Somme, and Oise.



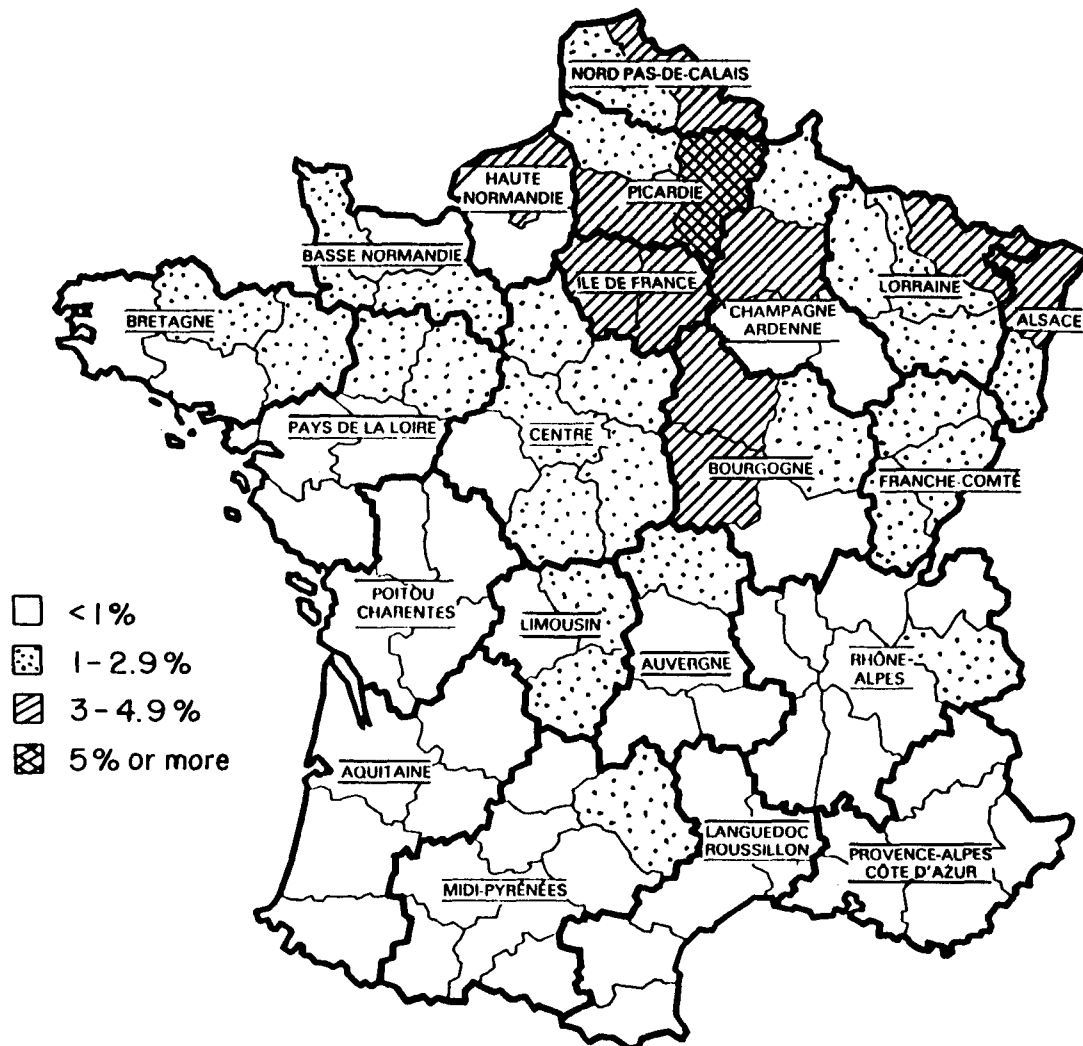
Map 1. Birthplaces of Single Migrant Mothers in La Maternité, 1830–1848.

SOURCES: Daniel Courgeau, "Three Centuries of Spatial Mobilty in France," *UNESCO Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences*, 51 (1982), 53; Archives de l'Assistance Publique, l'Hôpital Port Royal, Registres des Entrées, 1830, 1837, 1838, 1847, 1848.

in the needle trades as well as in domestic service; by contrast, almost all of the women from Burgundy and Lorraine were domestic servants.⁶⁹ Very few mothers came from the south or the west of France.

More distant provinces sent women to La Maternité during the prosperous middle of the century, 1852–1869. Picardy and Lorraine still dominated (with 10 percent each). Burgundy and the Centre, southwest of Paris, sent the next highest proportion of women (9 percent each) followed closely by the Ile-de-France (with

⁶⁹ Burgundy includes the *départements* of the Côte-d'Or, Nièvre, Saône-et-Loire, and Yonne. Lorraine includes the *départements* of the Meurthe-et-Moselle, Meuse, Vosges, Moselle, and Meurthe; and the region of the Nord includes the *départements* of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais. Forty-six percent of the women from Lorraine and Burgundy were domestic servants, compared with 26 percent from the other regions.



Map 2. Birthplaces of Single Migrant Mothers in La Maternité, 1852–1869.

SOURCES: Daniel Courgeau, "Three Centuries of Spatial Mobilty in France," *UNESCO Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences*, 51 (1982), 53; Archives de l'Assistance Publique, l'Hôpital Port Royal, Registres des Entrées, 1852, 1855, 1860, 1865, 1869.

8 percent). Fewer women came from the Champagne-Ardenne, northeast of Paris, and the Nord (6 percent each). (See Map 2.) Their occupational pattern remained the same.⁷⁰

By the last decades of the nineteenth century (1880–1900), the pattern had changed dramatically. Brittany, in the far west of France, which before this time had produced less than 3 percent of the women at La Maternité, now was the most common birthplace for single migrant mothers (12 percent), followed by the

⁷⁰ Over 40 percent of the women from Burgundy and over 50 percent of the women from the Centre and Champagne worked as domestic servants. The Centre includes the *départements* of the Cher, Eure-et-Loire, Indre, Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher, and Loiret. Champagne includes the *départements* of the Marne, Haute-Marne, Aube, and Ardennes.

Centre (11 percent), Burgundy and Picardy (8 and 7 percent, respectively), Alsace (7 percent), the Nord and Ile-de-France (6 and 5 percent), and Lower and Upper Normandy (5 and 4 percent).⁷¹ As the general migration trends shifted from east to west, Lorraine and Champagne-Ardenne sent few (only 4 and 2 percent respectively). (See Map 3.)⁷²

A comparison between the origins of the women in La Maternité and all migrant women in Paris reveals three distinct patterns. Of the twenty-two regions of France, the majority (fourteen)—such as Burgundy—sent women to La Maternité in about the same proportion as they contributed to the population of Paris.⁷³ For example, 9 percent of the women in Paris were born in Burgundy, as were 9 percent of the single mothers who delivered in La Maternité in the 1890s. Five other regions sent disproportionately few women to the hospital for the indigent.⁷⁴ The area surrounding Paris, for example (Ile-de-France) supplied 12 percent of the city's population but only 6 percent of the mothers in La Maternité. Finally, three regions sent more women to the hospital than might be expected, given their numbers in Paris: the north of France, Alsace, and Brittany.⁷⁵ The *départements* of the Nord provided 5 percent of Paris's migrant women and 6 percent of the single mothers in La Maternité; the figures for Alsace are nearly equal to these. Brittany, by contrast, furnished Paris with only 5 percent of its migrant women; but 15 percent of the single mothers in La Maternité came from that region.

The data from exemplary regions' histories of migration to Paris, the composition of their streams of migrants to the city, and illegitimacy figures for home areas help establish the connection between these patterns and migration to Paris. Single women least likely to deliver babies in La Maternité were from areas with long histories of migration to the capital, such as Picardy, Champagne-Ardenne, and the Loire region—and were, like those from the Ile-de-France, close to home and had many compatriots. Most of these provinces had histories of low illegitimacy rates.⁷⁶ For example, the Auvergne in central France had sent men to Paris since the eighteenth century. Their legendary hard work, miserliness, and business acumen afforded them success in business and starring (albeit sometimes unsavory) roles in Honoré de Balzac's *Comédie humaine*. Auvergnat women were part of a distinct and well-established group in the city. This migration stream included

⁷¹ Brittany includes the *départements* of Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère, Ille-et-Vilaine, and Morbihan; Alsace includes the *départements* of the Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin. Half the women from the Nord, Alsace, and Lorraine were domestic servants.

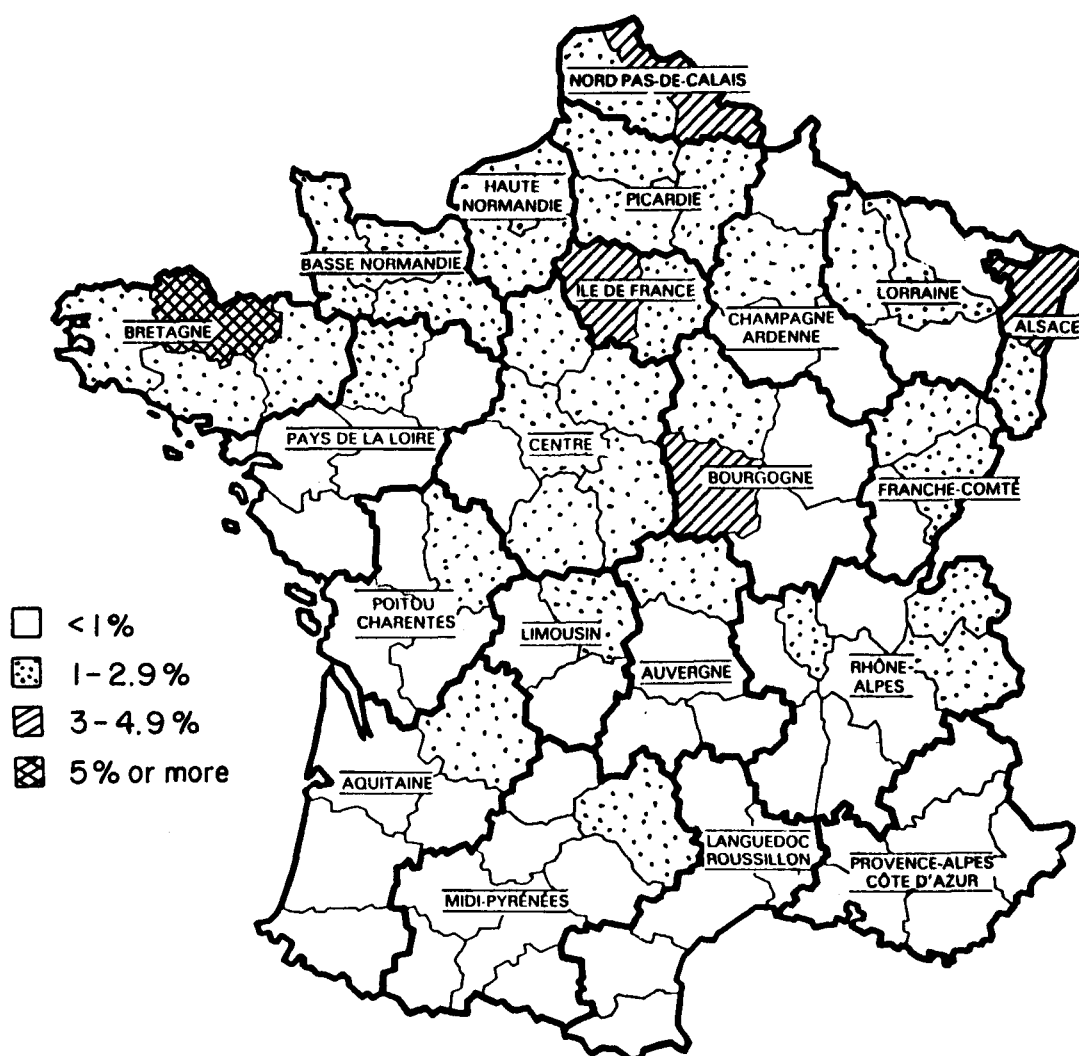
⁷² Ministère du Commerce, *Résultats statistiques du recensement*, 1: 312. Turn-of-the-century information can address the question of how typical of migrants the single mothers in La Maternité were and whether some migrant women were more likely than others to appear at this hospital for the indigent. The 1901 census data, which gives information on the birthplaces of women residing in Paris, permits comparison of the origins of the single mothers in La Maternité with those of all migrant women in Paris, although data on the age and marital status of migrant women from particular provinces is not available. But women usually migrated at childbearing age, and migrant women in Paris were more likely to be at childbearing age than native-born residents of the city.

⁷³ This analysis is based on a comparison of the birthplaces of all women in Paris (married and single), according to the 1901 census, with the birthplaces of all women in the Maternité sample, 1890–1900. Census data do not differentiate between married and single migrant women in Paris. The regions that sent the same proportion of women to Paris as to La Maternité (within 1.5 percentage points) are Lorraine, Upper and Lower Normandy, Centre, Burgundy, Franche-Comte, Rhône-Alpes, Limousin, Poitou-Charentes, Aquitaine, Mid-Pyrénées, Languedoc-Rousillon, Provence-Côte d'Azur, and Corse.

⁷⁴ These are Picardy, Champagne-Ardenne, Ile-de-France, Loire, and Auvergne. This is despite the high proportion of single migrant women coming from Picardy and Champagne in the data presented above and on Map 3.

⁷⁵ *Départements* of the Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Côtes-du-Nord, Ille-et-Vilaine, and Morbihan.

⁷⁶ See van de Walle, "Illegitimacy in France."



Map 3. Birthplaces of Single Migrant Mothers in La Maternité, 1890–1900.

SOURCES: Daniel Courgeau, "Three Centuries of Spatial Mobility in France," *UNESCO Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences*, 51 (1982), 53; Archives de l'Assistance Publique, l'Hôpital Port Royal, Registres des Entrées, 1890, 1895, 1900.

equal numbers of men and women; the sex ratio of the Auvergnat group in Paris was 100 in 1901 compared with 89 for the entire city. The Auvergnat women numbered over 34,500. Fifty-nine percent were in the labor force; of these, only 23 percent were domestic servants, and about the same proportion (25 percent) were in the needle trades.⁷⁷

Single migrants most likely to deliver in La Maternité came from regions with different home traditions and migration histories. For example, during the nineteenth century, in the Nord, the textile and mining industries produced industrial cities with levels of human misery unmatched in most parts of France.

⁷⁷ A. Bonnefoy, *Les Auvergnats à Paris* (Paris, 1933); Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*, 204–13.

The Nord's longstanding high rates of illegitimacy increased. By the turn of the century, migrants from the Nord in Paris were likely to be women, even more likely than the population as a whole, because the sex ratio of this group was 79. These 34,000 women were extremely poor and often lacked local kin. Fifty-six percent were in the labor force; of these, 21 percent were domestics, and even more (30 percent) were in the needle trades.⁷⁸ The women of Alsace had been victimized by the vagaries of international politics. The Franco-Prussian War and subsequent absorption of Alsace into the German empire resulted in a massive migration to Paris for many single Alsatian women. As foreigners, they found the bureaucratic prerequisites for marriage even more difficult to meet.⁷⁹ It is hard to ascertain the status of the 32,750 Alsatian women in Paris at the turn of the century; 51 percent of them were in the labor force, but, because Alsace was not a part of France at the time, they are not included in the detailed occupational portrait provided by the census. It is clear that illegitimacy was relatively high in Alsace before the break with France and that it remained higher than in most of France during this period.⁸⁰

In the home areas of the Nord and Alsace, the high rates of illegitimacy suggest that sexual vulnerability in the city was aggravated by regional circumstances that simultaneously pressured single women to be sexually active and depressed their expectations of marriage.⁸¹ On the other hand, women from these areas produced only a few more children in La Maternité than their total numbers suggest (4.5 percent of female population versus 6.1 percent of women in La Maternité for the north; 4.3 percent of female population versus 6.1 percent of women in La Maternité for Alsace.) This appearance may be a statistical artifact of the age structure and marital status of migrant women as a group from the north and Alsace. The women of Brittany stand out in this trio of home areas because their appearance in La Maternité was so much greater than their presence in Paris (5.4 percent of female population versus 14.5 percent of women in La Maternité). This proportion is particularly striking because illegitimacy rates in Brittany itself were low throughout the nineteenth century; whatever role high rates of illegitimacy at home may play in the behavior of women after they leave home, those rates are not relevant for Breton women, whose home area was devout and conservative. Several factors set Breton women apart, such as the history of migration between their province and Paris and the structure of their migrant group. Breton migration to Paris was relatively late; very few came to Paris before 1850, a stream began in the 1870s, and, by the 1890s, Bretons were flooding into the city in the thousands. As a consequence, its people had among the least well-placed web of contacts.⁸²

⁷⁸ See Yves Blayo, "Illegitimate Births in France from 1740 to 1829 and in the 1960s," in *Bastardy and Its Comparative History*, 279; Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*, 161–62, 208, 285; van de Walle, *Female Population of France in the Nineteenth Century*, 181–82.

⁷⁹ Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*, 208.

⁸⁰ Van de Walle, "Illegitimacy in France," 272–76; Knodel, *Decline of Fertility in Germany*, 77; Knodel and Hochstadt, "Urban and Rural Illegitimacy in Imperial Germany," 293; see Watkins, *From Provinces into Nations*, chap. 2.

⁸¹ In her comparison of foundlings in Lille and Lyon, Potash suggested that illegitimacy was not only more prevalent but also more acceptable in areas such as the Nord; "Foundling Problem in France," 194, 207, 215. Although foreign migrants may have compounded the high illegitimacy rates of the Nord and Alsace, native-born workers may have been more likely to bear children out of wedlock; see Claude Hélène Dewaepenaere, "L'Enfance illegitime dans le département du Nord au XIX^e siècle," in *L'Homme, la vie et la mort dans le Nord au 19^e siècle*, ed. Marcel Gillet (Lille, 1972), 151–53. The importance of regional practices fits findings for Germany; see Knodel and Hochstadt, "Urban and Rural Illegitimacy in Imperial Germany," 308–09.

⁸² Philippe Ariès, *Histoire des populations françaises et leurs attitudes vers la vie* (Paris, 1971), 72.

Bretons' sparse education and rural background did not prepare them for urban professions or for sophisticated occupations in Paris; one urban chaplain declared succinctly in 1898 that the Breton immigrant was "the pariah of Paris."⁸³

These pariahs were most likely to be women. Unlike long-established migration streams that originated with male labor, such as the famous masons and construction workers from the highlands of central France, the majority of Breton immigrants were women. The sex ratio of Bretons in Paris was a very low 69; the sex ratio of the group from the Côtes-du-Nord—the area that supplied many Bretons to Paris—was 64. There were over 41,500 women from Brittany in Paris, of whom over two-thirds were in the labor force. Of Breton women who worked, married and single, nearly 40 percent were domestics, but only half that proportion worked in the needle trades. Brittany supplied turn-of-the-century Paris with over 11,000 servants, more than any other province—and these were among the poorest, least sophisticated, and most vulnerable of the city's domestics.⁸⁴ As a group, Breton women in Paris represent the extreme case. Their appearance in La Maternité suggests that they were indeed the least fortunate.

A FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE ORIGINS AND OCCUPATIONS of single mothers in Paris reveals another side of the connections between migration and pregnancy, that of the traffic in wet nurses, foundlings, and mothers' milk. The wet-nursing industry that persisted in France until World War I links illegitimacy and the city. First, it drew unmarried pregnant women to Paris in hopes of obtaining the relatively lucrative job of wet nurse after their babies were born. Second, a two-way traffic joined single mothers in Paris with the provinces, because thousands of their infants were sent out to rural wet nurses. Many single mothers in the metropolis did not keep and nurse their infants; rather, they chose one of two other options: they turned over their infants to the state-run foundling home, which sent the foundlings out to wet nurses, or they sent their infants to a rural wet nurse whom they chose themselves. In the course of the century, an estimated 300,000 foundlings were sent out to rural wet nurses, and another one million Parisian babies went to the provinces under private auspices. The foundlings who survived to adulthood played specific roles in the politics, social hierarchy, and labor force of their rural homes.⁸⁵ The infants born in the city, then, affected both the rural and urban social fabric. Their existence in the countryside, as well as the itineraries they traveled, reinforces broader observations of two-way migration streams between nineteenth-century Paris and rural areas.⁸⁶

Foundling children traveled by wagonloads to wet nurses in the countryside, where sometimes over half met an early death. In the 1830s, these children went to

⁸³ Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*, 211.

⁸⁴ Châtelain, "Migrations et domesticité féminine," 525; *Résultats statistiques du recensement*, 4: 304–05, 476–77; Emile Zola, *Piping-Hot*, trans. Percy Pinkerton (New York, 1924).

⁸⁵ For a complete discussion of women's options and child abandonment, see Fuchs, *Abandoned Children*, chaps. 2 and 5, esp. 67–69, 170–84; Fuchs, "Legislation, Poverty and Child Abandonment in Nineteenth-Century Paris," 55–80. For an excellent discussion of wet-nursing, see George Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk: The Wet-Nursing Business in France, 1715–1914* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), chaps. 5–7, esp. 110–17, 169. Abandoned babies who survived infancy tended to stay, and reach adulthood, in those *départements* where they had been sent as infants. For the political and economic role of abandoned children in the countryside, see Nancy Fitch, "Les Petits Parisiens en Province: The Silent Revolution in the Allier," *Journal of Family History*, 11 (1986): 131–55.

⁸⁶ See footnote 4, above.

wet nurses predominantly in *départements* north of Paris or in the Morvan region of Burgundy southeast of Paris.⁸⁷ By the 1860s, the main route of this traffic led to the Morvan—primarily to the *département* of the Nièvre—and some infants were taken to the north of France, as before. Foundlings also traveled farther from Paris, however, going south and west.⁸⁸ This trend continued in the 1880s, when the Nièvre stood out as the area receiving the major share of foundlings, followed by the north of France. Areas to the west and south of Paris, toward Brittany and toward the Auvergne, received many foundling children for the first time.⁸⁹ Throughout the century, the wagons carrying babies out of Paris traveled many of the same roads and rivers, then railroads, that poor single women took to Paris. This shift over the century went from the areas near Paris to the east and north to more distant areas to the south and west.⁹⁰

Foundlings were only part of this traffic. Many mothers did not abandon their babies but sent them out to nurse in some of the same regions that nursed foundlings, particularly the Morvan.⁹¹ Others sent their infants to the region surrounding the city. Like domestic servant Germinie Lacerteux, they could not nurse their infants and work at the same time, but they wanted to have their infants close enough so they could visit. Lacerteux's Sunday outings consisted of a train ride, then a walk, to visit her infant daughter lodged with a wet nurse about forty miles east of Paris.⁹² Areas that received nurslings from mothers in Paris, like those that received foundlings, were pockets of poverty in the countryside. The wet nurse's wages served as a supplement to meager agricultural incomes for the marginal population of the country—the same population that sent poor single women to become domestic servants in the city.

Mothers of the Morvan are emblematic of the traffic in misery that linked migration, illegitimacy, and wet-nursing.⁹³ They were a quarter of the wet nurses who sought a nursling in Paris, generally to take back to their cottages.⁹⁴ Single women who delivered a baby in the Morvan often left the infant in their home village, then went to Paris, where they sought jobs as live-in wet nurses for

⁸⁷ *Départements* to the north include the Nord, Somme, Pas-de-Calais, and Aisne, in that order; those in the Morvan are the Nièvre, Yonne, and Côte-d'Or, followed by the Saône-et-Loire. The Loir-et-Cher, Eure-et-Loir, Sarthe, and Loiret also took foundlings but in fewer numbers than the aforementioned *départements*.

⁸⁸ The Morvan, centered in Burgundy, included the *départements* of the Nièvre, Yonne, Côte-d'Or, and Saône-et-Loire. *Départements* receiving infants in 1866, in order of importance, are the Nièvre, Yonne, Côte-d'Or, Saône-et-Loire, Pas-de-Calais, Nord, Aisne, and Loir-et-Cher.

⁸⁹ In 1886, the Nièvre was followed by the Pas-de-Calais; the Loir-et-Cher and the *départements* of the Morvan received about an equal proportion of abandoned infants and a similar proportion to prior decades. The Sarthe, Allier, Ille-et-Vilaine, and Puy-de-Dôme for the first time received considerable numbers of abandoned children.

⁹⁰ Fuchs, *Abandoned Children*, 171–75.

⁹¹ Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk*, 137, 151. Data are derived from the surviving mayoral registers in which parental declarations of placement with a wet nurse were recorded. Registers exist only for the first, third, and tenth *arrondissements* and give the mother's name, that of the father, and their address. AD Seine, V bis 1Q7, V bis 3Q7, and V bis 10Q7, *Registres de déclarations de placement des enfants en nourrice, en sevrage ou en garde*. A random sample of 545 entries was collected, with a similar proportion for all three *arrondissements*. These three *arrondissements* are socially and economically heterogeneous; see Chevalier, *La Formation de la population parisienne*, 81–86. For other use of these data, see Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk*, 169–71. On wet-nursing and the rural economy, see James R. Lehning, "Family Life and Wetnursing in a French Village," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12 (1982): 645–56; and Fitch, "Les Petits Parisiens en Province."

⁹² Goncourt and Goncourt, *Germinie Lacerteux*, chap. 21; Germinie Lacerteux's infant daughter was in the village of Pommeuse near Coulommiers, southeast of the town of Meaux in the *département* of the Seine-et-Marne. Many Parisian mothers listed in the mayoral registers sent their nurslings there.

⁹³ Châtelain, *Les Migrants temporaires en France*, 2: 1069–70; Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk*, 152–58.

⁹⁴ *Statistique de la ville de Paris* (1889), 889–91.

bourgeois women. In the spring of 1901, 302 women from the *département* of the Nièvre alone were engaged in this service for elite families; thus this one *département* (among the eighty-six that sent women to work in Paris) supplied one-seventh of the city's wet nurses.⁹⁵ After weaning the infants in their care, many women of the Morvan stayed on in Paris to work as domestics. In this way, over the years, hundreds of single mothers from the Morvan traveled to Paris. Conversely, tens of thousands of illegitimate and abandoned children, as well as nurslings of artisans, were shipped out to married women who recently had a baby in the Morvan. One historian has noted that the "wet-nursing in the Morvan was rooted in the tradition of long-distance labor migrations from a remote and poor region . . . The tradition was transposed from men to women, from masonry, forestry, and harvesting to wet-nursing, by . . . the capital's insatiable demand for cheap, safe, and reliable infant care and feeding."⁹⁶ A two-way traffic of adults joined the Morvan to Paris, and the majority of people in this migration stream, like that from Brittany, were women by the turn of the century.⁹⁷ These very *départements* of the Morvan that received tens of thousands of Parisian infants also sent out single women to seek employment in that capital city, many of whom (like Jeannette Pazy) ended up in the wards of La Maternité.⁹⁸

The Morvan's engagement in a two-way traffic of poor mothers and infants was not unique. Northern France provided a similar exchange; the ten *départements* of this region provided one-fifth of the wet nurses who took on nurslings in Paris near the end of the century—generally to take back to their cottages. These areas also were the source for one-fifth of the single mothers in La Maternité in the 1890s.⁹⁹ The *départements* that provided the greater proportion of live-in wet nurses for Paris at the turn of the century were the same ones that sent migrant women to Paris and to La Maternité—Côtes-du-Nord and Morbihan in Brittany, Nièvre in the Morvan, the Nord and Pas-de-Calais in the north.¹⁰⁰ Poverty was the source of these migration streams.

These live-in wet nurses may well have been migrant women who chose this post-partum occupation in Paris, opting not to return home. Scattered evidence suggests that some single women gave birth to an infant whom they abandoned or put out to nurse, then found work as a resident wet nurse in Paris. Those who did go home may have made the trip to bring their baby to a local wet nurse, or to a parent, only to return to Paris without their infant to work as a well-paid and privileged wet nurse for members of the Parisian bourgeoisie. Elite families invested money and energy to hire a healthy wet nurse for their offspring and, in

⁹⁵ There were 460 live-in wet nurses from the four *départements* of the Morvan; *Résultats statistiques du recensement*, 4: 303–04.

⁹⁶ Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk*, 157–58.

⁹⁷ *Résultats statistiques du recensement*, 4: 476–77.

⁹⁸ For a similar traffic between Moscow, St. Petersburg, and the Russian countryside, see Ransel, *Mothers of Misery*, chap. 11.

⁹⁹ Northern France refers to the ten *départements* of the Aisne, Eure, Eure-et-Loir, Nord, Oise, Pas-de-Calais, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-Inférieure, and the Somme. Wet nurses from these areas who sought nurslings in Paris are recorded in the *Statistique de la ville de Paris* (1889), 889–91.

¹⁰⁰ The exceptions to this list are the Haute-Vienne in the Limousin to the south and the Saône-et-Loire in the Morvan, from which as many women were wet nurses as from the Saône-et-Loire, but few entered La Maternité. Two *départements* of the Morvan, the Côte-d'Or and the Yonne, did not send live-in nurses but rather received nurslings at rural cottages. The Nièvre itself supplied 14 percent of the live-in nurses, and the Côtes-du-Nord in Brittany supplied 8 percent of the total; see *Résultats statistiques du recensement*, 4: 303–04.

some cases, contracted to hire single mothers even in advance of their delivery.¹⁰¹

In sum, many single mothers in Paris became welfare or charity recipients and appeared on the registers of the shelters for the homeless, the maternity hospitals, or the local welfare bureaus. They were an expense to the city and region, whose officials wanted them either to return home or to become economically independent members of urban society. In nineteenth-century Paris, administrators tried to repatriate recently arrived mothers, but few women returned home. They stayed on, and their babies were a burden to both the mothers and the government. Under the auspices of one or the other, infants were shipped out of Paris to be cared for elsewhere—often in the same regions that sent women to Paris. The interrelationships among migration, illegitimacy, and poverty are, in part, elucidated by this two-way traffic in misery.

INFORMATION FROM PARIS provides insights into the urban lives of migrant women who had children out of wedlock. Some of the children born in the nineteenth-century city had been conceived elsewhere, but most were not. Neither domestic servants nor migrants who did not belong to a well-established urban milieu could muster the resources to compel men to marry them. In addition, the market for wet nurses encouraged poor, unmarried women who had just delivered to come to the city. That the poor women at La Maternité were most often single migrants in domestic service supports the argument that the women most likely to bear children out of wedlock lacked the social and economic resources needed to persuade a partner to marry or attract a marriageable mate. By the end of the century, the most visible pregnant mothers were part of new migration streams that offered weak networks of contacts in Paris. Yet, although better-established migrating groups might help single women find housing and jobs, even they could not protect them from pregnancy, partly because the single most important occupation for female migrant newcomers separated them from their compatriots.

The lives of single migrant women illuminate a complex of noneconomic motives and by-products of migration that merit further exploration. Although pregnancy is biologically unique to women, the vulnerability of the female migrant is related to the broader context of gender relations in nineteenth-century Paris.¹⁰² The employment opportunities of this capital city placed female migrants in positions that denied them both protection from sexual relations and the earning power to underwrite a marital relationship. The nation's civil code assigned no fiscal, moral, or social responsibility to the fathers of children born out of wedlock, unless the father legally recognized the child. The pregnancy and the child were solely the legal responsibility of the single mother. Although the law remained unchanged for the entire century, the state, concerned by France's declining birth rate and high infant mortality, often intervened. It saw women not as members of the polity—for, indeed, they were not—but as mothers of children who were valued resources of the state.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ For example, see AD Seine, D2 U8 (52) Dossiers Cour d'Assise, Dossier September 6, 1876; (62) Dossier June 25, 1877; (61) Dossier June 23, 1877; (135) Dossier July 25, 1882; (147) Dossier June 8, 1883. For the pay, attention, and gifts to a prospective wet nurse by an elite family, see *Marthe*, 12–13, 23, 27.

¹⁰² Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *AHR*, 91 (December 1986): 1053–75.

¹⁰³ Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris*, chap. 2; Karen Offen, "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism in Fin-de-Siècle France," *AHR*, 89 (June 1984): 648–76.

Single pregnant migrants were integral to the process of urbanization and geographic mobility. Pregnancy motivated some migrations and was the result of others. These women's experience enriches our understanding of migration, urbanization, and life in the metropolis. Likewise, the complex patterns analyzed here echo in other cities and other times.

A Note on the Population Samples

Several other public hospitals for the indigent in Paris delivered babies, but the annual numbers of deliveries in each was in the hundreds, not in the thousands as in La Maternité (except for a few years when the Hôtel-Dieu admitted over 1,000). Further, La Maternité was the only hospital just for childbirth. At the beginning of the century, approximately one-tenth of all births and one-third of all illegitimate births in Paris took place in this hospital; by the end of the century, the proportion of births had fallen to approximately 5 percent and the proportion of illegitimate births to 20 percent because more hospitals and other alternatives had developed for the pregnant poor. To reconstruct the population of that hospital, we collected a random sample of approximately 100 women per year from those admitted for the years 1837, 1838, 1852, 1855, 1860, 1865, 1869, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1890, 1895, and 1900. The year 1852 was selected to pinpoint the effect of bureaucratic and legislative changes, and 1869 rather than 1870 was selected because 1870 was a year of war and civil disturbance during which the hospital was closed for almost a year. A sample of fifty women admitted during the years 1830, 1847, and 1848 was gathered to test the effects of political and economic crises on hospital admissions. All references to the demographic characteristics of the population at La Maternité are based on these data. The single migrants were never married, therefore neither widowed nor divorced. It is impossible to ascertain if they were in common-law marriages.

In order to discover how women at La Maternité differed from those in other hospitals, we took a sample of 400 women who delivered at the Hôtel-Dieu from 1850 through 1865. These women were similar to La Maternité patients in age, occupation, marital status, and origin. We chose this hospital because, during those years, it was second to La Maternité in the number of deliveries. From 1802 through 1862, the total number of deliveries at the Parisian public hospitals was 155,105 for La Maternité, 22,363 for the Hôtel-Dieu, 21,957 for La Clinique (for which the records are not available), 15,719 for St.-Louis, 5,022 for Lariboisière, and 3,979 for the Hôpital Saint-Antoine. See Stéphane Tarnier, *Mémoire sur l'hygiène des hôpitaux de femmes en couches* (Paris, 1864).

We also sampled 800 of the 25,958 women who delivered their babies with a welfare midwife paid for by public assistance between 1869 and 1900 (the last year for which records are available). The women who gave birth at La Maternité, the Hôtel-Dieu, and with welfare midwives were all similar in terms of age, occupation, marital status, and department of origin. The records of private hospitals and midwives are not available.

Gender and Urban Political Reform: The City Club and the Woman's City Club of Chicago in the Progressive Era

MAUREEN A. FLANAGAN

"to bring together . . . as many as possible of those men . . . who sincerely desire to meet the full measure of their responsibility as citizens, who are genuinely interested in the improvement, by non-partisan and disinterested methods, of the political, social, and economic conditions of the community in which we live . . . [who] are united in the sincerity of their desire to promote the public welfare."

City Club of Chicago Statement of Purpose¹

"To bring together women interested in promoting the welfare of the city; to coordinate and render more effective the scattered social and civic activities in which they are engaged; to extend a knowledge of public affairs; to aid in improving civic conditions and to assist in arousing an increased sense of social responsibility for the safeguarding of the home, the maintenance of good government, and the ennobling of that larger home of all—the city."

Woman's City Club of Chicago Statement of Purpose²

ON ONE POLITICAL REFORM ISSUE AFTER ANOTHER, the men and women of the Chicago City Clubs disagreed over the means and ends of Progressive Era reform. In the second decade of the twentieth century, the men of the City Club of Chicago, a civic reform organization, were working with businessmen's clubs to implement a vocational education curriculum in the public schools designed to train workers for the benefit of industry. Simultaneously, the female counterpart of the City Club, the Woman's City Club of Chicago, was cooperating with the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Teachers, the Women's Trade Union League, the Woman's party, and the Socialist party of Illinois in sponsoring a talk in Chicago by Congressman David L. Lewis advocating government ownership of the telephones. The men of the City Club strongly opposed any attempt to implement government ownership of utilities as anticapitalist; they also would never have

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¹ City Club of Chicago, *Yearbook* (Chicago, 1904).

² Woman's City Club of Chicago, *Bulletin*, 1 (July 1911).

dreamed of cooperating with workers' organizations or the Socialist party on any issue.³

It is commonly accepted that male and female reformers in the first two decades of the twentieth century had different agendas for reform; that these differences stemmed primarily from gender concerns is also assumed.⁴ Yet historians have rarely compared the political activities of men and women of the same class. Most works on Progressive Era politics and reform concentrate on men, ignoring women's roles, viewing them only as partners with their husbands or assigning them to the periphery of charity and church work.⁵ The idea that women were actively concerned with politics is ignored in favor of seeing them as interested in social, not political, causes and reforms.⁶ By ignoring women as political reformers, historians assume that women have little or no political history, at least until we can count their votes. As a result, the processes that led women to pursue political activity and political goals in the first place, and the reasons why their political goals differed from men of their own class, have not been examined.

The members of both the Woman's City Club and the City Club were deeply engaged in political action of the sort Eric Foner has characterized as concerned with "how power in civil society is ordered and exercised [and] the way in which power was wielded and conceptualized."⁷ Feeling assaulted by numerous and vexatious municipal problems, they sought to solve them by changing the structure

³ For the City Club's position on vocational education, see "Yearly Report," Subcommittee on Vocational Education, March 1912, Box 13, folder 2, City Club of Chicago MS Collection, Chicago Historical Society; "Minutes of Subcommittee on Vocational Education," April 27, 1912, Box 14, folder 1; and letters of July 19, 1916, from City Club to the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Commercial Club, and the Hamilton Club, Box 18, folder 5. For positions on telephone ownership, see Woman's City Club of Chicago, *Bulletin*, 3 (March 1915); "Report of the Civic Committee on Lighting and Telephone," December 18, 1913, Box 15, folder 3, and May 28, 1915, Box 18, folder 2, City Club MS Collection; and City Club of Chicago, *Bulletin*, 8 (May 18, 1915), warning against allowing municipal ownership of utilities.

⁴ See Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920," *AHR*, 89 (June 1984): 620–47; Karen Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868–1914* (New York, 1980); Steven M. Buechler, *The Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement: The Case of Illinois, 1850–1920* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986); Linda Gordon, *Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America* (New York, 1977); and Adade Wheeler and Marlene Wortman, *The Roads They Made: Women in Illinois History* (Chicago, 1977). See Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism—The Woman and the City, 1800–1860* (New York, 1978), for an earlier period.

⁵ See John D. Buenker, "Sovereign Individuals and Organic Networks: Political Cultures in Conflict during the Progressive Era," *American Quarterly*, 40 (June 1988): 187–204; Michael Ebner and Eugene Tobin, eds., *The Age of Urban Reform: New Perspectives on the Progressive Era* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1977); Kenneth Fox, *Better City Government: Innovation in American Urban Politics, 1850–1937* (Philadelphia, 1972); David C. Hammack, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century* (New York, 1982); Samuel Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 55 (1964): 6–38; William Issel and Robert W. Cherney, *San Francisco, 1865–1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); and Martin Schiesl, *The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America, 1880–1920* (Berkeley, 1977). Works that compare men and women, such as Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900–1918* (Baltimore, Md., 1982); and Kathleen McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849–1929* (Chicago, 1982), are concerned with social reform, not political reform movements.

⁶ Nancy F. Cott, "What's in a Name? The Limits of 'Social Feminism'; or, Expanding the Vocabulary of Women's History," *Journal of American History*, 76 (December 1989): 809–29, assesses the problems and limitations of seeing women in the Progressive Era as engaged primarily in "social feminism" and ignoring their political history.

⁷ Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, 1980), 9. The overwhelming tendency in women's history has been to analyze women's activities as socially directed, not as political. For a recent overview of the literature, see Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History*, 75 (June 1988): 9–39. For the Progressive Era, we historians need to rethink this analysis.

of government, reorganizing the urban environment, and reallocating power within it. Streets and sidewalks in Chicago were in constant disrepair; the public utilities provided abysmal service; the sewer and garbage collection and disposal systems could not handle the volume of waste produced every day in the city; the public school system was overcrowded, understaffed, and underfunded; the smoke, fumes, and waste from industrial plants polluted the air and ground; a large percentage of the populace lived in crowded, rickety, unsanitary tenement houses that flourished in the face of minimal building regulations; and the city's police force neither controlled crime nor kept the peace. Moreover, in the early twentieth century, municipal governments in the United States often lacked institutional authority for attacking these and other urban problems. Chicago's municipal government was structurally weak, the locus of political power was diffuse and decentralized, and no consensus existed on who should wield power and to what purposes. Such issues as how to collect and dispose of municipal garbage and waste, how to restructure and run the system of public education, and how, and to what ends, to regulate the use of police power within the city were controversial, and no consensus existed among the citizenry about the appropriate solutions. Because of their different relationships to the urban power structure, to daily life within the city, and to other individuals, when the members of the Woman's City Club confronted these problems, they came to a vision of a good city and specific proposals of how best to provide for the welfare of its residents that were very different from those of their male counterparts in the City Club.

The contrasting approaches of the two City Clubs is particularly significant because in other respects the groups resembled each other. Both were founded as municipal reform organizations, the men's club in 1903 and the women's club in 1910, on the principle that the citizens of a city were responsible for the welfare of the community in which they lived.⁸ The two clubs drew their membership largely from the same class of upper-middle-class white men and women within the city. The men were generally businessmen or professionals; often, husbands in the City Club had wives who belonged to the Woman's City Club. Of the 909 married women who joined the Woman's City Club in its inaugural year of 1910–1911, almost 10 percent were married to men who were members of the City Club; five years later, the total percentage had risen to 16. A smaller percentage of women who joined the Woman's City Club were the sisters, mothers, and daughters of men in the City Club. During this same period, 1910–1915, more women joined the Woman's City Club whose husbands had previously been in the City Club and who had either died or dropped membership for other reasons, a circumstance that adds to the picture of a membership drawn from a similar pool of people within the city. Among the leadership of the Woman's City Club, the correlation between husbands and wives belonging to their respective clubs is higher: 55 percent of the married women serving as officers and directors of the Woman's City Club in 1915–1916, for example, were married to men in the City Club; one other officer was the widow of a former City Club member. Of the married women who chaired the club's standing and civic committees, 75 percent had husbands as members of

⁸ No other male and female organizations afford as good a comparison. For men, the socially elite Commercial, Merchants', and Union League clubs, for example, were primarily business organizations; for women, the elite Chicago Woman's Club was founded with more of a social than a reform agenda. All of these groups involved themselves in various reform issues, but none had as its primary purpose the pursuance of municipal reform.

the City Club; and 33 percent of the married women who headed the ward organization committees were married to men in the City Club.⁹

Some of the founding members of the City Club were from the prominent, wealthy Chicago families who had built industrial Chicago: Medill McCormick, John V. Farwell, Jr., Charles R. Crane, Murry Nelson, Jr., and Kellogg Fairbank, for example. But the majority of the membership came from the newer business and professional ranks, which furnished most of the city's middle-class reformers. Among them were real estate developer Arthur Aldis, manufacturer T. K. Webster, and stationer George Cole; lawyers Walter L. Fisher, Victor Elting, and Hoyt King; university professor Charles Merriam and newspaper editor Slason Thompson. At the Woman's City Club, first-year members included the wives of some of these men—Ruth McCormick, Mabel Fisher, Emma Webster, Mary Nelson, Julia Thompson, and Mary Aldis; the wives of other prominent Chicago business and professional men—Ellen Henrotin, Mary Emily Blatchford, Harriet McCormick, Edith Rockefeller McCormick, Anita McCormick Blaine, Paulette Palmer, and Julia Wolf; and settlement house workers—Jane Addams, Mary McDowell, Anna Nicholes, and Harriet Vittum.¹⁰

A goodly number of unmarried professional women, including some social workers, belonged to the Woman's City Club. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the settlement house workers wielded a disproportionate influence over the policies pursued by the club. Of the 1,243 members of the Woman's City Club in 1910–1911, twenty-three listed one of five settlement houses as their residence; two other women were married to male settlement house workers. Five years later, of 2,789 members, forty-three gave their residence as a settlement house with another three married to male settlement house workers. In no year between 1910 and 1916 did settlement house workers occupy more than five of the twenty-eight positions of officers and directors of the Woman's City Club, nor did they hold a higher percentage of chairs of standing, civic, and ward committees.¹¹ Solidly middle to upper-class women—either married or widowed—were considerably more numerous than settlement house workers. In 1915, for instance, 388 members listed a residence in the city's affluent twenty-first ward; eighty of these women had husbands or fathers in the City Club. Such prominent Chicago women as Ruth Hanna (Mrs. Medill) McCormick, Ellen (Mrs. Charles) Henrotin, Louise DeKoven (Mrs. Joseph) Bowen, and Elizabeth (Mrs. Charles E.) Merriam, for example, served as vice presidents, directors, and as chairs of standing, civic, and ward committees during the years covered by this study.¹² During the club's first six years, its presidency was held by three prominent Chicago women: Mary (Mrs. H. W.) Wilmarth, Louise DeKoven Bowen, and University of Chicago Professor

⁹ The figures were compiled from the membership lists found in City Club of Chicago, *Yearbook* (1909–10; 1915–16), and the Woman's City Club, *Yearbook* (1910–11) and *Its Book* (1915); cross-checking of names was done from A. N. Marquis, ed., *The Book of Chicagoans: A Biographical Dictionary of Leading Living Men of the City of Chicago* (Chicago, 1911, 1917). The 1917 edition was retitled *Leading Living Men and Women* . . .

¹⁰ The City Club was not as elite or as small as the older businessmen's clubs, the Commercial and the Union League. Most of the city's wealthiest capitalist industrialists belonged to the latter two but not to the City Club. On the other hand, the wives of Harold F. McCormick and Potter Palmer, Jr., and the wife and daughter of Cyrus H. McCormick did belong to the Woman's City Club. See Michael McCarthy, "Businessmen and Professionals in Municipal Reform: The Chicago Experience, 1887–1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1970), for his explanation of the differences between the older industrialists and the newer businessmen and professionals.

¹¹ Woman's City Club, *Yearbook* (1910–11); and *Its Book* (1915).

¹² See Woman's City Club, *Its Book* (1915).

Sophonisba Breckenridge; and two settlement house workers: Harriet Vittum and Mary McDowell.¹³

It is more difficult to determine how many male settlement house workers may have belonged to the City Club because its membership lists do not give addresses or professions. Raymond Robins and Graham Taylor, two of the city's most prominent settlement house workers, joined the club in early 1904.¹⁴ One or the other of these two men were among the club's thirteen directors during its first four years; neither held a higher position, but both men were consistently active in club affairs and programs and in attempting to influence club policies.

DESPITE THE SIMILAR CONSTITUENCIES and statements of purpose of the two City Clubs, they took opposing positions on several current municipal issues in a way that reveals profound differences in their conceptions of city government and its responsibility for the general welfare of its residents. For example, the two clubs took very different approaches to the noxious problem of municipal sanitation when the city's contract with the Chicago Reduction Company expired in 1913. Following standard municipal policy at the time, the city had contracted out to this private business most of the task of municipal garbage and waste disposal. The city itself only collected garbage from houses and small buildings, and it hired private contractors to collect from apartment buildings, hotels, hospitals, and other large establishments. It then paid the Chicago Reduction Company \$47,500 per year to dispose of the garbage, and the company made profits from selling the by-products produced from the garbage. On the whole, the citizens of Chicago were unhappy with the system. They complained of infrequent garbage collection, of unsanitary and rickety wagons used for collection that leaked garbage and refuse onto the streets and alleys through which they traveled, of having to separate garbage from other types of waste, and of the reeking fumes emanating from the Reduction Company's plant on the city's near southwest side. When the contract expired, the city had several options to improve service. It could sign a new contract with the Chicago Reduction Company requiring the company to provide better services, it could seek a new company with which to contract, or it could assume direct municipal ownership and operation of all garbage and waste disposal.

The problem of how best to dispose of garbage was part of a larger dilemma faced by U.S. cities during the early twentieth century over the provision of vital municipal services. It was a dilemma not simply because it involved choosing the best possible means but because there was no agreement among urban residents about what criteria defined the best means. One group wished to replace the system of contracting out (franchising) with municipal ownership and operation of municipal services. Another wanted to retain the present system, albeit more tightly regulated. As everyone involved realized, there was a critical difference between these two positions: with municipal ownership and operation of municipal services, the city government would assume far more power than it currently possessed. It would also deprive private enterprise and the city's businessmen of an arena for profit.

¹³ Mary (Mrs. H. W.) Wilmarth, 1910–11, 1911–12; Sophonisba Breckenridge, 1912–13; Harriet Vittum, 1913–14; Louise DeKoven (Mrs. Joseph) Bowen, 1914–15; Mary McDowell, 1915–16. After retiring as president, Mary Wilmarth served as honorary president during these years.

¹⁴ T. W. Allinson, Allen T. Burns, William Hard, George Hooker, James Mullenbach, and Charles Zueblin were associated with the settlement houses and members of the City Club.

In 1913, both the City Club and the Woman's City Club considered the garbage issue in ways that suggest significant differences between the members of the two clubs. The City Club's approach typified its method of investigating municipal problems. The club constituted a committee and charged it to study the problem, consult with "experts" in the field, and make recommendations to the club as a whole. The club also scheduled meetings to which it invited various people concerned with the problem to present their ideas and recommendations to the general membership. It directed the committee to collect all possible information on garbage dumps, refuse loading stations, ward dump yards, and any and all real property used for the purpose of garbage disposal. The committee was also to visit and inspect the plant used by the Chicago Reduction Company. Most important, the City Club instructed the committee to gain all the information it could about the "financial details of the reduction business."¹⁵

On the basis of the committee's findings and reports, and a competing bid offered by the Illinois Rendering Company, the City Club firmly supported the option of keeping the system in private hands for financial reasons. The only question in the club members' minds was how to secure the most favorable contract arrangement from one of the two reduction companies.¹⁶ In all its deliberations, the City Club rejected outright the option of municipal ownership, contending that there were no "facts and figures" to show that municipal ownership and operation would be more financially rewarding than private ownership.¹⁷ Under the club's calculations, if the city retained its system of private contractors, it would continue to pay costs of collection and reduction, estimated at nearly \$500,000 per year, but would avoid the costs of purchasing and operating a reduction plant. This approach, the City Club argued, would be more fiscally efficient.¹⁸ The City Club also proposed that the one costly item for the city, its collection from private residences, be reduced by making the garbage wagon drivers civil servants.¹⁹

The City Club carried forward its opposition to municipal ownership when it recommended that its membership oppose an ordinance before the City Council in 1914 to appropriate money for city purchase of the reduction plant, which would then be operated by the city's department of health. Even when the ordinance passed, the club refused to withdraw its opposition. In early 1915, it grudgingly supported a bond issue of \$700,000 for the health department, saying that, since the money had already been spent (for the purchase and renovation of the plant), the bonds had to be approved.²⁰ The City Club, however, never ceased fighting municipal ownership of this and other public utilities.²¹

It was not just its cost-benefit analysis of municipal ownership that motivated the City Club. The debate over garbage disposal also concerned whether to continue with reduction—the disposal method used by both the companies bidding for the

¹⁵ "Minutes of Meetings," Committee on Garbage and Refuse Disposal, February 13, 1914, Box 14, folder 6, City Club MS Collection; "Yearly Report," Committee on Garbage and Refuse Disposal, April 7, 1914, *ibid.*

¹⁶ City Club of Chicago, "Chicago's Garbage Problem," *Bulletin*, 6 (December 20, 1913): 329–30.

¹⁷ "Minutes of Meetings," Committee on Garbage and Waste Disposal, July 30, 1914, Box 14, folder 6, City Club MS Collection.

¹⁸ The estimate supplied by Alderman Willis O. Nance to the City Club was \$47,500 per year to the Reduction Company and \$450,000 for collection. City Club, "Chicago's Garbage Problem," 330.

¹⁹ "Yearly Report," Committee on Garbage and Refuse Disposal, April 7, 1914, Box 14, folder 6, City Club MS Collection.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, March 24, 1915, Box 16, folder 3.

²¹ See, for example, "Report of the Civic Committee on Lighting and Telephone Service," December 18, 1913, Box 15, folder 3, City Club MS Collection.

city contract—or to shift to the incineration method. When Willis Nance, an alderman and a member of the City Waste Commission, spoke to the City Club, he emphasized that reduction “has proven in certain cities to be of immense value from a commercial standpoint.” In Chicago, for example, the profit realized from reduction (a process that rendered an oil product used in the manufacture of soaps) had reached as high as \$150,000 per year. “It is a question worth considering if in burning all our waste [that is, incineration] we will not become a bit extravagant in our method.”²² Nance admitted that incineration plants were virtually odorless, that because the extreme heat destroyed almost everything this method was certainly sanitary, and that the heat generated by burning refuse could be used to create electricity for the city. Yet Nance, and the City Club, rejected these considerations in favor of reduction. In its refusal to consider creating a municipally owned and operated garbage system, and its support of reduction over incineration, the City Club remained solidly on the side of private profit and limited municipal power over city services. The club did not even investigate possible long-term savings to the city of buying and operating the disposal equipment. Implicit in its stance was the notion that the good of the city lay in maximizing private profits from the provision of municipal services and minimizing governmental involvement.

The Woman’s City Club, on the other hand, favored both municipal control over and incineration of garbage on the grounds that they would maximize the healthiness of the urban environment. The Woman’s City Club did not concentrate on fiscal details but directed Mary McDowell to explore the variety of sanitation methods used in the United States and in Europe. McDowell, a settlement house worker and chair of the club’s Committee on City Waste, undertook an extensive tour of waste disposal operations on both continents in 1913. On her return, she addressed the men’s club about her findings. Her tour had convinced her that incineration was a more efficient and sanitary way to dispose of garbage. All the incineration plants she had visited, she told her audience, were free of noxious fumes, the heat from incineration went to generate electricity, and the hardened ash left as a by-product was being used in Europe for street paving. She could see little to recommend in reduction and told the men of the City Club that it was wrong to think of garbage removal as a business rather than a question of health and sanitation. By thinking of it as a business, they failed to consider, for instance, that, because a reduction plant could only handle pure garbage, citizens had to perform the unhealthy task of sorting pure garbage from unreducible refuse before it could be collected. Reduction, she bluntly told them, “fascinates the business man in America because you can extract money out of the garbage.”²³

Incineration was only one facet of the overall program for garbage collection and disposal reform favored by the members of the Woman’s City Club. These women wanted to centralize power through the municipal ownership and operation of waste facilities, the same system specifically rejected by their male counterparts. After the city purchased the reduction plant in 1914, the men continued to decry the lack of facts and figures available to show whether municipal ownership could be profitable. The women responded by showing that it was indeed profitable. In contrast to the men of the City Club, who advocated maximizing private profits—as high as \$150,000—while minimizing municipal expenditures, the women showed

²² City Club, “Chicago’s Garbage Problem,” 331.

²³ City Club, “Chicago’s Garbage Problem,” 336–37.

that the city had made a profit of almost \$6,000 in the year after it purchased the reduction plant. According to their calculations, once the initial outlay had been made to purchase equipment, the possibilities of a small yearly profit for the city existed.²⁴ Moreover, while they never advocated waste or careless expenditure of municipal finances, they did not see profit as the primary issue. As debate continued during 1915, the Woman's City Club's Committee on City Waste stressed the primacy of health over economics. Where garbage disposal was concerned, announced the club, "the true measure of its efficiency in such work is not the financial returns to be received, but the character of the service given."²⁵

In 1916, the Woman's City Club made municipal ownership and operation of all garbage and waste collection and disposal a provision of its Woman's Municipal Platform for Reform.²⁶ Later that year, the club proposed additionally that the city institutionalize garbage collection and disposal in a new municipal bureau, opposing a new bond issue of \$2 million that neither provided for purchase and development of collection equipment nor established this municipal bureau.²⁷ Unlike the men of the City Club, these women believed that service and the good health and sanitation of the city should be the priority for settling this issue. They rejected claims that municipal garbage disposal would not work, wondering aloud "why a municipality should not use the same sense in running their business that a packing plant does."²⁸

ON THE ISSUE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION, the differences between the City Club and the Woman's City Club were, if anything, even more pronounced. For a number of years, the City Club had been seeking to increase the business efficiency of the school system by implementing a type of education "more in accordance with the demands of modern society and business conditions."²⁹ In 1908, in response to the statement of Superintendent of Schools Cooley that "instruction in the elementary grades of the city schools was hopelessly academic and unable to fit the mass of the children for the vocation upon which they were to enter,"³⁰ the City Club constituted a subcommittee to investigate the possibilities of instituting a curriculum stressing vocational education. The club followed its general operating premise that every issue should be scientifically investigated—a task made easier by its wealth—and hired an outside investigator, E. A. Wreidt of the University of Chicago, to pursue this issue for them.

²⁴ Their accounting can be found in the Woman's City Club, *Its Book*, 52–56. It had cost \$650,000 to purchase and rehabilitate the plant; the \$130,000 spent on operating the plant (with an additional \$22,000 counted toward depreciation and interest) was offset by \$114,000 profit on six months of selling the by-products and the savings of \$47,500 that would have been paid under the old contract with the Chicago Reduction Company.

²⁵ Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 4 (September 1915): 2.

²⁶ "Report of Proceedings: Mass Meeting of Women to Protest against the Spoils System and Adopt a Woman's Municipal Platform," March 18, 1916, typescript, Box 1, folder 1, Woman's City Club of Chicago MS Collection, Chicago Historical Society. The provisions of the platform are also described in Louise DeKoven Bowen, *Speeches, Addresses and Letters*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1937), 1: 376–77.

²⁷ Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 5 (November 1916).

²⁸ Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 5 (December 1916): 11–12.

²⁹ "Report of the Committee on Public Education," April 1, 1907, Box 9, folder 5, City Club MS Collection. For accounts of early twentieth-century municipal struggles on the issue of public education, see Maureen A. Flanagan, *Charter Reform in Chicago* (Carbondale, Ill., 1987); and David J. Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880–1930* (Philadelphia, 1985).

³⁰ Quoted in "Minutes of Meeting," Committee on Education, November 23, 1908, Box 10, folder 3, City Club MS Collection.

The City Club was seeking a system of vocational education that would better train students for industrial jobs. This system, the club decided after some consideration, could best be established by businessmen and the board of education working together to design a program "directing school children toward proper occupations, and securing additional training for these children in the occupations themselves," while they were still in school.³¹ To secure the requisite funding and administration, the City Club supported various measures in the state legislature. It especially liked a bill introduced by the Illinois Bankers' Association to give state support to schools providing vocational education within the general school curriculum.³²

As was true of the City Club's attitude toward garbage and waste disposal, its proposals for vocational education, intended to create a dependable industrial work force, reflected members' preoccupation with financial reward for business. The subcommittee on vocational education declared industrial education "urgent if not imperative if we are to attain a place in the world's commerce commensurate with our possibilities and opportunities." Whether children or parents wanted this innovation did not concern the City Club. If anyone objected, he or she was accused of selfishness. The club's resolution in support of vocational education declared that "the nurture of intelligent skill in our hand workers is but increasing our effectiveness in industrial production. Certainly any measure looking to this end should have the hearty support of all classes of our citizens. What is good for the whole people can not possibly work harm to any section of our country."³³

The Woman's City Club also supported vocational education but of a different type and for different means and ends. These women used no rhetoric about the productivity and advancement of industrial society. They were concerned instead with the fate of the individual child within the school and industrial work systems. The Woman's City Club did not establish a new subcommittee to study the problem, and they could not afford outside experts. Working jointly with more than two hundred women from thirty women's clubs across the city, the Woman's City Club approached the issue of vocational education with two goals in mind. The first was to find ways to keep children in school beyond age fourteen (the mandatory age limit for schooling) in order to educate and prepare them for better-paying jobs. These women believed it a social and personal tragedy that thousands of children left school every year to enter "low-grade industries, untrained, unguided and unguarded." They wanted children to understand "that the earning capacity of those who have had a technical or commercial training is much greater than those who have completed only the eighth grade." Their second goal was to provide advice and guidance to schoolchildren once they were ready to leave school and seek work. Children, the Woman's City Club believed, needed "help in choosing a job so as to prevent the wastage that comes to them and the employers from their own haphazard choice."³⁴

³¹ "Yearly Report," Subcommittee on Vocational Education, March 1912, Box 13, folder 2, City Club MS Collection. See also Box 14, folder 1, for report submitted to subcommittee by Mr. E. A. Wreidt recommending that the City Club "take steps to bring the business men of Chicago and the Board of Education together on this problem"; and copies of letters sent July 19, 1916, to the Chicago Association of Commerce and the Commercial and Hamilton clubs inviting them to confer over how to secure legislation for vocational education; Box 18, folder 5, City Club MS Collection.

³² "Minutes of Meetings," Subcommittee on Vocational Education, August 2, 1912, Box 14, folder 1, City Club MS Collection.

³³ *Ibid.* For the progress of the vocational education proposals within the city and in the state legislature, and for the positions taken on this issue by various Chicagoans, see Hogan, *Class and Reform*.

³⁴ Woman's City Club, *Its Book*, 86-87.

To help carry out both these goals, in 1911 the Woman's City Club, along with the Chicago Woman's Club and the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, formed the Bureau for Vocational Supervision. The bureau took a personal interest in schoolchildren, working directly to place them in appropriate jobs when they left school and then to follow their subsequent progress. It also established a scholarship committee to raise funds to keep needy children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen in school "until they have acquired enough education, training and physical strength to guarantee them some chance of success in the industrial world." Scholarship money could be used for books, carfare, or as a stipend to replace the income a needy family could have earned from having a child leave school at fourteen; a book-loan fund was also established. The women's organizations, unlike their male counterparts, were always low on funds. The bureau raised the scholarship and book-loan monies through pledges of \$1 a month from their memberships.³⁵

The positions of the City Club and the Woman's City Club on two additional aspects of education reform also invite comparison. One is the question of whether to establish a system of vocational education separate from general education. Both groups opposed this proposition—which had been introduced into the state legislature with the avid support of the Commercial Club of Chicago—but for different reasons. The City Club thought a dual system would make it difficult to attract students into vocational education. Fearing that vocational education was viewed negatively by much of U.S. society, the club preferred that it be offered within the common schools as a separate curriculum.³⁶ The Woman's City Club, on the other hand, emphatically rejected a separate system of vocational education as discriminatory. Speaking before the club, Agnes Nestor, a glove worker who at the age of eighteen had led her fellow women workers in a successful strike, and who was both a labor organizer with the Women's Trade Union League and member of the Woman's City Club, urged her audience to reject a separate system of education. She reminded club members that while children might be trained for work in school, they deserved the privilege of cultural training as well as the practical. The women agreed. They passed a resolution stating, "All the children of the community, whether rich or poor are entitled . . . to the benefits of general education for citizenship . . . [and] the children who are to become efficient workmen must comprehend their work in relation to science, art, and to society in general."³⁷

The second aspect of education reform over which the two clubs differed was that of maximum classroom size. After visiting public schools and talking to teachers, the Woman's City Club insisted that there be no more than thirty children to a classroom and urged the City Club to support this goal, or at the very least, some definite limit to classroom size. The women further declared that they would "insist that Chicago can afford and must have adequate facilities and a sufficient teaching force to insure a maximum of thirty in high school courses."³⁸ In other words, the principle of reduced class size demanded the municipality find and allocate the money to implement the changes. The City Club, for its part, refused to support any specific limits on class size, either the thirty initially proposed or the

³⁵ Woman's City Club, *Its Book*, 87–89.

³⁶ Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 176. See also City Club, *Bulletin*, 5 (December 4, 1912): 373–77.

³⁷ Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 3 (December 1914). Nestor was working class, but her opinions could not have prevailed without the agreement of the middle-class women who dominated the organization.

³⁸ Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 5 (November 1916).

limits of forty-two and twenty-eight in elementary and secondary classrooms that the Woman's City Club later suggested as alternatives. In a letter to the women, the City Club sympathized with the idea of reducing the size of classrooms. It preferred, however, "to go into the question of the proper number of children under each teacher . . . with some care" and to make a future recommendation "based on the best evidence which can be obtained through the country after a rather careful search as to the maximum number of children that can be efficiently taught by a single teacher."³⁹

THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS ALSO CLASHED over the issue of police power in the city, especially police activities during labor strikes. Although the men of the City Club, unlike the members of the more ardent antilabor business clubs such as the Commercial Club, did not advocate or condone police violence against strikers, they were loath to condemn it when it happened. After a controversial strike in February 1914 by waitresses from the restaurant workers' union against the Henrici restaurant, the club confined itself to "investigating" both sides of the issue. During the strike, more than one hundred of the striking waitresses had been arrested on the picket line,⁴⁰ and the restaurant owners had secured a court injunction against picketing. On both issues—the injunction and the arrests—the chairman of the club's Committee on Labor Conditions, Frederick S. Deibler, presented a noncommittal report to the general membership. It acknowledged that the courts recognized the right to peaceful picketing and conceded that, in general, this was good for labor relations, but it also pointed out that courts could rule against picketing on the grounds that such activity "threatened irreparable injury to property." How to determine whether to issue an injunction was best left to the courts. If in this particular case a judge had found just cause in enjoining the Henrici strike, Deibler implied, that decision ought to be accepted by the club and all citizens.⁴¹ He neither challenged the court's ruling nor questioned the prevailing idea that workers' rights to picket should be restricted to peaceful actions that caused no harm to property. The latter limitation was particularly important. Implicit in that notion was the protection of companies from the loss of any business or trade as a result of picketing.

Deibler did show more doubt about the propriety of the arrests of the striking waitresses and their treatment by the police. "When all the circumstances surrounding the dispute are concerned," he told the club members, "it is difficult to account for the necessity of 119 or more arrests." It looked, he reported, as if the police had been determined to halt the picketing, whatever the legal rights of the waitresses. He expressed doubts about the validity of the restaurant's claim that it had to employ private detectives, who were used against the strikers, in order to protect its

³⁹ Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 5 (December 1916); letter from the City Club to the Woman's City Club, January 15, 1917, Box 18, folder 5, City Club MS Collection.

⁴⁰ The exact number of arrests was disputed. The chair of the City Club subcommittee for investigating the strike said "119 or more"; Elizabeth Maloney, secretary of the Waitresses' Union, claimed "something like 139 arrests"; City Club, "The Henrici Strike," *Bulletin*, 7 (June 13, 1914): 198, 203.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 196–97. The club's general lack of engagement with this issue can be seen in the fact that the committee had decided that the investigation and preparation of the report could be feasibly undertaken by Deibler in consultation with the other members. There is no indication that the other committee members, or the membership as a whole, objected to Deibler's conclusions and recommendations.

property. However, he refused to condemn either the police or the owners for their actions.⁴² Deibler's report merely suggested that police violence during strikes and the restaurant's use of private police during this particular strike did not help labor-business relations. The Henrici strike provoked no sentiment within the City Club to modify the exercise of police powers, at least as far as these affected labor activities.

By contrast, members of the Woman's City Club were actively involved in the strike itself: trying to resolve it and promoting reform of police powers. Several of these women, including Ruth Hanna McCormick (the wife of Medill McCormick, congressman, former publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, and founding member of the City Club), had walked the picket lines with the striking waitresses.⁴³ Based on its experiences, the Woman's City Club accused the police and businessmen of brutality, demanded that policewomen be assigned to protect the picketers, and asked that all private guards be withdrawn.⁴⁴

That police violence seemed endemic to labor situations in Chicago appalled the members of the Woman's City Club. At the mass meeting of the club called to consider the Woman's Municipal Platform in March 1916, they roundly condemned the 1,800 arrests made by police and private guards during the garment workers' strike of 1915. "It is time we challenged such things," Agnes Nestor told the assembly. "[The strikers] have come to this country because it holds out a promise to them. They come seeking freedom . . . and instead of that, they find they are exploited; and when they go on strike to protest against conditions, they are arrested . . . They are arrested at the suggestion of the employer."⁴⁵ The women attending the meeting agreed with Nestor; they adopted a plank opposing the extraordinary use of police power against workers. "We condemn the practice of giving police power to private guards whose employment during industrial disputes we believe increases disorder," read the plank. "We protest against the illegal arrest of persons engaged in patrolling the district where a strike is in progress."⁴⁶ This last referred to the police practice of arresting private citizens who were walking the picket lines in order to protect the striking workers from police brutality.

Nestor was a working-class woman. The vast majority of women attending the meeting were not, and many were married to men who were employers. This did not keep them from sharing Nestor's sentiments, nor had it in the past. Six years earlier during a strike by the garment workers, Louise DeKoven Bowen, the wealthy Chicago reformer who chaired the meeting in 1916, had declared her

⁴² City Club, "Henrici Strike," 198–99.

⁴³ Agnes Nestor, *Woman's Labor Leader: The Autobiography of Her Life* (Rockford, Ill., 1954), 158–59.

⁴⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, February 21, 23, 24, and 26, 1914. Policewomen were supplied, but they immediately arrested several women pickets; neither gender solidarity nor class solidarity was a given. Prominent Chicago women were not just opposed to labor violence against women strikers. In 1894, many of them had helped organize a relief committee for the male workers striking against the Pullman Company and in the process had incurred the wrath of the men who were their social equals. See Stanley Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880–1930* (New York, 1967), 171–72. In 1910, they supported the predominantly male garment workers on strike that year (see note 47). By 1914–1915, these women had moved beyond organizing relief committees to walking the picket lines.

⁴⁵ "Report of the Proceedings: Mass Meeting of Women to Protest against the Spoils System and Adopt a Woman's Municipal Platform," Woman's City Club MS, Box 1, folder 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

sympathies to be on the side of the workers and their right to organize and protest.⁴⁷

As part of their municipal platform, the Woman's City Club also demanded that the city create a municipal strike bureau. This bureau would require the office of chief of police to act as mediator in strikes, instead of acting on the behalf of employers, and would ban the use of private guards. The club declared that, while injustices or wrong-headedness might exist on the part of both employer and employee in labor disagreements, the workers' actions were quite often valid and justified. It advocated mediation, negotiation, and police protection of strikers rather than police power to arrest and abuse them. The men of the City Club, by contrast, were oriented to the needs and desires of businessmen on this issue as on most others. At a discussion meeting held to consider the proposed strike bureau, they listened to the attorney for the Illinois Manufacturers' Association speak against the measure as an infringement on the rights of business.⁴⁸ There is no evidence that the City Club held a different opinion or that it ever seriously considered supporting a municipal strike bureau.

IT HAS BEEN A PREVAILING IDEA of Progressive Era historiography that middle-class business and professional men, such as the members of the City Club, became municipal reformers because they had developed a citywide vision. This vision resulted from their realization that, as business affairs were conducted increasingly on a citywide basis, they needed to reform the entire urban structure in order to protect these affairs.⁴⁹ In Chicago, the men of the City Club viewed the city primarily as an arena in which to do business, and they advocated municipal reforms intended to protect and further the aims of business. If business and businessmen prospered, they argued, the city and the rest of its inhabitants would ultimately prosper. Thus, while they designed solutions for municipal problems that would, in practice, most directly profit one class, they argued that the benefits would spread through the remainder of the city. On one issue after another, they made fiscal efficiency and financial profitability the criteria for evaluating proposals for change.

I have argued elsewhere that, by the turn of the century, a broad range of urban residents, not just elite white males, had developed often-conflicting visions of the city as a whole.⁵⁰ The vision pursued by the members of the Woman's City Club has not been studied, in large part because of the tendency in Progressive Era political history to study men. That the women of the Woman's City Club had a citywide vision is apparent in their arguments and proposals for garbage disposal, public education, and the uses of police power. For them, municipal problems required solutions that guaranteed the well-being of everyone within the city, regardless of their immediate implications for business. The Woman's Municipal Platform of

⁴⁷ Newspaper clipping, November 1, 1910, Louise DeKoven Bowen Scrapbooks, Chicago Historical Society.

⁴⁸ "Report of the Proceedings . . . Woman's Municipal Platform"; City Club, *Bulletin*, 9 (January 10, 1916): 1–11.

⁴⁹ This idea was articulated by Samuel Hays in his seminal article "The Politics of Reform," more than two decades ago. See Schiesl, *Politics of Efficiency*, for its application.

⁵⁰ See Flanagan, *Charter Reform in Chicago*, esp. 22–23, 41–42, 84, 92–93, 114–15. Thus a limited and fragmented geographical view of the city, which may well have existed among women earlier in the nineteenth century, ought not to be applied forward into the next century; see Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York, 1986).

1916 laid out the club's position on franchises, schools, housing, public health and sanitation, police and crime, among others. Underlying it was the belief that all municipal problems had to be solved before the city would be a good place in which to live.

One must, however, ask why the members of the Woman's City Club took strikingly different positions on municipal issues from the men of the City Club. As mentioned earlier, the different vision of the women of the Woman's City Club cannot be explained simply as one that the settlement house workers imposed on the rest of the membership. No one, we assume, forced Ruth McCormick to march the picket lines with the striking waitresses in 1914 in the company of Hull House resident Ellen Gates Starr. As president of the club, Louise DeKoven Bowen willingly took the lead in designing and promoting the Woman's Municipal Platform. Where the settlement house workers may well have made an impact on the Woman's City Club was in their skill in political organizing. Kathryn Kish Sklar's recent work on the activities of the women at Hull House suggests that the settlement house milieu gave women "a means of bypassing the control of male associations and institutions," one in which "women reformers were able to develop their capacity for political leadership free from many if not all of the constraints that otherwise might have been imposed on their power by the male-dominated parties or groups."⁵¹ The activities of the Woman's City Club were the next step in the progression of building political leadership. Twenty-five years after the founding of Hull House, these Chicago women had gained more in the political arena than just the right to vote.⁵²

In explaining why middle-class men and women had such different views of the city, and of political reform, it is also not sufficient to attribute the Woman's City Club positions to a received female culture both traditional and limited. Paula Baker has argued for the influence of a female culture, the basic tenets of which were shaped in the early nineteenth century. This female culture, emanating from a belief in the "special moral nature of women," compelled women to work to "ensure the moral and social order" of their surroundings, first through voluntary organizations and then government agencies. Women's efforts in the Progressive Era were thus, according to Baker, an extension of the pursuit of a morality-based social reform in which women passed "on to the state the work of social policy that they found increasingly unmanageable."⁵³ But the Woman's City Club did not speak about the higher morality of women. Mary McDowell described the club's work as "a constructive fight for better things, for higher standards, for a sense of collective responsibility for public safety and public morals . . . Civic patriotism with

⁵¹ Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," *Signs*, 10 (Summer 1985): 670, 677. Because this activity was happening well in advance of women receiving the vote, the vote should not be seen as propelling women into political activity.

⁵² While Sklar sees the Hull House women as "advancing political solutions to social problems that were fundamentally ethical or moral, such as the right of workers to a fair return for their labor or the right of children to schooling," I believe that by the 1910s the members of the Woman's City Club see the problems as both ethical and political; *ibid.*, 663. See also Ellen Carol DuBois, "Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriet Stanton Blatch and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894-1909," *Journal of American History*, 74 (June 1987): 34, for her discussion of political versus social and moral arenas.

⁵³ Baker, "Domestication of Politics," 633, 641-42, gives the basic outlines of the cultural-analysis approach to women's reform agendas. See Philip J. Ethington, "Gender, Class, and Privilege: The Contested Terrain of Political Culture in San Francisco, 1890-1911," paper presented at the 104th meeting of the American Historical Association, December 1989 (copy in my possession), for an additional critique of this analysis when applied to voting on women suffrage.

a living daily sacrifice is the need of the hour."⁵⁴ Louise DeKoven Bowen, during her term as president of the Woman's City Club, proclaimed that the club, "should act not only as a spotlight turned on our community . . . but it should also serve as an agency to correct the evils depicted and to guide women in their efforts to make of their citizenship a constructive force in the city's life."⁵⁵

Further, even if Woman's City Club members may have learned from their mothers to concern themselves with the welfare of the poor, these received ideas do not explain the political strategies and the specific municipal proposals they developed in response to the problems of early twentieth-century Chicago. There is a crucial distinction between ideas received from previous generations and those that individuals create out of their own experiences. Received ideas had nothing to say about labor unions, for example, or municipal efficiency and municipal ownership. We know that businessmen, working out of their personal experiences of life and business in the city, changed their conception of politics and municipal government over the course of a generation.⁵⁶ Women went through the same process. But, as women's daily experiences were different from men's, they came to different conclusions about the direction political reform should take in Chicago.

The majority of men in the City Club were businessmen who drew on their professional experiences to design urban reform agendas. They were accustomed to thinking in terms of profitability and fiscal efficiency, of assessing a problem through the slow but steady accumulation of facts, and of seeking solutions that were best for themselves and their businesses. Their proposals for solving the problems of garbage disposal, public education, and police power make clear that they came easily to see as best for the city what was best for business and businessmen.⁵⁷

The primary daily experience for most middle-class women, on the other hand, was the home. Women were used to organizing a home environment that ensured the well-being of everyone in the family. When they entered the political arena, they sought to achieve the same objective. "The struggle within the city is a fight for the welfare of all the children of all the people," declared Mary McDowell. The *Bulletin* decreed that women "must form a citywide organization. We must unite forces for the common good and act together."⁵⁸ "Suppose we had a system of municipal relief," asked DeKoven Bowen, "which is built upon the principle that the community is one great family and that each member of it is bound to help the other, the burden of support falling on all alike?"⁵⁹ Thus women applied their experience of how the home worked to what a city government should try to achieve.

The different gender experiences of the members of the City Club and Woman's City Club also shaped the recruitment and activities of the club. To begin with, members of the City Club established more rigorous membership requirements

⁵⁴ Typescript, undated, in folder 19, Mary McDowell MS Collection, Chicago Historical Society; copy also in Box 1, folder 1, Woman's City Club MS Collection.

⁵⁵ Louise DeKoven Bowen, *The Woman's City Club of Chicago* (Chicago, 1922), 32.

⁵⁶ For examples, see Hays, "Politics of Reform"; M. McCarthy, "Businessmen and Professionals"; and Schiesl, *Politics of Efficiency*.

⁵⁷ Many studies explain the attempts of groups such as the City Club to implement business-like efficiency and business-like fiscal responsibility in municipal government, for example, Schiesl, *Politics of Efficiency*. Margaret Marsh's work showing that some suburban males had begun to value spending time at home with their families does not change the fact that a man's primary daily experience remained work outside the home. See Margaret Marsh, "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870–1915," *American Quarterly*, 40 (June 1988): 165–86.

⁵⁸ McDowell, typescript, folder 19, at Chicago Historical Society; Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 3 (April 1915).

⁵⁹ Bowen, *Speeches*, 1: 107.

than did the Woman's City Club. Before joining the City Club, any proposed member had to have his name submitted along with "facts and references indicating his fitness for membership and facilitating corroborative inquiry among the members." One negative vote was enough to blackball a prospective member. The admission requirements were strict, not because the purpose of the club was to make business contacts (as was the case with the Commercial Club) but to ensure that men whose opinions might differ dramatically from the majority did not have access to the club. "The chief function of the club," read an early circular, "is to promote the acquaintance, the friendly intercourse, the accurate information and personal co-operation of those who are sincerely interested in practical methods of improving the public life and affairs of the community in which we live."⁶⁰ This sentiment was echoed by founding member Walter Fisher, who wrote that membership was "confined to those who are sincerely interested in practical methods of improving public conditions."⁶¹ Careful admission requirements gave the City Club the leeway to define sincere interest and practical methods as it wished and to keep out those with whom its members might disagree. Entry into the Woman's City Club was easier. The club seems to have assumed that most women could contribute to its work, for all that was needed was nomination by one club member who believed that the nominee sympathized with the objectives of the organization.⁶² Without records of who was proposed for membership, or who was turned down, no definitive statement can be made about the City Club's membership practices.⁶³ It is clear, however, that the City Club grew more slowly than did the Woman's City Club. From an initial membership of 335 in 1903–1904, the City Club reached approximately 2,400 members in 1916; the members of the Woman's City Club numbered around 1,250 in its inaugural year of 1910–1911 and stood at approximately 2,800 for 1915–1916.⁶⁴

Similarly reflective of their different experiences are the methods by which the two clubs investigated municipal problems. As businessmen, the members of the City Club were accustomed to experiencing firsthand only parts of the problem they were investigating. Employees often gathered facts and figures for the employer. Although social workers were members of the City Club, it is doubtful that the majority of the club members ever saw the places social workers lived and worked because the City Club carried on much of its work within its own quarters.⁶⁵ In contrast, the women focused on grass-roots activities out in the city itself. The Woman's City Club leaders directed members to organize according to their city ward (in its membership lists, the club provides the ward each woman lived in). They also instructed them to go out into the wards to investigate street, alley, and

⁶⁰ Membership circular, undated, signed by the founding members, Box 20, folder 1, City Club MS Collection.

⁶¹ Walter L. Fisher to Marx and Door, November 16, 1903, Walter L. Fisher Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. See also City Club, *Yearbook* (1905–06), for details of admission procedures. One could not apply for membership to the City Club without an invitation from the board of directors.

⁶² Woman's City Club, *Yearbook* (1910).

⁶³ John C. Harding, a member of the Chicago Federation of Labor, belonged to the City Club, but CFL President John Fitzpatrick did not. Possibly, Harding had been invited to join when he was appointed to the board of education.

⁶⁴ The annual membership fee in the City Club was also set higher than the annual fee for the Woman's City Club.

⁶⁵ The City Club did not stint on comfortable quarters for itself. In 1905, the club moved to new quarters where, it informed the membership, they would be "splendidly housed" with private dining rooms; in 1909, the club began sending circulars to the members to raise \$75,000 for a new building. Circulars, February 2, 1905, Box 20, folder 1, City Club MS Collection; and June 12, 1909, Box 20, folder 3.

sidewalk conditions; housing, schools, and churches; infant mortality rates, numbers of children, and juvenile delinquency; parks, playgrounds, dance halls, saloons, hotels, jails, and courts.⁶⁶ A personal investigation of the garbage problem convinced the female reformers that only municipal ownership and operation of the means of garbage disposal would work well enough. Whether municipal ownership was the most financially profitable way to dispose of garbage was not their first concern; they asked whether it was the best way to promote the health and sanitation of the individuals whose neighborhoods they visited. When the answer seemed to be yes, they demanded municipal ownership.⁶⁷

Gender experiences, finally, help explain why the Woman's City Club, and women involved in municipal reform movements throughout the country, used the term "municipal housekeeping" to describe their activities—a more complicated metaphor than has previously been acknowledged. The women of the Woman's City Club were not just attempting to keep the city clean, as they did their homes. They had tried that approach years earlier, for example, in 1894–1895 when Jane Addams had organized women to go out and clean the streets themselves when the city was doing little about the problem. Rather, from their recognition of what it took to keep a home running, and running for the benefit of all its members, they developed ideas about how a good city should be run for the benefit of all its members. To characterize its work, the club talked in terms of "the Links that Bind the Home to the City Hall," with city hall in the middle, linked by chains to fourteen pairs of squares describing municipal activities and bureaus that affected life in the city.

The home and all life within the city, they argued, were inextricably "chained" to city hall. As one might expect, their illustration of these links includes the "traditional" female concerns about food inspection, factory safety, and clean air. But the two squares that depict the power of the city to license marriage and register birth showed that these women had become conscious of the power of the state to regulate and control their lives. "Whether she [the club member] likes it or not, the city government invades the privacy of her family life in the interests of the whole city," pointedly noted an essayist in the club's bulletin.⁶⁸ Marriage and birth may be viewed as primarily female concerns, but, without a political agenda to organize, investigate, and promote political municipal reforms in these and other areas, women had no say in that city government or over how it affected the home.

Using a term such as "municipal housekeeping" enabled women to become involved in every facet of urban affairs without arousing opposition from those who believed woman's only place was in the home.⁶⁹ Moreover, by depicting the city as

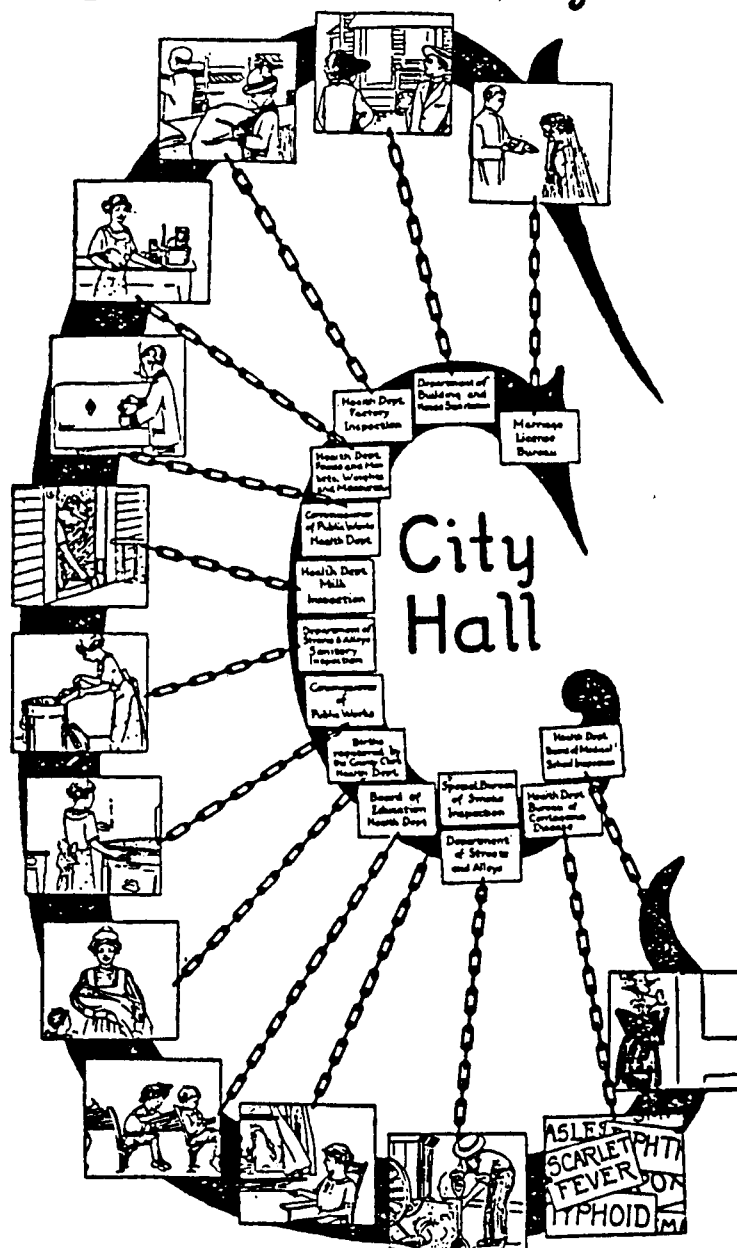
⁶⁶ Woman's City Club, *Its Book*; Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 3 (April 1915); Bowen, *Speeches, Addresses and Letters*, 2: 468–73. The club often found ingenious ways to carry out multiple aims. It investigated various municipal problems by organizing tours of jails, police stations, poor neighborhoods, hospitals, etc. Each woman paid \$1 for each trip, and this money was then given to suffrage organizations. Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 3 (September 1914). See also Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873–1913* (Chicago, 1980), 281, for her observations on the different methods of the two clubs.

⁶⁷ These women were not oblivious to the fact that tax dollars would be needed to pay for municipal ownership and that as wealthier members of the community they, or their families, could be among those hardest hit. One of the reasons wealthier women in Chicago had lobbied hard for the municipal vote was to have a say in their financial interests. But many of them had come to their own conclusions about how they wanted their tax dollars spent, and these conclusions did not necessarily coincide with those of the men of their class; see Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York, 1910), 237.

⁶⁸ Woman's City Club, *Bulletin*, 2 (July 1913).

⁶⁹ For example, the City Club urged Mayor Carter Harrison to appoint women to the board of education, saying there was "a peculiar need for the presence on the Board of Education of those who are familiar with social problems and situations, and at the same time are in an intelligent and

The Links that Bind the Home to the City Hall



HELP IN THE MUNICIPAL HOUSEKEEPING
The Woman's City Club, Chicago

the larger home, the women were asserting their right to involve themselves in every decision made by the Chicago city government, even to restructure that government. They supported the creation of a municipal strike bureau, for instance, in order to institutionalize within government protection for workers from businessmen.⁷⁰ When the club sought to institutionalize municipal ownership and operation of garbage disposal, it was advocating a radical change in Chicago's city government, for municipal ownership would dramatically change the political purposes and structures of city governments. In attempting to redefine what was economic in the political system, it came into direct conflict with established, male-dominated institutions.⁷¹ In its positions on these issues, the Woman's City Club had thus moved beyond reliance on moral suasion to sophisticated participation in the political system.⁷²

I do not mean to suggest that gender was the only point of reference for these women or that they were political radicals. They wished to have the city control certain public services, but they did not vote for socialists; they belonged to the Women's Trade Union League but not the Industrial Workers of the World. They also tended to believe that theirs was the only appropriate municipal vision for women and that part of their task was to educate women of other classes to their point of view. Undoubtedly, there were people in the neighborhoods and institutions they visited who did not always welcome their presence. But, because of their gender experiences, the Woman's City Club members were more open to the possibilities of cross-class alliances than were most of their male counterparts.⁷³ These experiences also brought them to a different vision of good city government. Woman's City Club members seldom equated the good of the business community with the good of the citizenry as a whole. Instead, members of the Woman's City Club viewed the city as they had viewed their homes, a place where the health and welfare of all members should be sought.

sympathetic attitude toward the children themselves." However, if the men thought they were advocating women's participation in matters pertaining to children, the women knew that, while serving on the board, they would be making important municipal decisions, such as what manner of vocational education might be introduced into the system. The ideas of the Woman's City Club toward vocational education differed significantly from those of the City Club; thus, if these women had much say in running the schools, the City Club might never see instituted the type of vocational education it wanted. City Club to Mayor Carter Harrison, April 28, 1913, Box 15, folder 6, City Club MS Collection.

⁷⁰ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz's comment in *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Chicago, 1976), 144, that "Julius Rosenwald [the head of Sears, Roebuck] would have his chauffeur drive one of the settlement women to join a picket line of workers striking against him, but he did not allow her to influence his negotiations," misses an important point. By moving onto the picket lines and demanding changes for workers, women were in fact influencing Rosenwald's (and every other businessman's) negotiations. By the early twentieth century, men were no longer able to run their affairs and the city's affairs without the "interference" of women.

⁷¹ See Ethington, "Gender, Class, and Privilege," for additional insights into the radical implications of "municipal housekeeping" for urban politics.

⁷² Evidence of this shift is seen in the process of Louise DeKoven Bowen's political growth. While working for the Juvenile Court, she listened to an Illinois legislator telling colleagues to pass the bill providing for probation officers for the court because "there is nothing in it, but a woman I know wants it passed." She realized, much to her own consternation, that depending on the good will of male politicians was an unsatisfactory means for enacting reform. Louise DeKoven Bowen, *Growing Up with a City* (New York, 1926), 106-07.

⁷³ See Nancy A. Hewitt, "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood: American Women's History in the 1980s," *Social History*, 10 (October 1985): 315, for her cautions against seeing "universal notions of womanhood" or a "single woman's culture sphere" as the cause of women's reform activities; and DuBois, "Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance," 57, on tensions over socialist participation in a suffrage movement led largely by middle-class women. But also see John T. Cumbler, "The Politics of Charity: Gender and Class in Late 19th Century Charity Policy," *Journal of Social History*, 14 (Fall 1980): 99-111, for analysis of the differing policies toward charity adopted by men and women of the same class.

The Making of a Feminine Professional Identity: Social Workers in the 1920s

DANIEL J. WALKOWITZ

"IS SOCIAL WORK NOW A PROFESSION?" a didactic 1930 essay anxiously queried in the *Survey*, Paul Kellogg's journal of social service reform. "Yes," replied author Hazel Newton, a social worker who had become general manager of the Cooperative Workrooms in Boston. And, she added, through the medium of her fictionalized "Miss Case-Worker" named "Jane," professionalism meant they were "going scientific." Social workers like Jane were learning to beware of "putting too much of one's own prejudices, sentiments, loves and hates, into one's job."¹ Against an old-fashioned, voluntary Lady Bountiful, Newton celebrated the "scientific" Miss Case-Worker, an "objective" social investigator. Because objectivity and rationality were conventionally associated with male professional culture, however, the scientific model created its own tensions for female social workers.²

In the 1920s, a new generation of female social workers struggled to develop a work identity that would both give them professional status and preserve their femininity.³ Part of a transformed white-collar work force,⁴ this postwar, post-

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¹ Hazel Newton, "Miss Case-Worker Goes Scientific," *Survey*, 63 (January 15, 1930): 464–65. Newton had previously worked with Boston Italian immigrant families.

² The gendered character of science is discussed by Margaret Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore, Md., 1982). Further tensions for women implicit in the professional model are analyzed in Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Joyce Antler, "The Educated Woman and Professionalization: The Struggle for a New Feminine Identity, 1890–1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York, Stony Brook, 1977); Penina Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater, *Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987); Regina G. Kunzel, "The Professionalization of Benevolence: Evangelicals and Social Workers in the Florence Crittenton Homes, 1915 to 1945," *Journal of Social History*, 22 (Fall 1988): 21–43; and Clarke A. Chambers, "Women in the Creation of the Profession of Social Work," *Social Service Review*, 60 (March 1986): 1–33. On the new generation of women in social work, see Daniel J. Walkowitz, "Professionalization and Women Social Workers," paper delivered at the Women in the Progressive Era Conference, Smithsonian Institution, March 1988.

³ Historians both of women's work and of social work have identified some of the problems women have had reconciling their work with notions of femininity. See Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York, 1986); Ava Baron, "Woman's 'Place' in Capitalist Production: A Study of Class Relations in the Nineteenth-Century Printing Industry" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1981); Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York, 1982); and Patricia Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900–1919* (Urbana, Ill., 1987). Also see Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana, 1986); and Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Wage-Earning*

suffrage generation sought both a career and family, albeit not necessarily at the same time. The burgeoning consumer family economy in the 1920s further complicated women's work expectations. A professional standard of living dictated new levels of material acquisition supposedly appropriate to a white-collar middle-class occupational stratum. This consumer culture and ambiguities about respectable women's public roles compelled women to seek a new work identity. But none of the available ideologies and representations produced by mass media or by union and professional associations could serve to orient female social workers in a world of work shaped by the contradictory imperatives of domesticity, career, and consumption. Out of the failure to achieve an autonomous professional work culture, and in response to routine in the work itself, social workers created two new types, the Professional Woman and the Professional Worker. Social workers did not themselves use these terms until the 1960s, but their complaints and analyses in the 1920s anticipated them. Neither type, the Professional Woman, a female social worker who accepted the "male" ideology of the dispassionate professional, or the Professional Worker, a "neutered" white-collar proletarian, adequately expressed the gendered character of social work. Nonetheless, they framed (and limited) debates among social workers about appropriate roles and responses to their work from the 1920s onward.

THE DECADE OF THE 1920s is a significant historical "moment" in the production of social workers' professional identities. During this decade and into the early 1930s, they developed new self-definitions in response to conflicting pressures. They had to contend with management's efforts to rationalize work and economize, with their families' expectations of a higher standard of living, and with their own personal desires to participate in the new consumer culture. In sum, they had to respond to new expectations about what constituted professional conditions, a process complicated by the elusive nature of professionalism, particularly in feminized occupations such as social work.⁵

Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States, 1900–1930 (New York, 1979). On women in social work, see the citations in Chambers, "Women in the Creation of the Profession of Social Work."

⁴ Historians who have studied white-collar professions dominated by women emphasize the contradiction between professionalism and women's work. Barbara Melosh, for example, writes that "in broader cultural terms, nursing by definition cannot be a profession because most nurses are women." See Barbara Melosh, *The Physician's Hand: Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing* (Philadelphia, 1982), 20; Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876–1920* (New York, 1979); Kunzel, "Professionalization of Benevolence," and Marjorie Murphy and David Hogan, "Centralization and the Transformation of Public Education," both in *Class and Reform: Schools and Society in Chicago, 1880–1930*, David Hogan, ed. (Philadelphia, 1985); and Marjorie Murphy, "From Artisan to Semi-Professional: White Collar Unionism among Chicago Public School Teachers, 1870–1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1981). Susan Reverby's social history of nursing has also recently been published: see *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850–1945* (New York, 1988). These studies all identify the problem of understanding women in these professions as a conflict between professionalization and femininity or between professionalization and proletarianization, implicitly assuming these dyads were mutually exclusive or antagonistic categories. The call to study professional women was issued by Joan Jacobs Brumberg and Nancy Tomes, "Women in the Professions: A Research Agenda for American Historians," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (June 1982): 275–96.

⁵ Historians have emphasized that this period witnessed the proliferation of such seemingly diverse phenomena as consumer culture, advertising, scientific management, and leisure. See, for example, T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture," in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980*, Richard Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds. (New York, 1983), 1–38; Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures:*

The literature on professionalization has tended to ignore the conflicting tensions within white-collar female work identities. Although historians of social work such as Roy Lubove, Leslie Leighninger, James Leiby, and John Ehrenreich have chronicled "the emergence of social work as a profession" in this period, they have followed traditions in the sociology of professions.⁶ They focus on institution building and accept the self-definitions adopted by workers within these organizations. As Martin Oppenheimer has observed, however, "most sociological discussions define professionals by criteria that are narrowly determined, in part by the professionals themselves." For professionals in general, he has noted, the ideology reifies the work. "The label [professional] is not a neutral, objective description of a particular reality, but a function of a specific social context that in turn promotes definitions that become part of and help define social reality."⁷

Professionals, Christopher Lasch has reminded us, "invented many of the needs they claim to satisfy" and then rushed to offer their "professional services."⁸ For male-dominated occupations such as law and medicine with an established specialized knowledge base, professionalism served practitioners' interests well, effectively controlling entrance into the field. For women, however, professionalism as an ideology and an identity obscured shifting working conditions at the time, changes that failed to fulfill social workers' expectations concerning job autonomy and middle-class living standards. Professionalism still shaped how these women organized and defined themselves, but women in professions such as social work found achievements illusory and problematic.

In a 1915 report on social work, Abraham Flexner formally indicted social work as poorly paid and unprofessional. Training schools offering advanced degrees in social work had opened in New York, Boston, and Chicago between 1898 and 1908, but full professional identity required more. Social work, Flexner concluded, did

Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940 (Urbana, Ill., 1986); Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York, 1976); Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1978); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia, 1986); Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York, 1977); and Robert William Snyder, *The Voice of the City: Vaudeville and Popular Culture in New York* (New York, 1989).

⁶ John H. Ehrenreich, *The Altruistic Imagination: A History of Social Work and Social Policy in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), 78; Roy Lubove, *The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1830–1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); Clarke A. Chambers, *Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service and Social Action, 1918–1933* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967); James Leiby, *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States* (New York, 1978); Leslie Leighninger, *Social Work: Search for Identity* (Westport, Conn., 1987), chaps. 2–3; and Esther Lucile Brown, *Social Work as a Profession* (New York, 1935). The literature on professionalism is vast, but among the most influential has been: Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana, Ill., 1972); Eliot Friedson, *The Professions and Their Prospects* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1973); Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977); and Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York, 1976).

⁷ Martin Oppenheimer, *White Collar Politics* (New York, 1985), 135–36. For something of the range of more traditional sociological literature, see William J. Goode, "Community within a Community: The Professions," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (April 1957): 194–200; Amitai Etzioni, ed., *The Semi-Professions and Their Organization: Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers* (New York, 1969); Sydney A. Halpern, *American Pediatrics: The Social Dynamics of Professionalism, 1880–1980* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988); and Eliot Friedson, "Theory of Professions: State of the Art," in *The Sociology of the Professions: Lawyers, Doctors and Others*, R. Dingwall and P. Lewis, eds. (New York, 1983), 19–37.

⁸ Christopher Lasch, "The Siege of the Family," *New York Review of Books*, 24 (November 1977): 15–18, is quoted in Oppenheimer, *White Collar Politics*, 135. The creation of a "market" for professionals is from Larson, *Rise of Professionalism*, 14.

not require specialized skills; it was a mediating occupation without final authority.⁹ Still, many social workers at the time disagreed with Flexner's assessment and in the next fifteen years attempted to change the conditions that led to it. Between 1918 and 1926, both medical (hospital) and psychiatric social workers as well as the Visiting Teachers organized their own associations. More generally, social workers in the National Social Workers' Exchange, a job placement bureau, formed the American Associations of Social Workers in 1921 and began to publish their own journal, *The Compass*. Although the AASW represented only 15 to 20 percent of all social workers, the more esteemed and better-paid caseworkers and executives in private agencies who dominated the organization often spoke for all and established criteria for entrance into the field. By mid-decade, the AASW led in the development of a social worker "professional subculture," complete with schools, journals, associations, and specialized training in casework method and psychiatric services.¹⁰

By 1930, social work had been reshaped as a profession. Mary Richmond's *Social Diagnosis* (1917) became the manual for scientific social work in standardized training programs, which taught principles of casework and social investigation procedures based on social evidence. Psychiatric training in general and Freudianism in particular further filled social workers' need to present themselves as professionals possessing specialized knowledge with "scientific" answers. The 1930 federal census for the first time awarded "social and welfare workers" their own professional category, a step, according to a 1935 Russell Sage Foundation classic on the new profession, "achieved through the vigilance of the American Association of Social Workers." The 1930 census reported 31,241 social workers with seventy-six different job titles; their ranks had grown by nearly two-thirds over the preceding decade. Eighty percent were female.¹¹

The growing numbers of social workers created as much concern as pride within the ranks of the better-trained and more elite. Beginning in 1923, as part of a drive to raise "professional standards," a select group of thirty-nine caseworkers and administrators (of whom more than three-quarters were women) met annually as the Milford Conference under AASW auspices to consider their professional status. Its final report in 1928 concluded that a generic form of social casework did exist throughout the various branches of social work but as a de facto practice rather than as a codified and required body of knowledge. The Milford Report recommended that formal graduate education be coordinated by a Council of Social Work Education. A Master of Social Work or M.S.W. degree would become the entry-level credential. By 1932, the Association of Professional Schools had standardized curriculum and requirements in the twenty-five member schools offering master's degree programs. In addition, following another recommendation in the Milford Report, the AASW, whose membership had grown from 750 in

⁹ Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" National Conference of Charities and Corrections, *Proceedings* (1915): 576-90.

¹⁰ Similar professional subcultures developed in other female white-collar professions such as teaching, nursing, and librarianship at approximately the same time. See Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*; and Melosh, *Physician's Hand*.

¹¹ Brown, *Social Work as a Profession*, 142-43. Data for 1920 can only be estimated. The census lumped social and welfare workers with recreation and group workers and religious workers in 1920. The total increased from 46,000 to 71,000 (56.8 percent). U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1955), Series D 123-572, p. 75. Data on the sexual division of the professions is from Cott, *Modern Feminism*, 219.

1921 to over 5,000 in 1930, created a committee that instituted higher, and therefore more restrictive, membership requirements in 1932.¹²

The struggle to define a new professional identity for social work in these years was complicated by the rising expectations of the new labor force. Nationally, the percentage of employed women classified as professionals grew from 8.2 to 14.2 percent between 1900 and 1930, and women constituted a disproportionately larger number within the professions than within the labor force in general. Among the occupations in which women congregated such as nursing and librarianship, only "schoolteachers" was more feminized than social work. By 1930, four of every five people in or preparing for a career in either teaching or social work were female. A decade earlier, fewer than three in five social workers had been female.

This largely female labor force regarded the redefined jobs in private casework agencies or public welfare as respectable work that permitted and even sustained middle-class leisure activities. Dependent on a regular income, the new social worker of the 1920s, as Barbara Balliet has observed, was not simply an altruist; she had entered paid labor to begin a career. An earlier generation of native-born Protestant women may have felt it had to choose between family and work. The new social workers of the 1920s increasingly expected to realize both ambitions.¹³ In the pages of *The Nation* and elsewhere, elite professional women openly voiced the desire to reconcile the public and private spheres of their lives.¹⁴ But, as the essays by social workers discussed below shall suggest, marriage also remained an

¹² American Association of Social Workers, *Studies in the Practice of Social Work*, no. 2, "Social Case Work, Generic and Specific: An Outline; A Report of the Milford Conference" (New York, 1931). Also see Lubove, *Professional Altruist*, 118–56; Ehrenreich, *Altruistic Imagination*, 78. Some of the earliest schools are especially well described in Alexander Johnson, *Adventures in Social Welfare, Being the Reminiscences of Things, Thoughts & Folks during Forty Years of Social Work* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1923), chaps. 1–2; Frank J. Bruno, *Trends in Social Work, 1874–1956* (New York, 1957), 30–43; and Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare* (New York, 1986). Melosh notes the American Nursing Association had "low membership," too, suggesting that the AASW's enrollment of 15–20 percent of all social workers was in line with that of other feminized professions; Melosh, *Physician's Hand*, 98. Prior to 1930, membership in the Medical Women's Association never exceeded one-third of all female doctors; Cott, *Modern Feminism*, 231.)

¹³ Barbara J. Balliet, "What Shall We Do with Our Daughters': Middle-Class Women's Ideas about Work, 1840–1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1988). Balliet's women, from 1900 to 1920, are not daughters of immigrants; by the 1920s, they were more likely to be. Unlike the previous generation of women who filled the ranks of settlement house workers, most of these women would only see spinsterhood as an impoverished and isolated existence. See, for example, Anzia Yezierska, *Bread Givers* (1925; rpt. edn., New York, 1975); Meredith Tax, *Rivington Street* (New York, 1984); Meredith Tax, *Union Square* (New York, 1988); and Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture in the Lower East Side* (New York, 1985).

¹⁴ The seventeen essays by professional women in *The Nation* are reprinted in Elaine Showalter, ed., *These Modern Women: Autobiographical Essays from the Twenties* (Old Westbury, N.Y., 1978). See also Joyce Antler, *Lucy Sprague Mitchell: The Making of a Modern Woman* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Estelle B. Freedman, "The New Woman": Changing Views of Women in the 1920s," *Journal of American History*, 61 (1974): 372–93; Cott, *Modern Feminism*, 183; Robert W. Smuts, *Women and Work in America* (New York, 1959), 142–43; and Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, 1985), 182–83, who cites a Radcliffe College survey where 50 percent of the 2,000 respondents hoped it was possible to combine marriage and work. A 1926 survey of professionals completed by the Bureau of Vocational Information concluded they were an "advance guard" of working wives; see Virginia MacMakin Collier, *Marriage and Careers: A Study of One Hundred Women Who Are Mothers, Homemakers and Professional Workers* (New York, 1926). Social work records also suggest the increasing place of married women in the field. Studies for the Russell Sage Foundation by Louise Odencrantz, *The Social Worker in Family, Medical and Psychiatric Social Work* (New York, 1929), 87; and Margarita Williamson, *The Social Worker in Child Care and Protection* (New York, 1931), 389, cite marriage as a desirable trait in child care workers. Data for 1950 is found in U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Social Workers in 1950: A Report of Salaries and Working Conditions in Social Work* (New York, 1952), 42.

ultimate goal and an important strategy for economic survival, especially for the increasing numbers of daughters (or granddaughters) of immigrants who retained a vivid memory of childhood poverty. In New York City, for example, where the largest number of social workers was employed, the immigrant origins of the staff were highly visible. The 1926 roster of the Manhattan office of the New York Department of Public Welfare included twenty-six female and four male investigators. The chief was a man, Frederick E. Bauer. But the women, like Annie Murphy, Mary O'Connor, Margaret Mulcahy, and Catherine Horan, had mostly Irish surnames. Immigrant daughters such as these women would expect to resume work after varying intervals of child rearing, indeed, to work for their families over the decades.¹⁵

These female social workers of the 1920s received contradictory messages upon entering the field.¹⁶ For all that was new about social work, many of the attitudes toward women's work continued to celebrate domestic forms of work and "maternal" instincts.¹⁷ Social workers were encouraged to play traditional nurturing roles, but in the 1920s they also came to believe that they could distinguish their work from that of unpaid volunteers and from women's "usual" domestic nurturing in the home by becoming "efficient," dispassionate "professionals." For example, Women's Educational and Industrial Union pamphlets asserted that women had special opportunities and a "calling" for social work, but, when they offered women advice for succeeding in the field, they urged women to adopt the behavioral characteristics valued by the male social work leadership: dispassion, objectivity, devotion to order and science. As the president of the National Conference on Jewish Social Service told the Annual Meeting in 1926, volunteers, again usually women, had brought "love of mankind" to social work, allowing their emotions and impulses free reign. The female professional, though, needed different qualities. To succeed, the Good Mother had to adopt attributes of passionlessness and objectivity generally associated with men, traits that easily allowed others to stereotype her as desexed or androgynous.¹⁸

No less troubling to these women was the discrepancy between the institutional

¹⁵ Cott, *Modern Feminism*, 217–19. For New York: Walker Papers, 1926, Department of Public Welfare, folder 3, Municipal Archives of the City of New York. Data on ethnicity of social workers does not exist, but oral histories of caseworkers and staff of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York (hereafter, FJP) also suggest the entry of a new generation of social workers by the late 1920s. Federation leaders were German Jews whose wives had worked for United Hebrew Charities; the new caseworkers were of East European background. See, for example, FJP, FJP Archives, Oral History Project, Martha Selig interview, February 9, 1982, New York.

¹⁶ The Women's Education and Industrial Union (hereafter, WEIU) of Boston published a series of pamphlets in 1911–1912, urging the particular attraction for women of vocations in home and school visiting, charity, settlements, and social service with children. The WEIU championed social work as a new paid "profession" for the leagues of working women.

¹⁷ One "how to" volume published in 1926 drew on all these strains of thought: "Every kind of work that women can do is a possibility. At least one of these kinds you can do well, and the world will be the better for your doing it. Some kinds of women's work lead to the creation of beautiful things, some to the relief of distress and the soothing of pain, some to the training of little minds, while still others go to the making of laughter, or to the comfort and pleasure of all"; Ruth Wanger, *What Girls Can Do* (New York, 1926), 4; see also E. W. Weaver, *Profitable Vocations for Girls* (Chicago, 1924).

¹⁸ Louis M. Cahn, "The Lay Person and Professional Worker in Social Service," National Conference of Jewish Social Service [hereafter, NCJSS], *Proceedings* (1926): 2–9. Women's nurturing roles are emphasized in most Progressive Era literature: see, for example, WEIU, Department of Research, *Home and School Visiting as a Vocation for Women* (Boston, 1911), *Organizing Charity as a Vocation for Women* (Boston, 1912), *Settlement Work as a Vocation for Women* (Boston, 1912), *Social Service for Children as a Vocation for Women* (Boston, 1912), *Studies in Economic Relations of Women*, vol. 1, part 2 (Boston, 1914); and Elizabeth Kemper Adams, *Women Professional Workers: A Study Made for the Women's Educational and Industrial Union* (Chautauqua, N.Y., 1921).

forms professionalism took and the substance it provided. For social workers, professionalism also meant the development of a specialized casework method with new mental health and psychiatric techniques.¹⁹ The growing reliance on psychiatric social work in the 1920s, however, further exacerbated the tensions in women's efforts to balance work and family roles. The rise of Freudian therapy and child casework emphasized the mother as the primary parent and the crucial importance of early childhood development. As a result, for both workers and clients, the burden of traditional domestic responsibilities increased.²⁰

Professionalism also promised status and autonomy on the job. In this regard, the record for social workers was mixed. Social workers obtained considerable autonomy in their daily work, an autonomy central to their professional identity. Social work was a varied field in the 1920s, extending from highly specialized medical and psychiatric workers to the less formally trained group workers. An increasing majority of social workers came to work in family casework agencies. Traveling about the city on their own, every half hour or so such caseworkers met different clients or consulted with social service representatives. A few condensed references from Louise Odencrantz's detailed 1929 study of social work for the Russell Sage Foundation typify the range of interventions in a large city:

9:00 A.M. At Family Court. Spoke to [parole] worker regarding the C family [an out-of-work, alcoholic tailor]. Arrangements were made to have Mrs. C call at the office to lodge a complaint against her husband [for lack of support].

9:40 A.M. At Main Office. Discuss relief eligibility of Mr. L with Self-Support Department.

10:00 A.M. Discussed with Home Economics department the possibility of sending child to camp for the summer.

10:45 A.M. Visited lawyer to get legal aid for injured laundry driver.

12:00 Lunch.

12:45 P.M. E. 96th St. Convinces reluctant Mrs. C to lodge complaint against her husband.

1:25 P.M. Visited Mrs. S. Arranges physical exam for her. Arranges camp and vocational testing for the eldest child.

1:55 P.M. Visited Mrs. A. Fails to "give her insight into her husband's [physical] condition." Promises to get doctor's report on daughter's visit to the clinic.

2:35 P.M. Public School. Gets reports on two children. Gets teacher cooperation with children's plans.

3:10 P.M. Visited Y Family. Arranges one daughter's tonsillectomy, another's vocational training, and the boys summer camp and psychological testing.

3:55–4:10 P.M. Phoned doctors and clinics.

4:10–5:00 P.M. Dictated day's activities, filed reports, wrote letters.²¹

Such a daily routine afforded much freedom and discretion, as well as a privileged status over clients. No boss accompanied the social worker on her rounds. She was in a position of responsibility, probably evoking as much fear as respect from clients in need of aid. Yet caseworkers often dispensed information

¹⁹ War trauma increased interest in psychiatric nursing and social work services that had begun to grow in preceding decades with efforts to promote additional hygiene in the fight against tuberculosis. Dr. Richard C. Cabot introduced medical social work into Massachusetts General Hospital in 1905, but the mental hygiene movement peaked in the 1920s. See Richard C. Cabot, *Social Work: Essays on the Meeting-Ground of Doctor and Social Worker* (Boston, 1919); and Mary C. Jarrett, "Psychiatric Social Work," *Mental Hygiene*, 2 (1918): 283–90.

²⁰ As Winifred Wandersee has noted, the new child and family-centered therapies were partially responsive to the decline in child labor and increase in women's work; Winifred D. Wandersee, *Women's Work and Family Values, 1920–1940* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 57; and Jessica B. Peixotto, "Campus Standards of Living," *Survey Midmonthly*, 63 (April 15, 1929): 119.

²¹ Odencrantz, *Social Worker*, 43–45.

that was commonplace among the better educated and more affluent. Unlike doctors, lawyers, and engineers, who spoke a specialized language and possessed technical knowledge, typical social workers served as informed mediators who provided information about social services and facilitated their use. As Mary Palevsky, a Brooklyn caseworker, noted, "[O]ver and over again I have heard experienced, but untrained social workers say that intuition, common sense, and life experience are the only necessary preparation for an effective social worker." Status came from the social worker's position of authority over lower-class clients, who were dependent on her judgment. To her middle-class peers, however, the lower-class background of such clients minimized the status of social work.²²

Back at the office, social workers found their professional autonomy limited by austere and routinized working conditions in new bureaucracies, by the new authority vested in psychiatry, and by conflicts with volunteers. In the years following World War I, under the banner of efficiency, many city agencies consolidated and centralized social services in organizations like the Community Chest and the Federation for Jewish Philanthropies (FJP). Administrators and board officers endorsed rationalization—specialized assignments with supervision, casework procedures, and standardized report forms—as improvements in work.

Caseworkers at the Jewish Board of Guardians (JBG) in New York City, an affiliated agency of New York's FJP with one of the most highly trained professional staffs, bore the brunt of the increased rationalization. As perhaps the most advanced center for psychiatric social work in the country, the JBG required of its staff more diagnosis and psychological counseling than were performed by the larger number of caseworkers who did family casework. By 1923, the JBG claimed to have become an efficient machine: its executive director reported it had developed "a smooth-running, responsible, economical and efficient organization." Apparently using new forms and reporting procedures, he claimed record keeping and casework had become both more "efficient" and "scientific." New programs in medical, psychiatric, and neurological social work had been established. The JBG also hired an elite group of statisticians and medical specialists. In sum, over the course of a decade, work in agencies like JBG became more rationalized.²³ In a study of clerical workers, Sharon Hartman Strom suggests that regularized procedures sometimes were to an employee's advantage, minimizing arbitrariness and defining jobs. Still, at the time, no worker voices sang the praises of rationalization. Rather, social workers complained of overwork and condemned their jobs as dependent and routinized. In annual reports, the JBG executives, who were themselves usually trained social workers, confirmed what caseworkers experienced every day: high case loads and low salaries persistently undermined professional achievement.²⁴

²² Mary Palevsky, response to Maurice J. Karpf, "Extra-Curricular Training for Jewish Social Work," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1927): 178. The classic statement on status and wealth is Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1899).

²³ Jewish Board of Guardians [hereafter, JBG], Jewish Board of Family and Children's Services of New York Archive, Annual Reports, 1921–29, Box 1240, especially see the 1923 report.

²⁴ For example, three years after his graduation from the Jewish School of Social Work, Harold Silver wrote poignantly in 1929 of the debilitating routine he found in the field: "What I am most afraid of is coming to pass. I am growing routinized. I am not discouraged by any means. But . . . what is the sense of talking of family habilitation, of leadership treatment, of changing attitudes when in actual practice such wretched work as mine is being done? . . . What is the result of this heavy case load? Inevitably you follow the line of least resistance. Incomplete investigations, a tendency to neglect pension cases, and to postpone constructive solutions"; Harold Silver, "Social Work as I Found It," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1929): 198–206. Sharon Hartman Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter: Gender, Class and the Origins of Modern Office Work* (forthcoming).

Constantly changing responsibilities at the new centralized organizations like Community Chest or FJP in New York also created tumultuous working conditions. The JBG, for example, completely reorganized staff responsibilities and lines of authority in 1918, 1922, 1925, 1928, and 1930. In 1928, all old hierarchical department lines were replaced with a new form of management in which every supervisor directed all types of social workers. (The reorganization even required building remodeling.) Moreover, the implementation of new experimental procedures in the psychiatric clinic created new duties for social workers. When a psychiatric department was established in 1924, the agency decided that the JBG psychiatrists would screen all patients; by 1928, it increased the paperwork required of social workers before the psychiatric evaluation took place and gave them the responsibility for follow-up treatments.²⁵ At the same time, social workers in agencies such as the JBG repeatedly found their requests for raises stymied by the legal fiction of agency autonomy under the fiscal umbrella of the Federation for Jewish Philanthropies. Federation provided the bulk of JBG's operating revenue, and JBG's board of directors regularly told its staff that it had been given insufficient funds for substantial raises. When approached directly by caseworkers, Federation insisted that workers had to negotiate with their "autonomous" agency for raises.²⁶

While bureaucratic centralization limited autonomy, reorganization did create some new opportunities for educated caseworkers and supervisors. Often, however, trustees gave men preference over qualified women for privileged administrative positions. For example, an AASW study found that nationally, a substantial majority of the new paid workers in private agencies attended college, most graduating and even doing a little graduate training; in an era when probably less than 10 percent of American women attended college, these social workers were an educated elite.²⁷ Yet few of these women received administrative posts. Men also held the professional medical jobs such as doctors and psychiatrists, to which the social workers increasingly had to defer. In most social service agencies, male doctors in mental hygiene clinics, psychiatric services, and medical staffs had the primary authority in treatment and diagnosis.²⁸ But women continued to fill the fieldwork positions. Agency executives in the 1920s complained of the difficulty of recruiting men and the need to pay them a family wage, apparently a male prerogative. They also asserted that, if young male social workers did not rise into managerial positions, they frequently left the field. Within most agencies, "super-

²⁵ JBG, Annual Reports, 1923, 1925, 1928, Box 1240; 1930–31, Box 1235.

²⁶ From its inception in 1917 as a centralized, consolidated agency, Federation insisted it would only gather money and would not affect the character of Jewish communal work. Furthermore, boards of trustees at Federation and the various agencies were comprised of upper-class men who volunteered their time and contributed their money. Such men expected deference, and agency executives and workers dependent on their support for new programs, capital plants, and ultimately for their jobs, did not challenge them willy-nilly. See minutes of the boards of FJP and JBG in New York, especially in the years after 1930.

²⁷ Odencrantz, *Social Worker*, 55, notes that a 1922 AASW study found 67 percent of 268 family caseworkers reported they had attended some college. Odencrantz's own survey found "a large majority" had some college education. According to Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, the percentage of all women with some college education increased from 7.6 to 10.5 percent over the decade.

²⁸ For instance, psychiatry was introduced to the Hawthorne School as early as 1916; by 1923, the psychological clinic had been extended to all children at JBG, a psychiatric referral service had been established, and medical, dental, and neurological clinics were begun. Family and child care and psychiatric social workers were most often women; psychiatrists, psychologists, neurologists, dentists, and endocrinologists much more likely to be men. JBG, Annual Report, 1923, 1925, Box 1240.

visor" was the senior female job title, and it usually involved supervision of other women.²⁹

The use of volunteers also threatened the professional status and autonomy of female social workers. Volunteers continued to work alongside paid staff members, doing work that differed little from that of the professionals. While both groups were usually female, they came from different social backgrounds. The volunteer did not wish or need to be paid.³⁰ Social workers needed to distinguish their work from that of the volunteers in order to justify remuneration. But gain for one was at the other's expense. Social workers had to work with volunteers and not alienate them, while simultaneously differentiating their work. Use of the language of professionalism, with its emphasis on autonomy and therapeutic techniques, gave them the authority to supervise the volunteer's clerical tasks or work as a Big Sister. What many, like Mary Palevsky, once saw as common-sense counseling now became the source of a professional identity if named as such.³¹

The challenge for social workers of constructing a usable feminine professional identity was further heightened by the promise that work in the 1920s meant admission into the new consumer economy.³² National trends toward higher living standards powerfully shaped how women defined their new experience as white-collar professionals.³³ Susan Porter Benson has documented the immersion of middle-class females in the twentieth-century culture of consumption. New consumer standards shaped social workers' ambitions as middle-class women and would-be wives. Like most female professionals, they aspired to achieve status and a consumer family wage from their jobs. Shopping in consumer emporiums extended women's traditional roles as domestic providers, but it also placed female consumers under increased pressure: advertising intensified rising consumer expectations, and new leisure activities open to women often required extra "spending money."³⁴ By the 1920s, female professionals expected to achieve a standard of living and working conditions appropriate to their education and

²⁹ See JBG, Annual Report, 1925, Box 1240. The first good aggregate national data from which one can extrapolate occupational mobility within social work are for the 1940s. By the end of the decade, only about a fifth of the social workers were male, and most of them were either new workers in their twenties or married men over forty. U.S. Department of Labor, *Social Workers in 1950* (New York, 1952).

³⁰ Female volunteers had fewer opportunities to serve on boards. For them, the shift from volunteers to a paid staff threatened to remove a traditional source of authority and fulfillment. Before 1917, volunteers provided most agency services. Historians have well documented the shift to paid staffs, the diminution of the volunteers' role, and the conflicts that resulted. Volunteers continued to play a large role in agency services, though, especially in Big Sister and Big Brother programs. See Lubove, *Professional Altruist*; Leiby, *History of Social Welfare*; and Ehrenreich, *Altruistic Imagination*.

³¹ Mary Palevsky, response to Karpf, "Extra-Curricular Training," 178. Also see Mrs. Abraham N. Davis, "Function of the Volunteer and Some Practical Applications in Family Case Work," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1929): 103–05, which divides volunteers into three types: board or committee members, clerical aides, and semi-professionals with some training who give more than half-time to their work but are not paid. She adds that the burden of making the volunteer valuable rests on the paid professional.

³² Benson most forcefully has urged labor historians to integrate the history of twentieth-century labor with that of consumption. See Susan Porter Benson, "The 1920s through the Looking Glass of Gender: A Response to David Montgomery," *International Labor and Working Class History*, 32 (Fall 1987): 31–38.

³³ On white-collar workers, see C. Wright Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York, 1956), on the shift from extraction and production to service and distribution with the coincident rise of a managerial bureaucracy and professional strata. This is a growing literature, but the fullest study remains that of Jürgen Kocka, *White Collar Workers in America, 1890–1940: A Social-Political History in International Perspective* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1980). Kocka's focus is on workers in retail and sales.

³⁴ Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*. John Kasson, *Amusing the Millions: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York, 1978), also demonstrates the appeal of amusement parks for the middle and working classes of the city.

comparable to that of their salaried male, white-collar counterparts.³⁵ For most, these standards remained unrealized ideals, but social workers of the 1920s, like women entering the other female-dominated professions, identified themselves with this middle class and its aspirations. Many older social workers with college educations had fathers who were independent professionals or businessmen.³⁶ Those who did not expected that white-collar work—especially that in the emerging “semi-professions”—would confirm middle-class status and permit them to reach what budget studies, home management manuals, and popular magazines lauded in the 1920s as a distinct “American Standard of Living.” This standard translated into commodious accommodations with expensive furniture, pictures, and books. For professionals, it included as well automobiles, domestic help, membership in professional societies, and the accumulation of savings and investments.³⁷ Various illustrations in the *Survey* pictured how the social worker might fantasize herself as part of this new consumer world: as the New Woman flapper, affluent, sleek and androgynous, ministering, with decency and patronizing humor, to earthy, lower-class families. (See Figure 1.) Single and from a different class and ethnic background than her clients, she was elegantly dressed and surrounded by symbols of affluence such as books and tennis rackets, which represented attributes of her middle-class identity. (See Figures 2, 3, and 4.)

In practice, few social workers could afford the “American Standard,” as Elizabeth Healy, a social worker at the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, ruefully observed in 1930. Her highly dramatic account in *Survey* of a caseworkers’ round table was titled, “Get Your Man.” Low salaries, Healy claimed, made it impossible for many female social workers to rent and decorate accommodations as “lures” for men. As Healy summarized the problem, inadequate pay frustrated ambitions for marriage and material goods:

Unless we have some place to entertain men we may be putting too much strain on our personalities as bait. When we ask men in after a date, what is it we ask them into? A barren

³⁵ The work culture is described in Benson, *Counter Cultures*; and Melosh, *Physician's Hand*. For a good recent survey of the standard of living literature, see Daniel Horowitz, *The Morality of Spending: Attitudes toward the Consumer Society in America, 1875–1940* (Baltimore, Md., 1985); and Wandersee, *Women's Work*.

³⁶ Most of our information is about teachers and social workers. The most systematic survey of social workers’ backgrounds was of the generation that began work in the settlements, as described by Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890–1914* (New York, 1967), 33–37. Largely Protestant women of privilege, whose fathers were “moderately” well-to-do, these settlement workers had inherited or developed a strong tradition of service, a reforming zeal, and social consciousness. Many were daughters (or sons) of ministers; others fell under the influence of Social Gospel ministers. Mary Simkhovitch, for instance, the founder of Greenwich House, attributed her social awareness to the influence of her minister, Dr. Nash, author of *Genesis of the Social Conscience*, and an edifying Thanksgiving visit to a Boston tenement with her Sunday school. Although, in retrospect, she believed the scene was probably staged, it had the intended effect: she was appalled to find some people were without food and clothing. See Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood: My Story of Greenwich House* (New York, 1938), 17. Davis found that 90 percent of the women had attended college and 50 percent had even gone on to do some graduate work. Most came from native-born American families, many with ancestry that could be traced back to colonial New England.

³⁷ John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, identified the new consumer standard early in the century as the American “ideal”: a “comfortable house of a least six rooms . . . , a bathroom, good sanitary plumbing, a parlor, dining-room, pictures, books, and furniture with which to make the home bright, comfortable and attractive for [the worker] and his family”; John Mitchell, *Organized Labor* (Philadelphia, 1903), 116, as quoted in Ron Rothbart, “Work, Family and Protest: Immigrant Labor in the Steel, Meatpacking, and Anthracite Industries, 1880–1920” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1988). Professional standards during the 1920s are described in Jessica B. Peixotto, *Getting and Spending at the Professional Standard of Living: A Study in the Costs of Living an Academic Life* (New York, 1927); and Peixotto, “Campus Standards of Living,” 117–19. See also Wandersee, *Women's Work*, 1–13.



Drawing by Gerta Ries

FIRST AID TO PHILANTHROPISTS

Young Case Worker (making conversation on her first visit): *"The papers say that a rich man in New York wants to give away \$8,000,000."*

Client: *"I wish he'd give it to me so's I could get a new set of teeth and eat good."*

FIGURE 1: In five months of meetings, a committee of three prominent men had been unable to decide how to distribute a deceased millionaire's \$8 million estate, three-quarters of which was supposed to go to educational and religious charities. Contrast the depiction of the social worker with that of the client. *Survey*, 63 (November 15, 1929): 194, by Gerta Ries. Courtesy of Tamiment Institute Library, New York University.

hall leading to our tiny one-room refuge, a dull sitting room in a dull boarding house, or our living room which we pray has not already been turned into a bed room by our roommate? What lures do we use for our comfort-loving desirables? Fudge alone does not work!³⁸

Healy's story suggests that female social workers found it difficult to support themselves as single women, much less as members of the middle class. Male salaries were low; women's were worse by about 10 percent.³⁹ The elite psychiatric and medical caseworkers received as much as \$150 per month in urban centers, but most child and family care workers averaged between \$90 and \$125. Between 1913 and 1926, the real wages of social workers rose only 3 percent. Still, while most social worker salaries remained slightly below those of skilled industrial workers, they were appreciably above the average wage of \$15–20 per week paid to salesgirls at Filene's department store.⁴⁰

Data on middle-class "subsistence" income for this period is sparse, but 90 percent of ninety-six University of California faculty families studied in 1922 earned between \$2,000 and \$5,000 per year, and three-quarters of the professors' wives complained the income could not meet their families' "needs." A Baltimore AASW chapter committee determined that a beginning social worker salary of \$1,800 would permit a "bare existence." Entry-level Baltimore social workers received \$1,500 and were able to eke out an existence only because most were "local [single] women who live in their own family homes and obtain the maximum of return for the minimum of cost." As one contemporary analyst of social work lamented, low salaries made it impossible to maintain "the standard of living which one would expect [of] a professional person," a standard that contemporary budget studies celebrated. Income was insufficient to fulfill professional aspirations: inadequate to support travel, study, or the purchases of books, all necessary for "professional growth and efficiency."⁴¹

In sum, as a strategy for female social workers' empowerment, professionalism had contradictory effects. Their wages distinguished the work of paid social

³⁸ Elizabeth Healy, "Get Your Man," *Survey*, 64 (May 15, 1930): 202–03, 207. Jessica Peixotto's review of a study of Yale professors' inability to reach or sustain a middle-class living standard suggests that professional women were not the only ones to have a problem with their budgets. Peixotto concluded with an ironic warning to social workers that they be more considerate of failed efforts by others even less fortunate: "People [here, social workers] who irritate the poor by scolding because they do not save will possibly leave off such unfair admonishing if they can grasp the fact these studies of comfort standards tell [that even professionals cannot save money]"; Peixotto, "Campus Standards of Living," 119.

³⁹ Ralph G. Hurlin, "Social Worker Salaries," *Survey*, 54 (February 15, 1926): 557–58; Ralph G. Hurlin, "Differences between Jewish and Non-Jewish Family Case-Work Agencies," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1930): 125–34, finds them slightly higher in the Jewish agencies; a 1929 survey by Philadelphia Federation of twenty-nine agencies in various cities finds them lower; Pauline Gollub, "Stabilizing Factors in the Profession of Social Work," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1932): 195–97. Poor conditions are cited in the review by E. Trotzkey, "The Recruiting and Training of Child Care Workers," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1924): 198–223; Odencrantz, *Social Worker*. Social workers and executives both pressed to keep caseworker salaries commensurate with those of teachers. See, for example, FJP, Minutes of the Executive Board, Box 1086, March 22, 1926, March 19, 1928. Solomon Lowenstein, president of the Federation, attributed the slightly higher teacher wage to their agitation: *NCJSS Proceedings*, Records, National Council of Jewish Communal Service [hereafter, NCJCS], Transfile 19/66A, Yiddisher Vishshaftlecher Institut (YIVO Institute for Jewish Research Archives, New York).

⁴⁰ Kocka, *White Collar Workers in America*, 168–69; Trotzkey, "Recruiting and Training of Child Care Workers"; Hurlin, "Social Work Salaries"; and Brown, *Social Work as a Profession*, 167–80.

⁴¹ Brown, *Social Work as a Profession*, 168. For professional standards during the 1920s, see Peixotto, *Getting and Spending*, 252–59; Peixotto, "Campus Standards of Living"; and Wandersee, *Women's Work*. A report of the Baltimore study appeared in Paul T. Beisser, "The Worthy Poor Social Worker," *Survey*, 60 (August 15, 1928): 518. Following the war, living costs rose dramatically, but they leveled off in 1923 until beginning their depression-related decline in 1929; National Industrial Conference Board, *The Cost of Living in the United States, 1914–1930* (New York, 1931).

Books in Our Alcove



FIGURE 2: Consumerism and the middle-class social worker. Slender and well-coiffed, she luxuriates in simple elegance with a good read. *Survey*, 60 (June 15, 1928): 356. Courtesy of Tamiment Institute Library, New York University.

workers from that of volunteers but were insufficient for a "professional standard of living." The language of professional autonomy justified the wage and the higher status that accompanied it. But changes in procedures that accompanied professionalization also undermined autonomy, replacing it with routine, bureaucracy, and male authority. Yet the version of professionalism that social workers had inherited from the Progressive Era did little to protect female social workers from charges of incompetence or of behavior unnatural to their sex.

NEGATIVE DEPICTIONS OF SOCIAL WORKERS in the emerging mass media of the 1920s further exacerbated the social worker's struggle to develop a positive professional identity. Working out of increasingly rationalized and impersonal bureaucracies, social workers were vulnerable to being stereotyped as heartless investigators.⁴²

Literary representations provide especially useful windows into the worlds of gender and consumption central to the social worker's experience and identity. A complicated cultural exchange in the production and consumption of meanings takes place in commercial representations of social workers in novels, stories, films, and theater. The representations repackage what authors observe about sexual identity in workplaces and the streets. The culture industry sensationalizes these images into light and shadow for popular consumption, revealing what is assimilated, what is ignored, and what the "rules" of the exchange may be.⁴³

A few representative popular characterizations of social workers at the end of the 1920s illustrate the stereotypes of social workers that offended members of the helping profession. The legacy of patronizing charity workers had always given social workers a mixed reputation within the larger community and a troubling image in fiction. Progressive Era literary portrayals of social workers, while sparse compared to those of teachers and nurses, tended to be positive, portraying social workers as kindly settlement house and mission workers concerned with saving children.⁴⁴ But, by the mid-1920s, there was a noticeable deterioration in the popular image of social workers, especially as presented in such instruments of the emerging urban mass culture as advertising, radio, and movies. These media formalized new, unflattering, stock characterizations of social workers, emblazoning them on movie screens across the land and popularizing them in dime novels.⁴⁵

⁴² See T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, 1981); and the essays in Fox and Lears, *Culture of Consumption*.

⁴³ There is a substantial body of recent writing on gender in popular representation. I found some remarks by Christine Stansell at the Columbia University Seminar on the Working Class (November 1987) particularly helpful. Some of the more recent literature is summarized by Lynn Hunt in her introduction to *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); see also Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988). Melosh, *Physician's Hand*, chap. 2, makes imaginative use of fiction about nurses to talk about work and identity in that field.

⁴⁴ The 1941 edition of the *Fiction Catalogue* (which covers the history of American literature through 1940), for example, cites 111 American novels about teachers and 38 about nurses; only 21 focus on social workers. *Fiction Catalogue*, 6th edn. (1941). The 7th edn. in 1961 contains similar ratios: teachers, nurses, and social workers figure in 88, 19, and 5 novels respectively. Most of the social worker novels depict women aiding immigrant communities. There is no comparable list for books in which social workers play a secondary role, although stories by Anzia Yezierska often fit into that category.

⁴⁵ See Snyder, *Voice of the City*; Molly Haskell, *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies* (New York, 1973), chap. 2; Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York, 1975); Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (New York, 1980); Kasson, *Amusing the Millions*; Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890–1930* (Westport, Conn., 1981); and Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*.



Drawing by Jean Henry

PROFESSIONAL LAPSES

The dietitian on her holiday—the vitamins left at home

FIGURE 3: One in a series of sketches that appeared in the *Survey* during 1930 on the contradictions in social worker leisure. On this occasion, the food was proletarian, but the attire was that of the bourgeois New Woman. *Survey*, 64 (August 15, 1930): 418, by Jean Henry. Courtesy of Tamiment Institute Library, New York University.

The coincidence of negative public images and new professional membership standards is worth exploring. Nineteenth-century stereotypes of “friendly visitors” as officious meddlers were given new life by the new mass media’s dependence on established melodramatic conventions, and by the increasingly bureaucratic nature of social work and the shuttling of clients between medical specialists and case-workers armed with forms.⁴⁶

Thus, even as social workers claimed a new professional identity, their popular image shifted from benevolent altruist—symbolized by “angels” such as Lillian Wald—to meddling investigator. A 1923 short story by Anzia Yezierska presented this revived, unflattering characterization in vivid detail. At the time, Yezierska was a celebrated novelist. The film of her first book had just opened at the Capitol Theatre in New York, and her Hollywood publicist lauded her as “the sweatshop Cinderella.” In “The Lord Giveth,” she draws on her own memories of cold, condescending social workers who, according to Yezierska’s daughter, “had humiliated her family and her neighbors,” to create Miss Naughton, an “unconscious inquisitor.”⁴⁷ Insensitive to the traditions under which a Jewish rebbe on New York’s Lower East Side understands full-time study of the Torah to be a vocation, the social worker considers the impoverished Jewish family’s request for aid an improper use of legitimate charity to subsidize an able-bodied worker. To his wife, the rebbe’s “head is in the next world”; to the prying charity “investigator,” the problem is the rebbe’s laziness and her agency’s limited resources: “You see, we have only a small amount of money, . . . and it is only fair it should go to the most deserving cases.”⁴⁸

A decade later, in 1933, the year after the new professional standards for full membership in the AASW took effect, Sinclair Lewis published *Ann Vickers*. Heralded by one reviewer as a “story of a modern American woman, a feminist, a social worker and a prison reformer, but always a rebel against the conventions,” the novel melodramatically expresses the ambivalence felt by Lewis (and his audience) toward the New Woman. Writing in the heart of the depression, Lewis constructed a moral tale of philanthropy, professionalism, and gender roles gone awry. Beneath the story of an idealized heroine confronting a heartless bureaucracy lay what one critic has called an unmistakable nostalgia for the Good Mother.⁴⁹ Ann Vickers, always noble, well-intentioned and dedicated, is the light in a tale of shadows and darkness. Everywhere she goes, Ann encounters a social service system mired in the attitudes of nineteenth-century charity, able to do little more than confine the poor, moralize to them, or harrass them with busy work.⁵⁰ Relief, she admits, provides badly needed aid. But the cold logic of the counting house dominates philanthropy; rather than the nurturing expected of Good Mothers, she

⁴⁶ Sample forms can be found in Odencrantz, *Social Worker*, 136–43.

⁴⁷ Louise Levitas Henrikson, *Anzia Yezierska: A Writer's Life* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), 98, 157–84.

⁴⁸ Anzia Yezierska, “The Lord Giveth,” in *The Children of Loneliness* (New York, 1923), 125–41.

⁴⁹ *Fiction Catalogue*, 6th edn. (1941). Melosh, in comments on a draft of this essay, made the observations on Sinclair Lewis’s confused and hostile portrait of gender in *Ann Vickers* (quotes below from Grosset and Dunlap edn., New York, 1932, 1933).

⁵⁰ She does find some “earnest” workers, but the institutions they served were hopelessly burdened by bureaucracy and overrun with scoundrels. “The settlement house (or so Ann Vickers believed) was nothing but a playground, much less well managed than the official city playgrounds. It smelled of the sour smell of charity. It taught, but it did not teach well . . . The earnest volunteers . . . out of a wealth of ignorance and good intentions, for a year or so instructed the poor Jews and Italians and Greeks concerning George Washington and double-entry bookkeeping and the brushing of teeth”; Lewis, *Ann Vickers*, 236–37.



JEAN HENRY

Drawing by Jean Henry

A WEARY CASE WORKER IS INVITED FOR A RESTFUL WEEK-END

SUBURBAN HOSTESS: *"And then there's my laundress. Her husband walks out on her regularly and turns up again long enough to drink up every cent of her savings (Jackie, it isn't nice to interrupt Mother), and they have another baby. What do you think I ought to do about her?"*

FIGURE 4: Another in the series on the contradictions in social worker leisure. The last thing this single social worker wants to hear about is her married friend's social dramas concerning the inadequacies of the sort of women with whom the social worker deals on a daily basis. *Survey*, 64 (June 15, 1930): 258, by Jean Henry. Courtesy of Tamiment Institute Library, New York University.

finds twentieth-century charity obsessed with record keeping and puritanical notions of need. It has "too much red tape," and "charity workers did tend to become hard, from familiarity with misfortune."⁵¹

However difficult and frustrating Ann finds the settlements, they pale in comparison with the unsanitary conditions, sadistic violence, and corruption of the staff at Copperhead Gap Penitentiary, an appallingly run rural southern prison at which she takes a staff position. Stymied in her efforts to befriend inmates and reform the institution, Ann is forced to resign by the offending staff after they frame her in compromising photographs with an alcoholic doctor.⁵² Ann's lot improves somewhat at the Stuyvesant Industrial Home for Women in New York, where she becomes superintendent. Even there, she remains an embattled voice in the wilderness, convinced that the jailers are often the worse scoundrels. Although a caring and at times successful social worker, Ann remains a beleaguered outsider within her chosen profession.

Ann Vickers left readers with an overwhelmingly negative image of a corrupt social service dominated by unfeeling social workers. While Lewis and Yeziarska were leftist critics of philanthropy, their negative views were shared across a range of political and cultural productions. For example, the AASW complained that a 1927 movie, *It*, which opened in forty-two theaters around the country, portrayed two social workers as "'hard-boiled,' ignorant looking women—who seize a woman's baby and tell the mother they must put the child in a home until she is well enough to take care of it."⁵³ The AASW, whose members were disturbed by such negative stereotypes, mobilized a national letter-writing campaign to the producers of *It*. Within a month, the Famous Players-Lasky Corporation had agreed to replace placards accompanying the film in all forty-two theaters. In each case, the words "social workers" were changed to "meddling neighbors," though the rest of the film remained the same. Four years later, in 1930, a production of Elmer Rice's *Street Scene* was similarly censored in Minneapolis and St. Paul; the character of a nosy social worker was obligingly relabeled an "interfering relative."⁵⁴

IN THE LAST YEARS OF THE 1920s, two new work identities for social workers began to emerge, what I call the Professional Woman and the Professional Worker. They reflect the world of dissonance created for female social workers by their negative image in mass media and the contradictory circumstances associated with their professional work, and they emerged from the multiple cultural exchanges between workers, clients, and their public audience.⁵⁵

The Professional Woman was a complex construct. In various texts produced in the late 1920s, the Professional Woman assumed some male attributes, but she was careful not to appear to compete with or threaten men. In a world where sexual neutrality was considered an essential component of professional identity, acknowledgement of power inequities based on gender was impossible.⁵⁶ Instead, as a way of maintaining her status, the Professional Woman tried to keep less qualified

⁵¹ Lewis, *Ann Vickers*, 237.

⁵² Lewis, *Ann Vickers*, chaps. 23–29.

⁵³ "We Get Into the Movies—And Out," *Compass*, 8 (April 1927): 1–3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; and "What the Public Wants," *Compass*, 11 (May 1930): 6.

⁵⁵ Adams, *Women Professional Workers*, 157–59; and William Hodson, "Is Social Work Professional? A Re-examination of the Question," National Conference on Social Welfare, *Proceedings* (1925), 629–36.

⁵⁶ See Cott, *Modern Feminism*, 237.

women out of the field. During the 1920s, modest agency budgets and low wages combined to encourage the entrance of low-paid, poorly trained workers into social work, recruits who would weaken the professionals' public image and bargaining power. In 1930, the AASW limited membership to those with several years of advanced training or education.⁵⁷ These new regulations also restricted the role of volunteers.⁵⁸ The Milford Conference Report, concerned that the professional development of social work lagged behind law, medicine, and even teaching, recommended the promotion of research and coordinated entry-level advanced degree programs. A 1932 report on salaries in the social agencies noted they paid low wages to women because of the presumption female staff had men to support them.⁵⁹ But the AASW maintained it could and should do little more than issue reports; the abiding belief was that professionals—administrators and staffs—should be able to work together collegially to achieve solutions.

More aggressive action was directed at those seen as outside the "professional" club; for example, the AASW led the fight to change the "hard-boiled" image of a social worker in the movie *It* and in Elmer Rice's *Street Scene*. Unfortunately, the AASW proposed professionalism as the solution for problems caused by professionalism: the association celebrated the "male" values of objectivity and detachment that contributed to the Woman Professional's "hard" image. In any case, patching up a troubling image and championing new "standards" did little to change the more complex problems associated with social work conditions.

Female social workers' self-representations expose the complications inherent in the construction of a professional identity around the notion of the Woman Professional. Part of a regularly featured column entitled "Work Shop," three representative contributions by women social workers in *Survey* during 1930 portrayed social workers of the period in a variety of ways, as "scatter-brained" or "hard-hearted," as women who needed men to organize them, or as women without men. Their unstable, contested ideas of gender and professionalism suggest the confusion and pain with which some caseworkers responded to the image of the female social worker as an aggressive, ambitious New Woman. The stories make clear that female social workers felt torn between their roles as women and professionals, each of which embodied in different ways the qualities of "good" social work. They also were frustrated by their inability to afford the accouterments of middle-class status.⁶⁰ By the mid-1920s, in most agencies, Lady Bountiful, the

⁵⁷ Traditionally, one of the major objectives of professionalism has been to control entry into the field. The large numbers of untrained relief workers who entered social work with the rise of state and federal New Deal programs after 1933 would have been a logical target of the higher entrance requirements. Indeed, these new rules blocked AASW membership for many of these public employees, but the AASW developed the new regulations prior to this era.

⁵⁸ A bitter interagency and Community Chest dispute in Columbus, Ohio, seems to have played a particularly important role in stimulating the new rules. Family caseworkers demanded protection from public agency intervention, and Walter West, the AASW president who came to supervise the implementation of the new rules, had been general secretary of the Columbus Family Service Society. He furthered his reputation by mediating the dispute. See AASW Papers, folder 33, Grievance Procedure Committee, 1923–26, "Columbus, Ohio, Case," Social Welfare History Archives [hereafter, SWHA], Minneapolis.

⁵⁹ Lewis Miriam, report on Salary Schedules of Social Agencies, November 15, 1932, AASW Papers, folder 44: Job Analysis Committee, Salary data, 1931–1934, SWHA, Minneapolis.

⁶⁰ Many other letters, poems, and essays in the *Survey* reflect various aspects of the tensions over consumption, status, and work seen in these portraits but none with quite the dramatic flair and poignancy. Gertrude Springer's "Miss Bailey" essays, which appeared in the *Survey* three years later, offer an interesting comparison with the ones recounted here. Written in the heart of the depression, "Miss Bailey" is not self-reflective. She variously gives practical advice to untrained relief workers laboring within the new federal and state bureaucracies and justifies relief workers who "are themselves

well-heeled volunteer, had been replaced by Miss Case-Worker, not just by a Methodist "Sally" but by the daughters and granddaughters of immigrants with Irish names like "Mary O'Connor" and "Margaret Mulcahy."⁶¹ College-educated and upwardly mobile, these women expected to have careers as well as families, though not necessarily at the same time. But they also expected entry into the culture of consumption befitting a professional standard of living. Low wages blocked their way.

The first contribution to *Survey* is a piece of didactic fiction. Esther Dunham's "Scatter-Brained Sally" champions the new "professional" who could learn (from a man) to be efficient like a man. Dunham's voice is that of an agency executive, but her depiction of female stereotypes would probably ring true to most men and not a few women. Sally, "who had not outgrown her dependence on Mother, is given the task of 'mothering' fifty families" for a fictitious Family Welfare Society. But Sally, in a stereotypically female fashion, responds to the torrent of "slips, forms, face sheets, [and] records" that faced her every day by behaving frenetically:

I have the brains of a chicken and the disposition of a cat. They told me at school that I had the makings of a good case worker in me. I wish they could see me now! I've worked like a dog for two weeks and all I can say is that I am three hours behind in dictation, that I have a new family to visit tonight, that to-morrow I have ten allowances to deliver in all the corners of this old district besides hosts of relatives and employers and goodness knows what not!

Fortunately, there is a man around to save the day! Sally's relationship with her boyfriend, who worked in the Central Office, flounders because of her ineptitude; work forces Sally to cancel dates for four successive evenings. On the fifth day, the boyfriend arrives, "grim and inexorable," to straighten her out. With his help, she manages to "plan" her dictation, traveling, and scheduling in detail. Within two weeks, Sally and her love life are transformed, and she comes to believe in the new "system." In this fantasy, efficiency does not unsex the social worker; rather, planning leaves her free time to get her man.⁶²

But not every Sally has a man around to save the day, as Elizabeth Healy, the Philadelphia social worker mentioned above, noted in an essay that had appeared two months earlier. According to Healy, a group of social workers at a caseworkers' round table "offered up a Maiden's Prayer—though it may have sounded like a Lament. A prayer is hopeful, and we were seeking delivery from exile." These "Sallys" do not have problems with their daily routine, although their problem is work-related: they cannot meet men. Healy's perspective is more authentically that of a caseworker, not an executive. And she gives voice to a contrasting perspective on the female worker: women social workers are not scatterbrained; they are too smart, too intimidating to potential male suitors. Whereas Dunham's story has a man solve the social worker's dilemma, Healy's places the responsibility for solving these problems on the woman. Although the social worker's profession may keep her from finding a man, Healy envisions her as a Professional Woman, with a distinct, if limited, place in the gendered public workplace, one secured in part through skillful use of feminine wiles.

work-relief cases with a weekly wage of \$20" owning their own cars as an escape from their own relentless poverty. See, for example, Gertrude Springer, "When a Client Has a Car," *Survey*, 69 (March 1933): 103–04.

⁶¹ Walker Papers, Department of Public Welfare, folder 3, Municipal Archives of the City of New York.

⁶² Esther S. Dunham, "Scatter-Brained Sally," *Survey*, 64 (July 15, 1930): 362–63.

When all is said and done, Healy concludes, women have two fundamental problems: the low wages that frustrate their ability to attract "comfort-loving desirables" and being female in a male world. The second is partially of their own making: professional specialization makes female social workers into narrow, self-absorbed individuals. Male professionals can tout their expertise; women cannot. After taking out social workers, several men allegedly commented, "Oh they are brainy girls, nice girls, too, but they leave you pulverized—or at least perforated." In response, Healy concedes that "our promiscuous use of lingo, our conviction of the importance of what we do, and our lack of conspicuous social success, all may be related to our inadequate preparation for being interesting to 'outsiders.'" Besides broadening her horizons, the Professional Woman social worker has to repress two of her salient professional characteristics: ambition and specialized knowledge.

If we need to, we might remain convinced that the adjustment of human difficulties is a fundamental aim in life. But let's not say so at the dinner table of a former college friend who has invited us in to meet her husband's best friend! Not if we are canny. However, that same dinner table situation may suggest the need of a little personal adjustment if we discover we have no contribution to make in the talk about theaters, comic-strips or sport champions.⁶³

Four months later in 1930, Dorothea de Schweinitz, the assistant executive secretary of the AASW, contested Healy's characterization of social workers. In direct response to Healy, de Schweinitz proposed an alternative vision of the accomplished single professional who did not lack for male companionship. Married to a prominent social work administrator herself, de Schweinitz writes as a woman who had established an independent career and sustained a marriage. Informally surveying female social workers who had never married—probably representative of the generation born in the 1870s and 1880s—de Schweinitz found them advocating an older tradition of career and friendship without marriage. Here the new professional social worker wrote in the genre of social investigation—she was a social worker being a social worker with social workers—expressing the less troubled convictions of the previous generation to a new one.

After embarking on a career, de Schweinitz argued, women find themselves at odds with those young men solely interested in domesticated women. For her, the fundamental problem was not the behavior of the social worker, it was the "paucity of males likely to interest the 'bright young woman.'" Social workers' lives, she argued, can include men, especially later in life, when there is "a variegated procession—widowers, divorcés, restless husbands, and single men with complexes from Oedipus to inertia. The wary social worker recognizes that they seek a kitchen to stir in and a fireplace to poke . . . A mate? Well, hardly ever, but more comfortable relationships than some previous ones."⁶⁴

Not many social workers, however, could so easily cope with the dilemmas of the Professional Woman, whose life was fraught with tensions and contradictions. Even as the AASW was working out the image of the Professional Woman, a few social workers scattered around the country began to develop an alternative vision, the Professional Worker. Their creation was to gain ideological power in the succeeding decades, but it had its early beginnings within a relatively small but influential group of Jewish social service agencies in the 1920s concentrated in a few northern

⁶³ Healy, "Get Your Man," 202–03, 207.

⁶⁴ Dorothea de Schweinitz, "Where Is He?" *Survey*, 64 (September 15, 1930): 522–23.

cities.⁶⁵ The movement was strongest in New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, but it had representatives across the country.

Speaking from the floor of the 1923 National Conference of Jewish Social Service, a Miss Levy from Milwaukee turned the language of standardized scientific management and professionalized social work on its head, making it stand for workers' rights rather than routine: "why don't the social workers of the United States and Canada organize themselves so that they will have a standard salary, a standard vacation and standard rights? They can demand they have a standard pension to retire and get a vacation."⁶⁶ Warming to the call to organize, the conference chairman encouraged his audience to join the AASW, but social workers concerned with wages and workload saw the AASW as inadequate. Professional executives dominated the AASW, permitting little rank-and-file participation, although a 1932 survey noted only 7.5 percent of association members were executives. The rest were mostly "practitioners" (80.9 percent) and supervisors, but the "leadership in national and local chapters is by social work executives."⁶⁷ To AASW critics, the problematic participation of executives exemplified a more serious inadequacy in the organization's social philosophy, a weakness that became increasingly apparent as conditions in the agencies deteriorated later in the decade, even before the onset of the depression. For these critics, Miss Levy's call to arms was answered by an alternative agency institution that had been started by some Jewish agency workers in Boston and New York in 1923–1924: the Workers' Council.⁶⁸

Workers' Councils began as an integral expression of the emerging professional ethos, the feeling that "professionals" should be consulted and should participate collaboratively in decision making. In fact, until late in the decade, the councils acted little differently from the AASW locals, except that executives and supervisors, in those instances where caseworkers permitted them to attend meetings, were not allowed to vote. These councils functioned as proto-unions, part of a continuous tradition in Jewish social service that emerged full-blown in the 1930s in a left-wing labor movement within both public and private agencies.⁶⁹ The councils

⁶⁵ See Sonia Ginsberg, "Experiences in Protective Organization for Social Workers in New York City," in *NCJSS Proceedings* (1933): 116–19; and John Earl Haynes, "The 'Rank and File Movement' in Private Social Work," *Labor History*, 16 (Winter 1975): 78–98. Also see the autobiographical account by Jacob Fisher, who was editor of the rank and file's journal, *Social Work Today* (1934–42), *The Response of Social Work to the Depression* (New York, 1980), and the Jacob Fisher Papers, SWHA. There may have been as many as four hundred social workers and affiliated clerical workers active in Workers' Councils in New York City alone by the late 1920s, most of whom were Jewish workers employed in Jewish agencies.

⁶⁶ Although Milwaukee had a strong socialist movement, there is no evidence in any of the Association of Federation Worker records that a trade-union movement developed there during these years within Jewish social service. *NCJSS Proceedings*, Annual Sessions, 1923. See discussion on afternoon session, June 24, Toronto, Canada.

⁶⁷ Moses W. Beckelman, "Protective Aspects of the Program of the American Association of Social Workers," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1923): 113–16; and Jacob Fisher, "Feasibility of a National Protective Organization for Social Workers," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1923): 119–23.

⁶⁸ The importance of these groups extends beyond their numbers, which were no more than several hundred. They comprise an alternative type, one that was to emerge full-blown in the 1930s as a trade-union tradition in social work.

⁶⁹ The social welfare histories of this era by Leiby and Lubove make no mention of the Worker Councils. Ehrenreich gives them one sentence (*Altruistic Imagination*, 110). Fisher, *Response of Social Work*, recounts his leadership of the left-wing movement in the 1930s, minimizing the role of the councils. They were not radical, but they did provide a network and organizational base for the discussion groups that preceded the unions. Also see Leighninger, *Social Work*, chaps. 2–5; Leslie Alexander, "Organizing the Professional Social Worker: Union Development in Voluntary Social Work, 1930–1950" (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1977); Haynes, "'Rank and File Movement.'"

While the AASW focused on "ethical and technical standards of professional performance," the JBG

may have begun in a "professional" conciliatory mode, but they ended the decade of the 1920s talking about proletarian issues. The limits of their professional equality and autonomy, of being consulted but lacking authority in fundamental ways, became more apparent to the JBG workers by 1928 and 1929. The councils and their trade-union descendants, the Association of Federation Workers (the AFW organized in 1926), created an alternative type to the Professional Woman: the Professional Worker, a trade unionist.⁷⁰ This formulation emphasized exactly what the AASW could not: as much as she claimed to be a professional, the typical social worker was still a worker and a poorly paid one at that.

But this new formulation also had internal problems. Both professional types maintained the sexual division of labor in which women remained subordinate to men and less well paid. While professionalism's emphasis on individual merit forbade discussion of a social inequity of this sort, effectively making "Professional Woman" an oxymoron, Professional Worker was a doubly neutered construction. By privileging class divisions over gender, trade unionists made the Professional Worker Proletarian Man.

Still, Jewish social workers from New York City, such as Martha Selig, Elizabeth K. Radinsky, Francis Beatman, and Sanford Solender, have testified to the socialist tradition or immigrant experience that informed their early participation in social worker trade unions.⁷¹ The union movement, however, also included prominent non-Jews, such as Mary Van Kleeck. By 1931, it had extended to public welfare agencies. While it is important to appreciate the cultural and religious background on which these people drew, the focus should remain their challenge to the image of the Professional Woman. Jews and non-Jews alike were drawn to the new image of the Professional Worker, although in small numbers. Most female social workers, both the older generation and the daughters of immigrants, continued to see themselves as Women Professionals and to struggle as individuals with the problems associated with being independent, middle-class professionals who were also poorly paid, subordinate, "rational" women.

TO TELL THE FULL STORY of twentieth-century social workers' search for identity, historians need to draw on the literatures of consumption, work, and professionalization, for the development of social work as a profession was shaped by cultural conventions and limited by the material realities of the home and the workplace. Over these cultural and material forces, female social workers had only limited

Council organized "by the workers for the interests of the workers rather than by the executive director for the interests of the agency." Beckelman, "Protective Aspects," 113; and Pearl Ortenberg and Frieda Fine, "Experiences in Participation," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1932): 199–202; JBG, Executive Committee Minutes, April 23, 1926, April 18, 1929; and JBG, Central Council Minutes, May 24, 1930.

⁷⁰ For Pearl Ortenberg and Frieda Fine, agency caseworkers and leaders of the Association of Federation Workers, the JBG Workers' Council "gained new life" in 1929 when a new executive director opposed to the organization and "interested primarily in seeing that his organization worked with a greater degree of efficiency," imposed a new "standard of work." The council responded by fighting to change the agenda at staff meetings to see that they included discussion of programs and work technique, studying policies on leaves, vacations, hours, sick time, etc., and in the "recognition of existing economic problems . . . urging the workers to become members of the Association of Federation Workers"; Ortenberg and Fine, "Experiences in Participation," *NCJSS Proceedings* (1932): 199–202; 201.

⁷¹ FJP, Oral History Project, Selig interview; Elizabeth K. Radinsky interview, November 1982; Sanford Solender interview, June 1982; Francis Beatman interview, January 1982.

control. Still, these middle-class women struggled to construct self-representations compatible with their collective institutional identities—professional or trade union—their individual ambitions, and the emerging culture of consumption.

During the 1920s, female social workers created a variant of the male professional: the Professional Woman, a practitioner who adopted the “male” ethos of the dispassionate expert, even while continuing, with evident discomfort, to defer to her male colleagues and bosses.⁷² Through its restrictive criteria for membership, the AASW offered the status of an exclusive association as compensation for limited job autonomy, low wages, and highly routinized work. It also thereby restricted the labor supply of “professionally” trained workers and strengthened the power of those in the association. However, the professional ethos mystified the work itself. Would-be professionals did not want to recognize a hierarchical world of bosses and dependent workers. To do so would be to undermine their status as autonomous experts.

Self-identification as a Professional Worker also obscured a critical component of the social worker’s professional make-up: her gender. As Professional Woman, the social worker remained deferential to men; as Professional Worker, she became a neutered proletarian. Professionalism, an ideology that obscured the true nature of social work, could not solve material problems facing women in the profession, nor could it provide an interpretive framework that recognized the way conditions of work were structured by gender.

⁷² Martha Selig, a caseworker and supervisor at the Jewish Child Care Association in the 1930s, remembered, “I had to be really conscious I was a woman and manipulate the situation.” If she wanted an idea accepted, she had one of her male colleagues present it: “The important thing was to get it done . . . I don’t care what the ERA says. If a woman does something, she may be called aggressive. If a man does the same thing, he is said to be taking great initiative”; FJP, Oral History Project, Selig interview, February 9, 1982.

Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880–1920

SETH KOVEN and SONYA MICHEL

[B]y no possible means could middle-class women with nothing but brains and brawn have taken part in any one of the great movements which, brought together, constitute the historian's view of the past.

Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*

[M]aternity is repudiated or denied by some avant-garde feminists, while its traditional representations are wittingly or unwittingly accepted by the "broad mass" of women and men.

Julia Kristeva, "Stabat Mater"¹

THE EMERGENCE OF LARGE-SCALE STATE WELFARE PROGRAMS and policies coincided with the rise of women's social action movements in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.² Despite their concurrence, historians have, until quite recently, studied these two great historical trends separately. But a new and voluminous body of scholarship in welfare-state history and women's history has uncovered the deep and intricate connections between them. Women's reform efforts and welfare states not only coincided in time, place, and sometimes personnel but also reinforced and transformed one another in significant and enduring ways. Women in all four countries succeeded, to varying degrees, in shaping one particular area of state

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¹ Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (London, 1929), 67; Julia Kristeva, "Stabat Mater," in Susan Rubin Suleiman, ed., *The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 99.

² This observation holds true for many advanced industrial societies. We focus on these four because the rich secondary literature for each permits meaningful comparisons.

policy: maternal and child welfare. It was in this area, closely linked to the traditional female sphere, that women first claimed new roles for themselves and transformed their emphasis on motherhood into public policy. During the years 1880 to 1920, when state welfare structures and bureaucracies were still rudimentary and fluid, women, individually and through organizations, exerted a powerful influence on state definitions of the needs of mothers and children and the designs of institutions and programs to address them.

In this period, women in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States developed grass-roots organizations as well as national and international lobbying groups to press for maternal and child welfare benefits. Many, but by no means all, used their authority as mothers to campaign for the expansion of women's rights in society. While resisting these demands for expanded citizenship rights, male bureaucrats, politicians, and propagandists encouraged women in their welfare work. Since the turn of the century, the din of male voices—Catholic and Protestant, liberal, socialist, and conservative—demanding that women take up their sacred duties has, ironically, obscured women's own initiatives in this area. The subsequent rejection of motherhood and maternalism as incompatible with female emancipation has led some historians to minimize women's influence on the formation of welfare states; this essay offers a reevaluation of the early history of "maternalist" politics and welfare states.

Maternalists not only concerned themselves with the welfare and rights of women and children but also generated searching critiques of state and society. Emilia Kanthack, a midwife and lecturer on infant welfare in St. Pancras, London, observed that "the chain reaches farther and farther back—from baby to mother, from mother to father, from father to existing social conditions swaying the labor market, which in turn result from economic conditions of supply and demand."³ Some maternalists believed that their values should be applied universally to transform the very foundations of the social order. As early as 1885, French feminist Hubertine Auclert posed the choices confronting the French people in stark terms: the state could either devour its citizens, like the Minotaur (*état minotaur*), to satisfy its martial appetites, or mother its citizens to health and productivity in peace (*état maternel*).⁴ In 1904, German utopian feminist Ruth Bré exalted motherhood as the fundamental, life-sustaining social labor and called for the radical restructuring of society on the basis of matriarchal family units.⁵

Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century maternalists envisioned a state in which women displayed motherly qualities and also played active roles as electors, policymakers, bureaucrats, and workers, within and outside the home. Before 1919, women in all four countries lacked full citizenship rights and necessarily operated in the interstices of political structures. The same men who applauded women's work on behalf of children were often openly antagonistic to women's aspirations to use their welfare activities to promote their own political and

³ Emilia Kanthack, *The Preservation of Infant Life* (London, 1907), 28.

⁴ Hubertine Auclert, "Programme électoral des femmes," *La Citoyenne*, August 1885, as cited in Edith Taïeb, ed., *Hubertine Auclert: La Citoyenne, 1848–1914* (Paris, 1982), 41. Karen Offen explored this theme in "Minotaur or Mother? The Gendering of the State in Early Third Republic France" (unpublished paper).

⁵ Ruth Bré outlined her vision in *Das Recht auf Mutterschaft* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1904). For a discussion of this work and its relationship to the socialist Bund für Mutterschutz (League for the Protection of Motherhood), see Ann Taylor Allen, "Mothers of the New Generation: Adele Scheiber, Helene Stocker, and the Evolution of a German Idea of Motherhood, 1900–1914," *Signs*, 10 (Spring 1985): 418–38.

economic rights. The interests of children—the nation's future workers and soldiers—came before the rights of mothers. Even groups of men ostensibly committed to raising women's status, like the fledgling Labour party in Great Britain and the Parti Ouvrier Français in France,⁶ expected women to subordinate their gender-specific demands to male-controlled political and economic agendas. That the women and movements we explore in this essay ultimately lacked the political power to refashion the state according to their own visions does not diminish the importance of those visions, their accomplishments, or their legacy.

Our account focuses primarily on the political initiatives of middle-class women who were free from domestic drudgery and had the educational and financial resources to campaign for social welfare programs and policies. In the name of friendship and in the interests of the health of the family and the nation, these reformers claimed the right to instruct and regulate the conduct of working-class women. The shared concerns of family brought together different groups of women, but, at the same time, conflicts over control of the workplace and household divided them along class, race, and ethnic lines.⁷

Other patterns also characterized maternal and child welfare in the four countries under consideration here. First, the growth of welfare bureaucracies between 1880 and 1920 led to the expansion of care-taking professions dominated by women: social work, health visiting, and district nursing. Both as professionals and as volunteers, women entered into new relationships with the state, which, in

⁶ For example, Theresa McBride argued that "the consensus of male trade unionists before 1914 was that women's work was a necessary evil, and that women undercut male wages by increasing the competition for jobs"; "French Women and Trade Unionism: The First Hundred Years," in Norbert Seldon, ed., *The World of Women's Trade Unionism: Comparative Historical Essays* (Westport, Conn., 1985), 37. On the paternalistic attitudes of leading British trade unionists such as Ben Tillet, see Sheila Lewenhak, *Women and Trade Unions: An Outline History of the British Trade Union Movement* (London, 1977), 91. On the strained relationship between the Labour party and the Women's Labour League, especially during its formative years, see Christine Collette, *For Labour and for Women: The Women's Labour League, 1906–1918* (Manchester, 1989), 35. On women and the Parti Ouvrier Français, see Marilyn J. Boxer, "Socialism Faces Feminism: The Failure of Synthesis in France, 1879–1914," in Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, eds., *Socialist Women: European Socialist Feminism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 1978), 79; Charles Sowerwine, *Sisters or Citizens? Women and Socialism in France since 1876* (Cambridge, 1982); and Steven Hause with Anne R. Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), chaps. 2–3. For an account of the relationship between women and earlier forms of socialism in France, in particular Saint-Simonism, see Claire Goldberg Moses, *French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Albany, N.Y., 1984), chap. 3. On a similar phenomenon in England in the 1830s, see Barbara Taylor's analysis of the ways in which Owenite men, ostensibly in the vanguard of women's rights, ultimately undermined their initiatives, in *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1983), chap. 4.

⁷ Scholars like Jane Lewis have rightly pointed out that interpersonal forms of welfare are often based on the assumption that the individual is morally culpable for her or his poverty; see Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900–1939* (London, 1980), 18–19. The female founders of social work rejected this equation, at least in theory. While they complained about working-class mothers' neglect of their children, reformers were often acutely aware of the burdens faced by working women. The opening of Carolyn Steedman's autobiographical *Landscape for a Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987), highlights the class-divided nature of social welfare as women's work in Britain. The psychological violence a female health visitor inflicted on Steedman's mother becomes Steedman's own "secret and shameful defiance"; 2. Racial and ethnic divisions between reformers and clients were most common in the United States, although most minority groups made concerted efforts to care for "their own." On the black maternal and infant health movements, see Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890–1950* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989), chaps. 4, 7. On cultural conflict between German and East European Jews, see Elizabeth Rose, "Americanizing the Family: Class, Gender, and Ethnicity in a Jewish Settlement House," paper presented at the Eighth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1990.

turn, sharpened their political awareness and expanded the rank and file of a wide range of women's movements and movements of women.⁸

Second, maternalist discourses—often competing—lay at the heart of debates about the social role of women, children, and the family among philanthropists, legislators and bureaucrats, employers and workers, men and women. The invocation of maternalism by so many different social actors compels us to reevaluate its meanings and uses. We apply the term to ideologies that exalted women's capacity to mother and extended to society as a whole the values of care, nurturance, and morality.⁹ Maternalism always operated on two levels: it extolled the private virtues of domesticity while simultaneously legitimating women's public relationships to politics and the state, to community, workplace, and marketplace. In practice, maternalist ideologies often challenged the constructed boundaries between public and private, women and men, state and civil society.¹⁰

Finally, in all four countries, women were usually the first to identify the social welfare needs of mothers and children and respond to them through a wide array of charitable activities.¹¹ States relied on the initiatives of private-sector, largely female organizations and, in many instances, subsequently took over the funding and management of their welfare programs.¹² Such activities thus constituted an important (but often overlooked) site of public policy and, ultimately, state formation. Yet a comparative examination of maternalists' achievements in the four countries leads to an awkward and disconcerting conclusion: the power of women's social action movements was inversely related to the range and generosity of state welfare benefits for women and children. "Strong states," defined as those with well-developed bureaucracies and long traditions of governmental interven-

⁸ By women's movements, we mean those expressly aimed at shaping and changing the conditions of women's lives, sometimes but not always sympathetic with the goals of political feminism. By movements of women, we refer to organizations and campaigns initiated and managed by women that did not seek to change women's status.

⁹ Our definition is similar to those that Karen Offen gives for "familial feminism" in "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism in Fin-de-Siècle France," *AHR*, 89 (June 1984): 654, and for "relational feminism" in "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," *Signs*, 14 (Autumn 1988): 119–57. In the latter article, she writes, "Relational feminism emphasized women's rights as women (defined principally by their childbearing and/or nurturing capacities in relation to men). It insisted on women's distinctive contributions in these roles to the broader society and made claims on the commonwealth on the basis of these contributions"; 136. We prefer to use the term "maternalism" for this set of ideas. See Nancy Cott's caution against conflating all forms of women's activism under the umbrella term of feminism or one of its variants in "What's in a Name? The Limits of 'Social Feminism,' or, Expanding the Vocabulary of Women's History," *Journal of American History*, 76 (December 1989): 809–29; and Cott, "Comment on Karen Offen's 'Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach,'" *Signs*, 15 (Autumn 1989): 203–05.

¹⁰ We have used the categories public and private to highlight their permeability. Other feminist scholars have pointed out that the strict gender division between public and private that many social theorists take as a given is, in fact, a social construction. For the evolution of this dichotomy, see Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), chap. 4; and Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

¹¹ See Nancy Fraser, "The Struggle over Needs: Outline of a Socialist-Feminist Critical Theory of Late Capitalist Political Culture," in *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1989), 161–87; for a specific comparative case study, see Jane Jenson, "Paradigms and Political Discourse: Protective Legislation in France and the United States before 1914," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 20 (June 1989): 235–58.

¹² States also relied on other forms of private-sector welfare initiatives, including those emanating from churches and business. On the role of business in the French welfare system, see Laura Lee Downs, "Between Taylorism and *Dénatalité*: Women, Welfare Supervisors, and the Boundaries of Difference in French Metalworking Factories, 1917–1935," in Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby, eds., *Connected Domains: Beyond the Public-Private Dichotomy* (Ithaca, N.Y., forthcoming).

tion, allowed women less political space in which to develop social welfare programs than did "weak states," where women's voluntary associations flourished.¹³

For example, the United States, with the most politically powerful and broadly based female reform movements and the weakest state, yielded the least extensive and least generous maternal and child welfare benefits to women. To a lesser degree, the same pattern prevailed in Great Britain. Germany, with the strongest state, had politically ineffective women's movements but offered the most comprehensive programs for women and children; the experience of France was similar. While the degree of state strength affected the extent and character of women's movements, it cannot explain their subsequent political successes and failures. Female reformers using maternalist arguments alone could seldom compel states to act. They were more likely to be effective when their causes were taken up by male political actors pursuing other goals, such as pro-natalism or control of the labor force. The decades before World War I were supercharged with nationalist agendas and anxieties concerning depopulation, degeneration, and efficiency, as states vied for military and imperial preeminence. These issues, and then the war itself, prompted legislators to establish many programs that might not have received state support under other conditions.¹⁴ But the programs, in turn, owed their very existence to the models, organization, and momentum created by female activists.

IN SEEKING TO UNCOVER THE AFFINITIES and reciprocal impact of women's movements and welfare states, we need first to look at the existing theoretical and empirical literature on these subjects. From the late 1880s, men and women throughout Europe and North America vigorously debated the proper role of the state in regulating the lives of its citizens. In the name of widely divergent causes, they lobbied the state to stand between them and the callous forces of the market. The impulse behind state welfare policies was sometimes conservative, as in Bismarck's introduction of social insurance in 1881; sometimes liberal or radical, as with the social reforms that accompanied the rise to prominence of British radical Lloyd George after 1906. In France and the United States as well, the "rediscovery" of poverty in the late nineteenth century by social scientists and policymakers focused attention on the breakdown of social and familial institutions in the great cities of the industrial world. Not surprisingly, many turned to the state as the sole institution with the resources needed to restore the health of the nation and to remedy the ills of modernity afflicting the family and its members.

The vast historiography of welfare states mirrors the complexity of its subject and the diversity of views expressed by contemporaries. Historians working outside

¹³ We use the terms "strong" and "weak" states here to designate domestic, policing, and welfare mechanisms, not external functions such as the financing and waging of war. See John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York, 1989), xvii–xxii.

¹⁴ Deborah Dwork captured the irony of this political fact in the title of her book, *War Is Good for Babies and Other Young Children: A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England, 1898–1918* (London, 1987). On Britain, see also Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop*, 5 (1977): 9–65. Alisa Klaus offers a useful comparison of the impact of similar ideologies in "Depopulation and Race Suicide: Pronatalist Ideologies in France and the United States," in Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, eds., *Gender and the Origins of Welfare States in Western Europe and North America* (forthcoming); see also Offen, "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism." On the inadequacy of provisions in Germany, see Karin Hausen, "The German Nation's Obligations to the Heroes' Widows of World War I," in Margaret Higonnet, et al., eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1987), 126–40.

a feminist perspective have offered a range of explanations for the emergence of welfare states: the process of modernization, the rise of new social forces and groups, and the internal dynamics and momentum of the state itself. Modernization theorists see the welfare state as a response to economic development, industrialization, and labor force differentiation.¹⁵ They naturalize the welfare state as a logical response to the increasing complexity of a mature industrial society. Society-centered theorists fall into two categories. Social-democratic analysts attribute welfare-state development to the efforts of working-class leaders who translated their newly won political power into state programs designed to enhance the social and economic conditions of the workplace and home.¹⁶ Neo-Marxists take a much less benign view. They point to the rise of professionals and corporate managers seeking to stabilize and control the work force. State welfare in such accounts is seen as a kind of bribe intended to coopt the legitimate (conflictual) political aspirations of the working class.¹⁷ Finally, state-centered theorists stress the initiatives of bureaucrats and the imperatives of governmental machinery in explaining the expanded scope and role of the state in the twentieth century.¹⁸ Some also advocate what they call an "institutional-political process perspective," in which "political struggles and policy outcomes are presumed to be jointly conditioned by the institutional arrangements of the state and by class and other social relationships."¹⁹

Each of these models explains important aspects of the emergence of state welfare programs and policies, but none pays sufficient notice to the impact of organized women's movements and gender issues on the process.²⁰ In all four countries, factors such as the "anomie" of modernity, the social consequences of rapid industrial and urban growth, and the growing power of class-based movements threatened the foundations of bourgeois civil societies and created political climates that were receptive to social welfare initiatives. Without this long-term change in attitudes toward the relationship of the state to civil society, women's successes in shaping social welfare programs and in lobbying for a variety of legislative enactments would not have been possible. However, though a necessary condition, the shift toward collectivist policies and greater state intervention in regulating home and workplace does not account for the forms of women's organizations and their causes.

¹⁵ See, for example, Gaston V. Rimlinger, *Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America and Russia* (New York, 1971); and Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer, eds., *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1981).

¹⁶ For a comprehensive discussion of this group of theorists, see Michael Shalev, "The Social Democratic Model and Beyond: Two Generations of Comparative Research on the Welfare State," *Comparative Social Research*, 6 (1983): 315-51.

¹⁷ For the United States, see, for example, Edward Berkowitz and Kim McQuaid, *Creating the Welfare State: The Political Economy of Twentieth-Century Reform*, 2d edn. (New York, 1988); and Gwendolyn Mink, *Old Labor and New Immigrants in American Historical Development* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), esp. part 3.

¹⁸ See Hugh Hecl, *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden* (New Haven, Conn., 1974); Roger Davidson, "Llewellyn Smith, the Labour Department, and Government Growth, 1886-1909," in Gillian Sutherland, ed., *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-Century Government* (Totowa, N.J., 1972), 227-62; and Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (New York, 1985).

¹⁹ Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, "Understanding American Social Politics," in Weir, Orloff, and Skocpol, eds., *The Politics of Social Policy in the United States* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 3-27.

²⁰ To be sure, most of these models were first developed before women's history and gender studies emerged as full-blown fields. But their failure to consider women's relationships to welfare states is still surprising, given the availability of dramatic data on past and continuing gender differentials in poverty rates, and the prominence of women in charity and social welfare work.

From the perspective of women's history, the operative concepts and definitions of nonfeminist models seem too restrictive. For example, most nonfeminist theorists define the welfare state in terms of work-related pensions, general medical care, and old-age benefits, without examining the ways in which their models either include or exclude women or affect relationships between men and women in families. They pay little attention to the aspects of state welfare policy that most directly and explicitly affected women, namely, sex-based protective labor legislation and maternal and child welfare programs. Like the policymakers themselves, they take as their paradigm the regularly employed male wage earner. All too often, this paradigm renders women workers invisible, for it ignores differences and variations in their labor patterns created by domestic and family responsibilities.²¹ Employers' and politicians' perceptions of these responsibilities produced distinctions in their treatment of male and female workers and in the social policies devised to ensure workers' welfare. Nonfeminists have also overlooked the role of women in shaping policy. Despite abundant historical evidence pointing to women's presence in the early stages of welfare-state formation, state-centered theorists have, until recently, restricted their inquiries to the period when state welfare structures had already emerged and to the male-dominated administration of the official state and the political parties vying for its control.²² By construing the geographical and chronological boundaries of welfare-state development so narrowly, they fail to capture those women's activities in the voluntary or civic sector that often preceded state formation.²³

Similarly, modernization and society-centered theorists obscure women's impact on state development by taking male patterns of political activity as the norm. Women were absent from or marginal to male-dominated parties, trade unions, and fraternal associations. In nineteenth-century France and Germany, they were prohibited by law from joining political parties. Disenfranchisement made clear the limits of female citizenship within the boundaries of the official, male-controlled state.²⁴ Yet these forms of exclusion did not render women inactive as workers or

²¹ For the impact of these factors on British working-class women, see Sonya Rose, *Gender, Labor, and Capital: The Creation of a Segregated World of Work and Its Consequences in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (forthcoming); on American working women, Alice Kessler-Harris, *A Woman's Wage: Symbolic Meanings and Social Consequences* (Lexington, Ky., 1990).

²² Strongly indebted to Max Weber, state-centered theorists have assimilated his restrictive definition of the state: "[L]ike the political institutions historically preceding it, the state is a relation of men dominating men, a relation supported by means of legitimate [that is, considered to be legitimate] violence"; "Politics as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber*, ed. and trans. by Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York, 1946), 78. Although Weber was using the word "men" generically here, he was, in fact, describing a bureaucracy and political system occupied exclusively by men.

²³ Heclo's otherwise fine study, *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden*, illustrates the drawbacks of such an approach. It forces women's work in creating and implementing policies in the private sector and in partnership with municipal and public authorities into the category "lobbying" or "interest" groups and thus devalues the political meaning of these activities and understates their impact. By explicitly taking gender into account, Theda Skocpol has begun a major recasting of state-centered theory; see her *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers* (forthcoming); and Skocpol and Gretchen Ritter, "Gender and the Origins of Modern Social Policies in Britain and the United States" (forthcoming).

²⁴ In this sense, women were following the pattern of disenfranchised Englishmen in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who turned to charitable and civic work to gain political expertise and power. See John Brewer, "Commercialization and Politics," Part 2, in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, *Birth of a Consumer Society* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982), 227; and R. J. Morris, "Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites," *Historical Journal*, 26 (1983): 95–118. For men's charity work and voluntary associations, see also Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes* (Chicago, 1989), chap. 10; on men's associations more generally, 73. For a comparative perspective, see Ira Katznelson, "Working-Class Formation and the State: Nineteenth-Century England in American Perspective," in Evans, Skocpol, and Rueschemeyer, *Bringing the State Back In*, 270–74. According to Katznelson, it was "in the voluntary organizations created in the 'free space' of communities separated from work spaces

as political lobbyists. Without access to the venues for political mobilization restricted to men, women came together in other ways and around other issues. In the United States and Great Britain, for example, women formed cross-class labor organizations to promote the growth of women's trade unionism and represent the interests of women workers.²⁵ In France at the turn of the century, some women built upon their traditionally close ties with the church to establish Social Catholic organizations and lobbying groups including L'Action Sociale de la Femme founded by Jeanne Popinel Chenu and the Maisons Sociales established by Mercedes Le Fer de La Motte.²⁶ Arenas of mobilization clearly affected the types of policies each group sought to promote. In the United States, for example, Julia Lathrop, Grace Abbott, and other "federal maternalists" sought to translate the ethos of the settlement house into a distinct political mode and agenda.²⁷ Voluntary organizations and the many institutions they spawned for women and children figured importantly in women's political education by training them to create and work through bureaucracies, research and write policy statements, and raise funds and prepare budgets.

In drawing out the gender implications of supposedly sex-neutral policies, women's historians and feminist theorists have necessarily adopted new approaches to the study of the welfare state and redefined the state itself. However, just as nonfeminist scholars have ignored the impact of welfare states on gender relations (and vice versa), many feminists have also been one-sided, focusing exclusively on the state's instrumentality in perpetuating patriarchy. Some argue that state welfare programs are intended primarily to regulate women's productive and reproductive lives. Capitalist states use welfare policies to impose a "family ethic" on women, just as they use other measures to impose a "work ethic" on men.²⁸ Elizabeth Wilson's provocative study *Women and the Welfare State* (1977) claimed that "the difference between the policeman's and the social worker's role . . . illustrates the difference between the directly repressive State and the ideological repression of the State. In either case, the function of police and social welfare agencies is to repress." The welfare state defined woman as "above all Mother," which, Wilson asserted, equals "submission, nurturance and passivity." Many other feminists concur with Wilson

[that] English workers learned to put claims to their employers and to the state in a rhetoric and idiom of class"; 270.

²⁵ See Elizabeth Payne, *Reform, Labor and Feminism: Margaret Dreier Robins and the Women's Trade Union League* (Urbana, Ill., 1988).

²⁶ Henri Rollet, *L'Action sociale des catholiques en France: 1871-1914*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958), 2: 34-36, 116-25. For a firsthand account of a visit to a Maison Sociale, see L. J. Charles, "Visites de la Société Internationale," *Revue philanthropique*, 7 (April 1906): 779-85. The Maisons Sociales in Paris, like women's settlements in the United States and Britain, were residential communities of single women located in poor urban districts. But, unlike their Anglo-American counterparts, the French women saw themselves as agents of Christian benevolence and "apostolic zeal," not as pioneers of scientific social work and shapers of public policy. And while several residents sought diplomas in household management or nursing, they lacked the collegiate credentials of most Anglo-American settlement workers.

²⁷ See Molly Ladd-Taylor, "Hull-House Goes to Washington: Mothers, Child Welfare and the State," paper presented at the meeting of the American Historical Association, Cincinnati, Ohio, December 1988.

²⁸ Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present* (Boston, 1988), 36-40. For more theoretical arguments along these lines, see Mary McIntosh, "The State and the Oppression of Women," in Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe, eds., *Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production* (London, 1978), 254-89; and Zillah R. Eisenstein, ed., *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism* (New York, 1979). For a cogent critique of this position, see Jane Jensen, "Gender and Reproduction: Or, Babies and the State," *Studies in Political Economy*, 20 (Summer 1986): 9-46.

that welfare states situated women as clients and dependents in order to limit them to their "primary task" of "reproducing the work force."²⁹ Despite its insights into the power of welfare states to control behavior, such scholarship tends to produce narratives of loss and victimization, in which women appear as passive, disorganized, and helpless in the face of the encroaching male power of the state.³⁰ It obscures women's roles as autonomous actors and agents, in large part because here, too, the political process is conceived as a male domain.³¹ If, under patriarchy, motherhood always entails dependency on a husband or father, or on the state serving *in loco patris*, it is difficult to conceive that claiming maternal identity could help women gain autonomy and political power.³²

Recently, scholars have begun to revise social welfare history, insisting on clients' activism, even at the individual level, within the penumbra of the state. For example, Linda Gordon, in her study of family violence, while clearly aware of the discriminatory aspects of many policies, stresses the ways in which female clients of both voluntary and state agencies shaped policies and institutions to suit their own needs.³³ The history of middle-class women's activities on behalf of women and children, like that of Gordon's working-class heroes, does not support the equation of motherhood with dependence or the depiction of women as victims. Many middle-class women viewed motherliness not as their special burden or curse but as a peculiar gift that encouraged them and justified their efforts to gain some measure of personal and political autonomy.

²⁹ Elizabeth Wilson, *Women and the Welfare State* (London, 1977), 14, 7–8. See also Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women*. For Wilson's personal views on motherhood, see her "In a Different Key," in Catherine Gieve, ed., *Balancing Acts: On Being a Mother* (London, 1989).

³⁰ Gillian Pascall made a similar critique of reifying or monolithic feminist theories of patriarchy in *Social Policy: A Feminist Analysis* (London, 1986). A parallel criticism has been made of Marxist social control theorists who set up a binary opposition between bourgeois and working-class culture that assigns thrift and sobriety to the former, leaving, by implication, shiftlessness and insobriety to the latter.

³¹ Nonfeminists simply take this for granted, while some feminists make it the explicit point of their critique.

³² Carole Pateman calls this "Wollstonecraft's Dilemma." While viewing women's political participation in a patriarchal state as problematic, she points out that women's growing economic importance has drawn attention to the inequities of their political status and believes that women can achieve equality if there is a shift from welfare states to welfare societies; Pateman, "The Patriarchal Welfare State: Women and Democracy," in Amy Gutman, ed., *Democracy and the Welfare State* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), esp. 250–60. For a more pessimistic view, see Catharine McKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

³³ Women exerted what Linda Gordon, borrowing from Elizabeth Janeway, calls "the powers of the weak" to use these agencies as resources to enlist middle-class visitors and social workers as their allies in efforts to protect themselves and their children; see *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* (New York, 1988), 251. Gordon has also written that "[w]elfare not only replaced men as the object of women's dependence; it also subverted women's dependence on men"; "What Does Welfare Regulate?" *Social Research*, 55 (Winter 1988): 630.

One of the first historians to focus on client activism was Barbara Brenzel in *Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856–1905* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), although she did not use this approach as consistently as Gordon does. A fine study by Alisa Klaus shows that women actively sought information from the U.S. Children's Bureau; see *Every Child a Lion: The Origins of Infant Health Policy in the United States and France 1890–1920* (Ithaca, N.Y., forthcoming). Other recent studies reveal the extent to which working-class women used and affected policies in receiving private charity and public welfare in Germany, France, and Britain. See, for example, Jean Quataert, "Women's Work and the Early Welfare State in Germany: Legislators, Bureaucrats and Clients before the First World War," in Koven and Michel, *Gender and the Origins of Welfare States*; and articles by Lynn Lees, Rachel Fuchs, and Ellen Ross in Peter Mandler, ed., *The Uses of Charity* (Philadelphia, 1990).

THE ROOTS OF MATERNALIST MOVEMENTS lie in the early nineteenth century, when women in Western countries began to organize in the name of social reform, reclamation, and moral purity. Essential to this mobilization was the rise of domestic ideologies that stressed women's differences from men, humanitarian concerns for the conditions of child life and labor, and the emergence of activist interpretations of the gospel (which varied from country to country and included evangelicalism, Christian Socialism, Social Catholicism, and the social gospel).³⁴ Women's moral vision, compassion, and capacity to nurture came increasingly to be linked to motherliness. Once embedded within an ideological and political framework, these private qualities became the cornerstone of the public, political discourses we identify as maternalism.

Such discourses linked religious activism and domesticity to one another in a curiously unstable matrix of mutually reinforcing yet contradictory values. On the one hand, women were enjoined to cultivate their womanhood within the home; but, on the other, they were urged to impress Christian values on their communities through charitable work. Inevitably, the practice of some women's lives as charitable workers conflicted with the dictates of domesticity. Maternalist discourses were marked not only by national histories but also by their specific political and rhetorical contexts. Maternalism was and remains an extraordinarily protean ideology capable of drawing together unlikely and often transitory coalitions between people who appeared to speak a common language but had opposing political commitments and views of women.

Maternalism grew out of a variety of nationally specific constructions of domesticity.³⁵ In the United States, for example, nineteenth-century women activists could draw on a rich legacy of domestic ideologies that historians have named "the cult of true womanhood" and "republican motherhood" in constructing maternalist visions of women and the state.³⁶ Working in organizations that were sex-segregated by choice, female reformers initially sought to avoid any association with politics, which, they feared, would compromise their putative moral purity and hence undermine the rationale for their womanly mission.³⁷ But some quickly realized that they would be more effective if they could mobilize the powers of the state on their own behalf. As Mary P. Ryan notes, in the 1820s and 1830s female moral reformers in New York City "were not averse to seeking either

³⁴ Dorothy George linked this phenomenon, which she called the "new humanitarianism," to her optimistic assessment of early industrial capitalism in Britain. See *England in Transition: Life and Work in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1931). On the impact of evangelicalism on women's position, see Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780–1860* (New York, 1984), chap. 3.

³⁵ Although maternalist ideologies bore identifiable national characteristics, they also shared commonalities as a result of activist women's long history of international collaboration. That between British and American women began at meetings of the World Anti-Slavery Society in the 1840s and continued through the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the International Council of Women, the Charity Organization Society, and the settlement house movement. See Daniel Rodgers, "The Transatlantic Origins of the American Welfare State," paper presented at the Charles Warren Center, Harvard University, December 2, 1987.

³⁶ The term "cult of true womanhood" was first used by Barbara Welter in her essay by the same name, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820–1860," *American Quarterly*, 18 (Summer 1966): 151–74. For the ideology of republican motherhood, see Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), chap. 5.

³⁷ Maternalist ideologies were closely linked to new notions of respectability, which, according to George Mosse, arose with the nationalisms of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Europe. See Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison, Wis., 1985), chap. 1.

police power or state funds to support their cause."³⁸ By mid-century, the women's reform movement had become increasingly sophisticated, shifting tactics from "moral suasion" to direct political action. This trend gained impetus during the Civil War and especially Reconstruction, as benevolent women worked with the federal government to bring aid to former slaves through the Freedmen's Bureau.³⁹ Yet, even as they moved further onto the political stage, women continued to claim for themselves a kind of moral superiority rooted in their differences from men. As late as the Progressive Era, the noted reformer Florence Kelley insisted that women possessed special insights into issues of social justice and social welfare and were, at the same time, entitled to special protection.⁴⁰

Not all American maternalists believed it was the federal government's responsibility to aid and protect women. The noted Boston Brahmin and anti-suffragist Elizabeth Lowell Putnam called upon her home state to pass pure milk laws but opposed any form of federal programs on behalf of women and children. She claimed that the U.S. Children's Bureau, established at the behest of women activists in 1912, "is merely a clever way, because appealing, of granting power to the federal government and taking it away from individual states, which is the great way in which the Soviet government works in getting control of its people, particularly the young—by putting the many in the control of the few."⁴¹

The British case also illustrates the ways in which women joined notions about their motherly social tasks to different political agendas. Although Millicent Garrett Fawcett, a leading constitutional suffragist, was committed to John Stuart Mill's vision of formal equality between the sexes, she believed that women's private and voluntary philanthropy and welfare work was "the most womanly of women's duties."⁴² Her adversaries, the women who signed the "Appeal against Female Suffrage" of 1889, also believed that social reform and reclamation were women's special province. The signatories, who included such prominent female leaders as Beatrice Webb and Mary Augusta (Mrs. Humphry) Ward, contended that the parliamentary franchise would pollute women by implicating them in the violent business of wars and empire. They urged women, however, to extend their housekeeping out into the municipal arena by seizing opportunities to serve in local government as elected and appointed officials and social welfare organizers and workers.⁴³

³⁸ Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots* (Baltimore, Md., 1990), 100.

³⁹ Lori D. Ginzberg, "'Moral Suasion Is Moral Balderdash': Women, Politics, and Social Activism in the 1850s," *Journal of American History*, 73 (December 1986): 601–22; and Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), chaps. 5–6.

⁴⁰ See Florence Kelley, "Should Women Be Treated Identically with Men by the Law?" *American Review*, 3 (May–June 1923): 277.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Lowell Putnam, "Note on the Children's Bureau," (n.d. [1929?]), box 3, folder 57, Elizabeth Lowell Putnam Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College. Putnam's remark draws attention to the fact that anti-Soviet backlash was particularly strong in the United States and contributed to the overall hostility to federal welfare measures.

⁴² Mrs. Henry [Millicent Garrett] Fawcett, *Some Eminent Women of Our Times* (London, 1889), 1; see also Fawcett, "The Appeal against Female Suffrage: A Reply," in *Nineteenth Century*, 26 (July 1889): 86–96.

⁴³ "An Appeal against Female Suffrage," *Nineteenth Century*, 25 (June 1889): 781–88. On the anti-suffrage women, see Brian Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain* (London, 1978). Local government, perhaps the most important political arena open to British women, was also a stronghold of a "civic maternalist" ideology; see Seth Koven, "Civic Maternalism and the Welfare State: The Case of Mrs. Humphry Ward," paper presented at the Seventh Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, 1988; and Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865–1914* (Oxford, 1987).



FIGURE 1: "Two-Thirds of the Milk consumed in Mass. comes from outside the State." Maternalist imagery figured prominently in the successful campaign for regulation of the milk industry waged in 1909 by the Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Association. One of its most active leaders was Elizabeth Lowell Putnam, who had lost a child to a disease contracted from drinking impure milk. Courtesy of the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

While it is not surprising to find anti-suffrage women invoking a maternalist vision of women's sex-specific social obligations, it is noteworthy to find such views in the writings of leading socialist feminists and Labour party women.⁴⁴ In 1907, Margaret MacDonald, a founder of the Women's Labour League, appealed to that "great majority of women whose first duty and responsibility is to their home and children but who are learning that they cannot thoroughly fulfill their charge without taking part in the civic life which surrounds and vitally affects their home

⁴⁴ These included Independent Labour party spokesperson Margaret McMillan and leaders of the Women's Cooperative Guild, the largest maternalist organization in Britain, Margaret Llewellyn Davies and Margaret Bondfield.

life."⁴⁵ MacDonald's plea was part of a larger platform that included women's suffrage, women's freedom to choose to work inside or outside the home, higher wages for male heads of households, and extensive benefits for mothers.

In the French Third Republic, anxieties over depopulation and the perception of military weakness in the aftermath of crushing defeat in the Franco-Prussian War made the contest to control maternalist political rhetoric exceptionally intense. Maternalism took many forms among French women, depending on whether it was linked to conservative Catholic ideologies, the philanthropic traditions of the active-but-small Protestant minority, republicanism, socialism, or one of the late nineteenth-century variants of feminism. Until the 1880s, two groups of Catholic women had traditionally dominated the care of mothers and children within their communities: Catholic nuns and well-to-do Catholic lay women.⁴⁶ Bonnie Smith's study of the bourgeois of the Nord argues that these women saw charity as an organic and natural extension of their domestic roles as mothers and as Catholics.⁴⁷ Subscribing to an anti-modern, anti-capitalist world view, these *dames patronnesses* established crèches, kindergartens, and maternal aid societies. Such women lived very public lives but refused to see themselves as engaged in politics. While they, like Auclert, valued motherliness, they were hostile to her support of suffrage and rejected as godless the radical republicanism of another feminist, Marguerite Durand.⁴⁸

In the 1880s, the leaders of the Third Republic, as part of their struggle against the church, actively sought to undermine the hold of Catholic women on social welfare. Abandoning the moralistic prejudices against unmarried mothers that had characterized the work of Catholic maternalists, advocates of this new, modern ideology recognized all mothers and children as vital resources for the Republic.⁴⁹ Their efforts not only increased intervention by male professionals pursuing scientific, bureaucratic initiatives but also created an opening for women committed to advancing motherhood within a context of republican ideology and female emancipation.⁵⁰ This did not, however, lead to professional opportunities for women, for male republicans continued to stress the importance of women's contributions as "the natural agents of . . . charity."⁵¹

Catholic women, though marginalized during this period, continued to promote maternal and child welfare, reemerging as a vocal and potent political group in the early twentieth century with La Ligue Patriotique des Femmes Françaises (the

⁴⁵ Women's Labour League, *Annual Report* (1907), 9.

⁴⁶ Olwen Hufton, "Poverty and Charity: Revolutionary Mythology and Real Women," in *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (forthcoming); and Claude Langlois, *Le Catholicisme au féminin: Les Congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1984), parts 2–3. For a discussion of the early context of Social Catholicism, see Katherine A. Lynch, *Family, Class, and Ideology in Early Industrial France: Social Policy and the Working-Class Family, 1825–1848* (Madison, Wis., 1988).

⁴⁷ Bonnie Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), chaps. 4, 8; see also Margaret H. Darrow, "French Noblewomen and the New Domesticity, 1750–1850," *Feminist Studies*, 5 (1979): 41–65.

⁴⁸ Their views of Durand were colored partly by her socialist-feminist politics, partly by her illegitimate birth. See Hause with Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic*, 33–36.

⁴⁹ Feminists like Marie Deraismes linked women's emancipation to the protection of the family and the Republic; see Moses, *French Feminism*, chap. 9.

⁵⁰ Moses, *French Feminism*, chaps. 8–9; Hause with Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Policy*, chap. 2.

⁵¹ Klaus, "Depopulation and Race Suicide." According to Klaus, the republicans claimed that women's "feminine attributes would enable them to personalize an increasingly bureaucratic welfare system, thus healing the alienation of the working class from the bourgeoisie. In addition, physicians and politicians often voiced the hope that such voluntary activity would restimulate the maternal instinct of bourgeois women and girls"; (forthcoming).

Patriotic League of French Women). Unlike their Catholic predecessors, league women felt compelled to enter politics, even as they sought to uphold women's traditional subordination to men.⁵² At approximately the same time, a cadre of elite, moderately feminist Protestant French women laid the foundations for the interdenominational Conseil National des Femmes Françaises (National Council of French Women) by recruiting members from associations "that concerned themselves with the lot of women or of children."⁵³ Thus French women who openly opposed one another on fundamental issues such as suffrage or married women's wage labor often found themselves in agreement over the need to expand and improve maternal and child welfare.

Maternalism was perhaps the most significant thread tying together the disparate women's movements in Germany from the 1880s until the 1920s. Ann Taylor Allen cogently argues that the "overwhelming majority of feminist leaders during the nineteenth century" embraced the concept of "spiritual motherhood." Allen aptly insists that, "far from the reactionary affirmation of traditional subservience which some feminist historians have denounced, the nineteenth-century glorification of motherhood was initially a progressive trend."⁵⁴ Shortly after the 1848 Revolution, Henriette Breymann, a leader of the kindergarten movement, wrote, "I foresee an entirely new age dawning for women when she will be the center of the home and when she . . . will bring to the broader community a quality which until now has been entirely lacking—the spirit of motherhood in its deepest meaning and in its most varied forms."⁵⁵ Breymann linked her vision of women to liberal reforms in the education of women and children.⁵⁶

Breymann could not have predicted the varied meanings and forms "motherhood" would take in Germany over the next seventy years. By the end of the century, maternalist women had linked it to sex reform, socialist reconstruction of the state and society, suffrage, and a wide range of state welfare policies and programs. Alice Salomon, who, along with Jeannette Schwerin, pioneered the development of professional social work in Germany, literally built on the foundations laid by Breymann by establishing the first Soziale Frauenschule (Social Work School for Women) in Breymann's Pestalozzi-Fröbel Haus in Berlin.⁵⁷ Salomon demanded the vote and aggressively pushed for state intervention: "We asked not for privileges, for preferential laws, but for an adjustment to women's greater vulnerability arising from specific organic functions imposed upon them by nature."⁵⁸ Salomon's maternalism was inextricably bound up with her consensual

⁵² The league's first president, Baroness de Brigode, great-granddaughter of Lafayette, asserted, "Next time we will check the color of the ballots a bit more carefully, for it affects our children's future"; Anne-Marie Sohn, "Catholic Women and Political Affairs: The Case of the Patriotic League of French Women," in Judith Friedlander, et al., eds., *Women in Culture and Politics: A Century of Change* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 242.

⁵³ Hause with Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Policy*, 38.

⁵⁴ Ann Taylor Allen, "Spiritual Motherhood: German Feminists and the Kindergarten Movement, 1848–1911," *History of Education Quarterly*, 22 (1982): 319–20.

⁵⁵ Henriette Schrader-Breymann, quoted in Allen, "Spiritual Motherhood," 323–24.

⁵⁶ Not all of her contemporaries were so progressive. One, Amalie Sieveking, saw her motherly work as entirely compatible with women's traditional place in society. See Catherine M. Prelinger, "Prelude to Consciousness: Amalie Sieveking and the Female Association for the Care of the Poor and Sick," in John C. Fout, ed., *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History* (New York, 1984); and Prelinger, *Charity, Challenge, and Change: Religious Dimensions of the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Women's Movement in Germany* (Westport, Conn., 1987), chap. 4.

⁵⁷ See Alice Salomon, *Sozialfrauenbildung* (Leipzig, 1908).

⁵⁸ Alice Salomon, "Character Is Destiny," typescript autobiography, 66–67. The Leo Baeck Institute in New York City has a copy of this manuscript, but we must thank Irmela Georges for sending a



FIGURE 2: "Ein Klössefest," from *Bilder aus dem Kinderleben des Pestalozzi-Fröbel-Hauses in Berlin* (Hamburg, 1904), 21. An illustration of "spiritual motherhood," the story accompanying this photograph emphasized that boys as well as girls learned important moral values through performing domestic tasks, in this case, working together to prepare potato dumplings.

vision of social relations. The daughter of a wealthy, assimilated Jewish family, she envisioned a motherly state that aimed not to transform class relations but to transcend the conflicts between classes through the bonds of motherhood.

Socialist women, while divided among themselves, denounced Salomon and the bourgeois feminist movement as collaborators with an exploitative system.⁵⁹ Women's emancipation could never be achieved, nor the rights of mothers and children secured, without transforming the relationship between working-class clients and middle-class female social reformers. Lily Braun, a renegade from the aristocracy and a leader of the ethical-socialist Bund für Mutterschutz (League for the Protection of Motherhood), enunciated a passionate brand of maternalism that challenged the male-centered foundations of her society. Braun insisted that women—as women, not only as socialists and workers—had essential contributions to make to society. She argued that just as women received “the seed” from men in creating life, so, too, male-dominated societies needed to receive the seed of women's distinctive gifts to civilization.⁶⁰ Although Bebel's *Women under Socialism* was the bible of socialist women, and the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) was the most powerful political advocate for women's emancipation in pre-World War I Germany, Braun believed that even the German socialist movement was implicitly part of the “hitherto purely masculine culture” she sought to feminize.⁶¹

Activist women in all four countries regarded motherhood as empowering, not as a condition of dependence and weakness. They saw the home—domestic and maternal duties—as the locus of their power within the community. Yet, although maternalism offered women a common platform that transcended differences in religious affiliation, political inclinations, and nationality, their commitment to it could not conceal conflicts among them. When Alice Salomon traveled to London for the Quintennial Meeting of the International Council of Women in 1899, she happily anticipated sharing the platform on “Protective Labor Legislation for Women” with Beatrice Webb, the renowned Fabian socialist and expert on social welfare and social policy. Expecting Webb to be “a romantic figure,” she found her “detached, unemotional, typically a scholar.” More shocking, Salomon discovered that Webb “thought in different categories from feminists and social workers.”⁶² Salomon's revelation underlines an important point: maternalist women, while actively seeking to improve the conditions of women, were not necessarily feminists—some, in fact, deliberately refused to so define themselves.

Maternalism proved a fragile foundation on which to build coalitions. Women were divided among themselves on many key issues, and they lacked the political power to maintain control over maternalist discourses and policies. Although male

photocopy from Berlin. Originally written in English, the autobiography has been translated into German and published as *Charakter ist Schicksal. Lebenserinnerungen* (Basel, 1983).

⁵⁹ For socialist women in Germany, see Jean Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885–1917* (Princeton, N.J., 1979).

⁶⁰ Lily Braun, “The Female Mind,” in Alfred G. Meyer, ed. and trans., *Selected Writings on Feminism and Socialism by Lily Braun* (Bloomington, Ind., 1987), 188.

⁶¹ Braun's simultaneous embrace of maternalism and socialism earned her the vituperation of Clara Zetkin, who refused to call herself a feminist because it suggested that women's battle for emancipation could be separated from the struggles of the proletariat to overthrow capitalism. For Braun's response to Zetkin's charges, see her “Left and Right,” in Meyer, *Selected Writings*. Jean Quataert discusses the Zetkin–Braun controversy in “Unequal Partners in an Uneasy Alliance: Women and the Working Class in Imperial Germany,” in Boxer and Quataert, eds., *Socialist Women*, 130–35.

⁶² Salomon, “Character Is Destiny,” 67.

politicians used maternalist rhetoric, it was often merely a cloak for paternalism. Their interests seldom lay in promoting women's rights or even strengthening the family as a goal in itself. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, legislators passed a variety of measures that singled out women for special protection by the state. Protective legislation limited or prohibited women's labor force participation by dictating hours, wages, and working conditions.⁶³ Despite the humanitarian and maternalist language that accompanied the passage of such bills, "limiting legislation" effectively diminished women's earnings by barring them from employment without compensatory benefits. As feminist scholars have noted, the men who led the campaigns for limiting legislation such as the Mines Act of 1842 in Great Britain and the 1892 labor legislation in France "protected" women in order to reduce the threat of competition from female workers, shore up the family wage, and compel women to remain within their homes.⁶⁴ Female activists, by contrast, typically demanded "redistributive" welfare measures that compensated women for lost wages and provided direct medical and social services. Such measures left open the possibility of maternal employment. For working women, the differences between "limiting" and "redistributive" welfare measures were stark. Limiting legislation buttressed the gender-based, dual labor market, while redistributive forms mitigated some of its worst consequences.⁶⁵

By the early twentieth century, many male politicians had become aware of the inefficacy of limiting legislation, and they too began to call for redistributive measures. But they tended to do so not for women themselves but on behalf of infants, the race, and the nation. Emile Rey, during debates in the French Sénat over mandatory maternity leaves, echoed Frédéric Le Play's conservative prescriptions for women even as he argued for radically redistributive policies.⁶⁶ He insisted that the French state should offer non-contributory and universal allowances to all needy women, not just those who were wage workers, for performing the labor of producing and nurturing children. But Rey was not motivated by generous concern for women. Instead, he wished to prevent those who were not already employed outside the home from abandoning the *foyer* for the workshop merely to gain benefits. Rey equated women's work outside the home with "immorality."⁶⁷

⁶³ These campaigns were led by men like Lord Shaftesbury, Richard Waddington, and Gustave Dron, whose ostensible motives were benevolent and humane, although the consequences of their work were economically damaging for women and ultimately reinforced male control over workplace and family structures. On Waddington and Dron, see Mary Lynn Stewart, *Women, Work and the French State: Labour Protection and Social Patriarchy, 1879–1919* (Kingston, 1989), 31–36.

⁶⁴ See Jane Humphries, "Protective Legislation, the Capitalist State and Working Class Men: The Case of the 1842 Mines Regulation Act," *Feminist Review*, 7 (1981): 1–33, for the response of working-class miners, men and women, to this legislation in England. On women's strikes against the implementation of protective laws in France, see Stewart, *Women, Work and the French State*, 202; on working women's resistance to protective laws in Germany, see Jean Quataert, "Social Insurance and the Family Work of Oberlausitz Home Weavers in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Fout, ed., *German Women*, 270–89.

⁶⁵ Examples of redistributive legislation include the 30 shillings maternity allowance in Britain that was part of Lloyd George's 1911 social insurance scheme, the 1913 Strauss Law in France, and the various state-level mothers' and widows' pension measures passed in the United States from 1906 on.

⁶⁶ On the byzantine debates and political machinations over this issue, see Mary Lynn McDougall [Stewart], "Protecting Infants: The French Campaign for Maternity Leaves, 1890s–1913," *French Historical Studies*, 13 (Spring 1983): 79–105; and Jenson, "Gender and Reproduction." The debate can be followed in the minutes of the Sénat, *Journal officiel*, March 9 and December 3, 1912. As McDougall noted, while France was late in passing a mandatory maternity leave, it was not from lack of interest in the issue or from lack of a tradition of state intervention in maternal and child welfare; 79–80.

⁶⁷ Emile Rey, Minutes of the Sénat, *Journal officiel*, March 8, 1912.

Did it make sense for women to support men like Rey, who, despite their explicit paternalism, promised to redistribute substantial resources to mothers? In 1915, American feminist Katharine Anthony advised her fellow feminists to heed the example of their German counterparts and take a pragmatic or opportunistic approach to maternalist politics. The great expansion of benefits to mothers in Germany, she confessed, “relied in great measure upon good masculine reasons which the masculine mind will understand. The spectacle of official diplomacy working out official reasons for granting a feminist demand is an exhibition from which watchful feminists may learn a great deal, if indeed it doesn’t make them too furious to think.”⁶⁸ What were the implications of the trade-off suggested by Anthony between gaining feminist demands in the area of child and maternal welfare and accommodating the “masculine mind”? Were the stakes of conceding control over maternalist discourses to men higher in terms of women’s long-term political power than Anthony imagined? What were the tangible results of women’s activism on their political identities, on maternal and child welfare policies and programs, and, more generally, on the state itself?

IN BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND THE UNITED STATES, female maternalists used their private voluntary associations to develop social welfare programs for working-class women and their children. But just as women’s movements varied in strength, so too did the extent and influence of their voluntary associations. Theda Skocpol and other state-centered theorists have argued that weak states—that is, those with decentralized or undeveloped bureaucracies (less rationalized, in Weberian terms)—will produce or be accompanied by strong private sectors.⁶⁹ Skocpol, along with Kathryn Kish Sklar, advances an important and suggestive corollary: it is also in such situations that women’s quasi-state social welfare activities burgeon.⁷⁰ During periods preceding the build-up of the state administration and in social spaces outside of government—in civic, confessional, and voluntary arenas—women’s groups mobilize resources and work effectively to pursue social goals.

Skocpol highlights the strength of the British state and labor movement in comparison to those of the United States.⁷¹ However, when placed within a broader framework of welfare policies and programs, the American and British states both appear relatively weak compared to those of France and Germany—and the political prominence of American and British women appears greater. In the United States, where organized labor had little political power, Sklar argues that

⁶⁸ Katharine Anthony, *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia* (New York, 1915), 132.

⁶⁹ The concepts of “strong” and “weak” states were first introduced in J. P. Nettl, “The State as a Conceptual Variable,” *World Politics*, 20 (1968): 559–92; see also the critical discussion by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, “On the Road toward a More Adequate Understanding of the State,” in Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol, *Bringing the State Back In*, 350–51.

⁷⁰ In so doing, Skocpol and Sklar are expanding the concept of the private sector, which, in this context, is usually thought to include business, trade unions, and (male) voluntary associations. See Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*; and Kathryn Kish Sklar, “Explaining the Power of Women’s Political Culture in the Creation of the American Welfare State, 1890–1930,” in Koven and Michel, *Gender and the Origins of Welfare States*. Other state-centered scholars continue to ignore gender, even when it is germane to their analyses; see, for example, Stephen Skowronek, *Building the New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (New York, 1982); and Abram de Swaan, *In Care of the State: Health Care, Education, and Welfare in Europe and the USA in the Modern Era* (Oxford, 1988).

⁷¹ Skocpol and Ritter, “Gender and the Origins of Modern Social Policies.”

female activists "used gender-specific means . . . to ameliorate class inequities."⁷² American women claimed the political space occupied by state agencies, churches, and bureaucrats in France and Germany to transform their voluntary charity into a shadow welfare state, an entity that Sara Evans has dubbed "the maternal commonwealth."⁷³

In contrast to the loose, decentralized "state of courts and parties" that characterized the American polity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century,⁷⁴ the private-sector maternal commonwealth became increasingly centralized during this period. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, under the dynamic leadership of Frances Willard, was the first national organization to emerge in 1874. Soon, other scattered, unaffiliated, benevolent organizations, some of them hitherto unknown to one another, began forming national leagues: the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC, 1890), the National Federation of Day Nurseries (NFDN, 1895), and the National Association of Colored Women (1896), among others. While the NFDN was devoted to a single form of benevolence, the others served as umbrella organizations that created more affiliates and stimulated the development of a range of activities in cities and towns across the country.⁷⁵ Although independent and firmly based in the private sector, women's organizations frequently lobbied local and state governments for improved services to needy and dependent groups, and many received public funding for the services they themselves offered. The more progressive groups turned to state governments for permanent support. The GFWC, along with the National Congress of Mothers, was a key player in campaigns for mothers' and widows' pensions during the first two decades of the twentieth century.⁷⁶ By 1920, forty states had passed such measures.⁷⁷

While local chapters drew thousands of family-based married women into political activity during this period, single, educated women of the same and subsequent generations were attracted to the newly established urban settlement houses, which offered them myriad opportunities to participate in reform. Institutions like Hull House, in addition to providing direct services to neighborhood populations, served as staging areas for campaigns on a range of maternalist issues, particularly protective labor legislation and health programs. These campaigns soon moved from the local to the state level. With the establishment of the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912, Hull House and its informal affiliates across the country gained a base in Washington and adapted their political strategies accordingly.⁷⁸

The very existence of the Children's Bureau testifies to the unusual power and vigor of women's higher education and women's movements in the United States and, more generally, to their authority as social policy experts.⁷⁹ But their

⁷² Sklar, "Explaining the Power of Women's Political Culture."

⁷³ Sara Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York, 1989), chap. 6.

⁷⁴ The phrase is Skowronek's; see *Building a New American State*, part 2.

⁷⁵ The Women's Christian Temperance Union's motto in the 1880s was "Do Everything"; see Ruth Bordin, *Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty* (Philadelphia, 1980), 98.

⁷⁶ See Skocpol, "An Unusual Victory for Public Benefits: The 'Wildfire Spread' of Mothers' Pensions," *Protecting Mothers and Soldiers*, chap. 7.

⁷⁷ U.S. Children's Bureau, *Laws Relating to "Mothers' Pensions" in the United States, Canada, Denmark and New Zealand*, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication no. 63 (Washington, D.C., 1919).

⁷⁸ Ladd-Taylor, "Hull-House Goes to Washington"; Robyn L. Muncy, "Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1987), chap. 2.

⁷⁹ Lela Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice: A Biography of Grace and Edith Abbott* (Urbana, Ill., 1983); Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York, 1990); and Muncy, "Creating a Female Dominion," chap. 3.

bureaucratic power was isolated and did not translate readily into a federal program of redistributive maternal and child welfare benefits. In 1919, the bureau undertook a comprehensive international study of maternity benefits. Bureau chief Julia Lathrop noted poignantly that the report had been compiled "in the hope that the information might prove useful to the people of one of the few great countries which as yet have no system of State or national assistance in maternity—the United States."⁸⁰ In 1921, Congress did pass the bureau-sponsored Sheppard-Towner maternal and infant health bill but refused to renew it in 1929. Another bureau-supported measure, the Child Labor Amendment, passed Congress in 1924 but could not garner adequate state support for ratification. Ironically but not surprisingly, the absence of federal redistributive infant and maternal welfare laws in the United States coincided with the presence of the only female-controlled state bureaucracy in the world. Despite these affronts to the Children's Bureau and its maternalist allies, American women became entrenched in several branches of the federal bureaucracy, on state boards of charity, and in local and state welfare agencies, where they were able to campaign successfully for state-level maternalist policies.⁸¹

Although the British state was somewhat stronger and more centralized than its American counterpart, both societies shared an enduring distrust of centralized government and a traditional reliance on local and private forms of welfare provision. Women's voluntary associations in Great Britain were also extraordinarily broad-based and influential.⁸² But British women never matched the success of their American counterparts in gaining an exclusive foothold in the central state, even though both the Majority and Minority Reports of the Poor Law Commission of 1909 called for the creation of a children's ministry, which, presumably, would have been run by female activists.⁸³ Throughout the nineteenth century, British women reformers developed welfare programs in the private sector. Many of these women saw voluntary activities as a means to test new ideas free from the constraints of public scrutiny and interference.⁸⁴ Armed with proof of their

⁸⁰ Julia Lathrop, Letter of Transmission, in H. Harris, *Maternity Benefit Systems in Certain Foreign Countries*, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication no. 57 (Washington, D.C., 1919), 2.

⁸¹ On the next generation of women in government, see J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Chicago, 1973); Susan Ware, *Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal* (Cambridge, 1981); Ware, *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); and Muncy, "Creating a Female Dominion," chap. 4. Muncy notes that, at the urging of the Children's Bureau, by late 1921 forty-five states had established child hygiene divisions; forty-two were directed by women, and all were largely staffed by female public health nurses and other officials; 119.

⁸² See Anne Summers, "A Home from Home—Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century," in Sandra Burman, ed., *Fit Work for Women* (London, 1979), 33–63, for a study of the class tensions between middle-class women philanthropists and their clients in England and of the role of philanthropy in shaping women's sense of power and public identity.

⁸³ For a reassessment of these reports and their best-known women authors, Beatrice Webb and Helen Bosanquet, see Jane Lewis, "The Place of Social Investigation, Social Theory, and Social Work in the Approach to Late Victorian and Edwardian Social Problems: The Case of Beatrice Webb and Helen Bosanquet," in Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds., *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

⁸⁴ For example, Elizabeth Fry's voluntary work in the 1820s and 1830s for the insane and for criminal women and Mary Carpenter's institutional experiments in juvenile reformatories in the 1840s and 1850s paved the way for parliamentary legislative reforms. Josephine Butler's campaign for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act was sparked by philanthropic concern for the exploitation of working-class prostitutes but ultimately mobilized women of all classes in exposing the state's role in sanctioning sexual double standards; see Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (Cambridge, 1980).

success, they then lobbied for public subsidies and legislative support on the municipal or state level.⁸⁵

Women's settlements in England, like their more celebrated American counterparts, also functioned as "borderlands" between the state and civil society where women developed social welfare programs and policies.⁸⁶ For example, Mrs. Humphry Ward, in conjunction with the Women's Work Committee of the Passmore Edwards Settlement House, established influential programs for handicapped children as well as after-school and recreation programs for the children of working mothers.⁸⁷ Ward was quite clear about the role that women's voluntary associations should play in shaping public policy. Addressing the Victoria Women's Settlement in Liverpool at the turn of the century, she sketched her vision of women's settlements and voluntary associations in England.

These irregular individualistic experiments are the necessary pioneers and accompaniments with us of all collective action. We don't wait for Governments; we like to force the hand of Governments . . . [W]e like to fling our irregular forces on the enemy . . . to make a hundred mistakes, before we call up the regular battalions and dream of a final decision.⁸⁸

Ward's child welfare schemes drew increasing subsidies from the London County Council in the years before World War I. Ultimately, it was the strains of war, with its double demand for women's labor as mothers and factory workers, that led the president of the board of education, H. A. L. Fisher, to approve a national and state-funded system of after-school recreation programs based on Ward's model in 1916.⁸⁹

The maternal and child welfare scheme developed in the Yorkshire textile town of Huddersfield illustrates the close links between women's voluntary associations and the state, partnerships between activist male doctors and politicians and women, as well as women's increasing power as paid and unpaid officials (see Figure 4). Championed by the mayor, Benjamin Broadbent, and headed by a

⁸⁵ See Madeline Roof's *Voluntary Societies and Social Policy* (London, 1957). Roof, writing before the emergence of modern feminist scholarship, did not explore the implications of the preponderance of female actors in the histories she recounts. The Charity Organization Society (which was always a mixed sex organization) was an important exception to this model in its rejection of state interference.

⁸⁶ See Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women, Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (London, 1985), chap. 6; Seth Koven, "Culture and Poverty: The London Settlement House Movement, 1870 to 1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1987), chap. 6; and Koven, "Borderlands: Women's Voluntary Associations and the Welfare State in Great Britain," in Koven and Michel, *Gender and the Origins of Welfare States*. On one men's settlement, see Standish Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform: The Search for Community* (New Haven, Conn., 1987).

⁸⁷ Ward was best known as the author of many celebrated and debated novels, including *Robert Elsmere* (London, 1888). A founder of Somerville College and settlement houses in London, Ward inherited a strong tradition of public service as granddaughter of Thomas Arnold and niece of Matthew Arnold.

⁸⁸ Typescript, Liverpool Speech, delivered at Victoria Women's Settlement (n.d. [ca. 1899]), Passmore Edwards Settlement Papers, Mary Ward House, London. Eleanor Rathbone was beginning her own career at the settlement at the time Ward gave this speech, although it is not known whether she was in the audience.

⁸⁹ See Janet Ward Trevelyan's account of this in *Evening Play Centres for Children* (New York, 1920), 56-57; for the effects of the war on other maternal and child welfare programs in Great Britain, see Dwork, *War Is Good for Babies*. Wartime demands increased the scope of welfare benefits elsewhere, but the topic is too large to take up here. In England, France, and Germany, a wide array of measures quickly passed into law, some designed specifically to insure women on the basis of their status as soldiers' wives. On the ambiguities of women's wartime gains in Germany and England respectively, see Anthony, *Feminism in Germany*, 32; and Susan Pedersen, "Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War," *AHR*, 95 (October 1990): 983-1006. In the United States, the war had the effect of increasing the maternalists' political domain through the establishment of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense; see Muncy, "Creating a Female Dominion," 112-15.



FIGURE 3: Chancor St. Cleansing Station, May 26, 1911, a nurse examining children. Courtesy of the Greater London Record Office. The British Education (Administration Provisions) Act of 1907, establishing the medical inspection of schoolchildren, provided a rate-funded statutory basis for the work of child-welfare advocates like Margaret McMillan. In addition to inspection, London County Council Schools offered remedial health services. Women gained new opportunities as child-health professionals and dominated the appointed School Care Committees, which worked with parents and officials in determining benefits.

HUDDERSFIELD SCHEME OF WORK AGAINST INFANTILE MORTALITY.

VOLUNTARY "RED."

BIRTH NOTIFICATIONS FROM DISTRICTS.

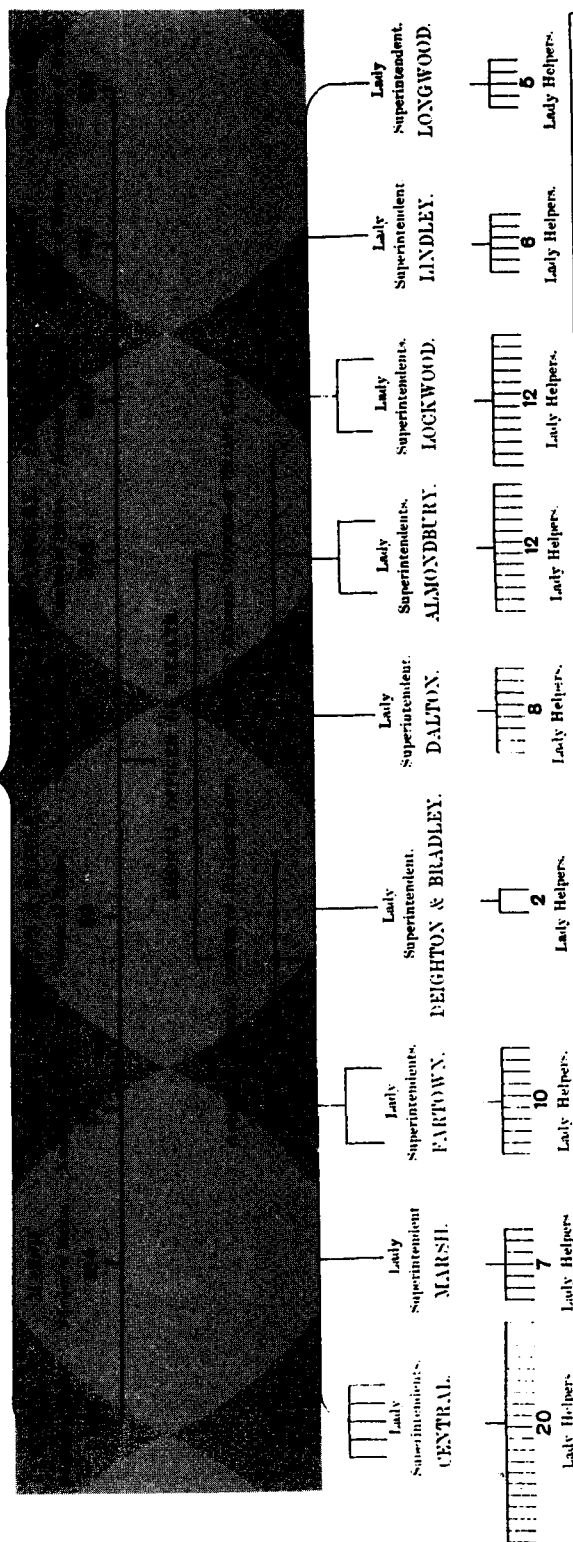


FIGURE 4: From S. G. H. Moore, *Report on Infantile Mortality*, County Borough of Huddersfield, 4th edn. (1916), 115.

progressive male Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Samson G. H. Moore, the scheme was explicitly modeled on French precedent and provided the blueprint for the Notification of Births Act of 1907.⁹⁰ The Assistant Medical Officers of Health who oversaw the system were salaried medical women who saw their positions as "steppingstones" to careers in the expanding area of maternal and child welfare.⁹¹ Each district in the town was in turn supervised by one to three unpaid Lady Superintendents. Approximately one hundred "Lady Helpers" followed up on the official visit by the Assistant Medical Officers of Health and Lady Superintendents by offering personal advice and assistance to mothers.

In Huddersfield and elsewhere, the expansion of public welfare was accompanied by increasing power and opportunities for women, who were enlisted to execute policies. By the 1890s, an estimated 500,000 British women were engaged in public social welfare work, 20,000 in salaried positions like the Assistant Medical Officers of Health in Huddersfield.⁹² In the years before World War I, these numbers continued to grow. Barbara Hutchins, a feminist and early historian of female labor, argued that the expansion of state and public welfare services was made possible by and in turn encouraged the growth of women's professions, which then opened up new social and political opportunities for women.⁹³ While some working-class mothers resented the intrusion of both volunteers and professionals, their presence did not automatically lead to greater social control on the part of the middle class. In Huddersfield, for example, it was, at least in theory, up to the client to decide whether or not to admit the visitors. The Lady Helpers were told, "A very simple formula defines the position—not to cross the threshold unless an invitation is given to enter, not to sit down unless a seat is offered, to remember that every room of a cottage has as much right to privacy as any lady's drawing room."⁹⁴

Compared to British and American women, French women's power to shape social policy was more circumscribed. To an extraordinary degree, the French regarded family matters as a public concern, far too important in the eyes of men to be left to women. Male politicians often initiated social welfare policies for women and children, and typically they headed private as well as public social welfare agencies. In an important study of women and protective labor legislation in France, Mary Lynn Stewart concludes that "feminists played a peripheral role in the campaign for hours standards."⁹⁵

On the grass-roots level and in a wide range of organizations, however, French

⁹⁰ A local Act of Parliament, the Huddersfield Corporation Act of 1906, was the first statute of its kind in Great Britain; notification was not made mandatory on a national basis until 1915.

⁹¹ While Broadbent explicitly claimed that the scheme offered important new opportunities for women, ironically, the Vigilance Committee of the National Federation of Women Doctors blacklisted the posts in 1909 because the salaries were too low and because they feared that the work too closely resembled that of nurses. See Medical Women's Federation Collection, SA/MWF/C57, Contemporary Medical Archives, Wellcome Institute, London.

⁹² Louisa Hubbard, "Statistics of Women's Work," in Angela Burdett-Coutts, ed., *Women's Mission: A Series of Congress Papers on the Philanthropic Work of Women by Eminent Authors* (London, 1893), 364.

⁹³ See Barbara [Elizabeth] Leigh Hutchins, *Conflicting Ideals: Two Sides of the Woman's Question?* (London, 1913). On the expansion of health and welfare professions for women, see Dwork, *War Is Good for Babies*, 154–60.

⁹⁴ S. G. H. Moore, *Report on Infantile Mortality*, County Borough of Huddersfield, 4th edn. (1916), 115.

⁹⁵ Stewart, *Women, Work and the French State*, 96. For an alternative interpretation, see Klaus, *Every Child a Lion*, chap. 3, which addresses a range of issues and movements that are marginal to Stewart's study. Klaus describes women's maternal and child welfare activities, including the Société de Charités Maternelles and its conflicts with officials of the Third Republic.

women did participate in public and private social welfare provision. Their activities in voluntary associations, unlike those of their British and American counterparts, were more often subsidized by public funds and regulated by government officials from the central state (in the case of parochial activities, the church provided funds), as well as from progressive *départements* such as the Seine and communes such as Villiers-le-duc. Well into the twentieth century, French women were far more likely to participate in maternalist activities than join feminist organizations, even though maternalism did not necessarily further their emancipation as a sex. While some historians estimate that feminists before the turn of the century probably numbered no more than a few thousand,⁹⁶ the conservative Ligue Patriotique rapidly became the most powerful organization for women in the country, with over 400,000 members by World War I.⁹⁷ Léonie Chaptal, along with other committed Social Catholic women, established anti-tuberculosis clinics in the slums of Paris and developed pioneering childbirth and infant-care programs. The Paris branch of the Maternité Mutuelle, like so many other maternal and child welfare agencies in France, was established by a man but relied on a large corps of well-to-do patronesses to implement its directives.⁹⁸

Pointing to the reduced infant mortality rates resulting from the organization's excellent services to employed working women, legislators cited the Maternité Mutuelle of Paris as a model for the kinds of programs envisioned by the Strauss Law of 1913.⁹⁹ This measure, which mandated a four-week post-partum period for working mothers to rest and care for their infants, also stressed the importance of creating an army of "women of good standing in their communities" to offer person-to-person advice to working mothers about the virtues of breastfeeding and proper infant hygiene.

German women in the late nineteenth century, like those of the other three nation states, drew on a legacy of private charitable work in maternal and child welfare. But their freedom to initiate policy was profoundly limited by a strongly entrenched state bureaucracy and a system of education that made it difficult for women to acquire necessary skills and training.¹⁰⁰ The precocious development of state welfare programs under Bismarck and the mandarin workings of the exclusively male civil service that it sheltered narrowed the range of issues and power available to German women.¹⁰¹

Yet the work of Christoph Sachsse suggests that the middle-class German woman's movement played a key role in establishing the programmatic foundations of *Sozialfürsorge* (social relief), which, unlike alms and private charity, was based on the social rights of citizens and was preventive in aim.¹⁰² As a wide range of new

⁹⁶ See Hause with Kenney, *Women's Suffrage*, 28–29.

⁹⁷ Sohn, "Catholic Women," 237.

⁹⁸ Pierre Budin's famous *Consultations de nourissons* followed this pattern as well. See "Allocution de M. Paul Strauss," Assemblée générale de la fondation Pierre Budin, March 4, 1911, in *Revue philanthropique*, 29 (June 15, 1911): 199.

⁹⁹ Minutes of the Sénat, *Journal officiel*, March 8, 1912.

¹⁰⁰ See works by James C. Albisetti, "The Reform of Female Education in Prussia, 1899–1908: A Study in Compromise and Containment," *German Studies Review*, 8 (February 1985): 11–41; "Could Separate Be Equal? Helene Lange and Women's Education in Imperial Germany," *History of Education Quarterly*, 22 (Fall 1982): 301–17; and *Schooling German Girls and Women: Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

¹⁰¹ See Fritz Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), esp. chap. 3.

¹⁰² See Christoph Sachsse and Florian Tennstedt, *Geschichte der Armenfürsorge in Deutschland*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1980, 1988), vol. 2: *Fürsorge und Wohlfahrtspflege 1871–1929*; Sachsse, *Mütterlichkeit als Beruf* (Frankfurt, 1986); and Young Sun Hong, "Femininity as a Vocation: Gender and Class Conflict in the

social problems confronted the rapidly expanding urban centers of Germany, middle-class feminists called for female emancipation based on women's motherly roles as welfare providers in society. They not only organized the national Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine (League of German Women's Associations) but also initiated policies and programs through organizations like the Mädchen-und-Frauengruppen für Sozialhilfsarbeit (Girls' and Women's Groups for Social Assistance Work).¹⁰³

The socialist women who founded the Bund für Mutterschutz (The League for the Protection of Motherhood) called for a new sexual ethics and for birth control to give women direct control over their reproductive labors. The Bund demanded a wide range of redistributive state programs including maternity insurance,¹⁰⁴ extended terms of indemnified and mandatory leave from work before and after parturition, child care, and legal advice for mothers. It even succeeded in its campaign to have state maternity rights extended to unmarried mothers.¹⁰⁵

WHILE BY NO MEANS EXHAUSTIVE, these examples demonstrate that women in all four countries contributed substantially to the development of private, voluntary, maternal and child welfare programs, some of which served as models for state programs and others of which were themselves taken over by the state. But there were important and enduring differences among women's gains in terms of tangible benefits and political power, differences highlighted by two sets of comparisons. The first examines concrete benefits such as the provision of state-subsidized crèches, maternity leaves and nursing bonuses. The second evaluates women's success in achieving power within state and local bureaucracies as inspectors and officers of health.

A comparative survey of day nurseries and crèches in France, Germany, and Great Britain undertaken in 1904 revealed striking contrasts. In Great Britain, all of the day nurseries responding to the survey were charitable undertakings that relied entirely on private subscriptions. While not included in the survey, the United States presented a similar picture. In France and Germany, a majority of the crèches and *Krippen* were subsidized by a combination of local, state, and private resources, with the exception of parochial charities staffed, funded, and controlled by churches.¹⁰⁶

By the turn of the century, the sixty-six crèches in Paris alone received £1,468 from the minister of the interior, £67,045 from the Ville de Paris and £1,376 from the Conseil Général des Départements. While we do not have fully comparable statistics for Germany, the evidence strongly suggests that *Krippen* and "waiting schools" (generally for children between two and six years old) were even more widespread and better funded than in France. In Berlin, as in Paris, there were sixty-six crèches in 1904, although the population of Paris was nearly 30 percent

Professionalization of German Social Work," in Geoffrey Cocks and Konrad H. Jarausch, eds., *German Social Work, 1880–1950* (New York, 1990), 232–37.

¹⁰³ Sachsse, "Social Mothers, Feminism and Welfare State Formation in Germany, 1890–1929," in Koven and Michel, *Gender and the Origins of Welfare States*.

¹⁰⁴ See Lily Braun, *Die Mutterschaftsversicherung* (Berlin, 1906).

¹⁰⁵ Anthony, *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia*, 139.

¹⁰⁶ The role of confessional groups in the funding and management of maternal and child welfare is an area that needs much more investigation, particularly in Germany, where some states were Protestant, others Catholic.

greater. By contrast, London, with more than twice the population of Berlin, had only fifty-four crèches, none of which were publicly subsidized or licensed.¹⁰⁷ New York City, with a population almost equal to London's, had ninety-two day nurseries, but these, too, lacked public support or regulation.¹⁰⁸ Outside the capital cities, the differences were even more marked. There were only nineteen provincial crèches in all of England, compared to 322 in France. In the United States, by 1916, there were approximately 700 nurseries in operation, but only a few received partial funding from municipal subsidies.¹⁰⁹

With public funding came greater regulation. In both France and Germany, state and municipal-level authorities established detailed requirements for the management of all crèches and *Krippen*—both public and private—including minimum room temperatures, daily registers, and guides to weighing children and preparing pure milk. The French women who ran the crèches were closely supervised by officers of the ministry of the interior, who had the right to inspect nurseries to ensure that they conformed with codes.¹¹⁰ By comparison, in Britain and the United States, standards were largely the concern of voluntary authorities. In Britain, regulation was left up to individual managers, while in the United States, where only a few states and cities required nurseries to obtain permits, the National Federation of Day Nurseries urged members to meet certain standards.¹¹¹

The British and American women who ran and staffed day nurseries were free from the scrutiny of male officials, but they also had to make do with less generous funding. As a result, their nurseries tended to be less well staffed. French crèches, for example, had large female staffs including directors, wardens, cooks, and laundry maids, who were assisted by well-to-do women, appointed by the mayor to serve as managers or *dames patronnesses*. Doctors, almost always men, visited the crèches daily and helped set up Schools for Mothers. The appointment of salaried crèche personnel typically required official approval by the prefect or mayor.¹¹² In Britain and the United States, women in similar positions were either privately employed or volunteers, and the slender budgets of the charitable nurseries kept

¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Townshend, "The Case for School Nurseries," Fabian Tract 145 (September 1909), in Sally Alexander, ed., *Women's Fabian Tracts* (London, 1985). Townshend also investigated the Ecoles Maternelles in France, which served children too old for nurseries but too young for school. These Ecoles also were staffed by salaried women and funded jointly by public funds and private contributions. See also "Report on Crèches," July 8, 1904, the Public Control Committee, London County Council, Greater London Record Office, which was based in part on the same statistics. An excellent social history of the impact of inadequate provisions can be found in Anna Davin, *Little Women: The Childhood of Working-Class Girls in Late Nineteenth-Century London* (forthcoming), esp. chap. 4, "Caretakers or Schoolchildren?"

¹⁰⁸ Association of Day Nurseries of New York City, *Annual Report* (1910).

¹⁰⁹ Emily D. Cahan, *Past Caring: A History of U.S. Preschool Care and Education for the Poor, 1820–1965* (New York, 1989), 13.

¹¹⁰ For example, see the proposed texts for a presidential decree and ministerial order adopted by the High Council for Public Assistance, *Revue philanthropique*, 1 (May 15, 1897): 117–19. According to the law of June 27, 1904, *inspectrices* were allowed to visit and inspect crèches. See also Hélène Moniez, "Lettre Ouverte à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur," *Revue philanthropique*, 18 (April 1906): 666, 671; and on female inspectors more generally, "Le Rôle de la femme dans le contrôle des services d'Assistance," *Revue philanthropique*, 14 (February 1904): 422.

¹¹¹ Dr. S. Josephine Baker, director of the Division of Hygiene of the New York City Department of Health, complained that because of the lack of regulation, "the day nursery, in a number of instances, has come to be looked at as a commercial proposition, maintained for gain, and sometimes to the actual detriment of the children who are cared for"; "Day Nursery Standards," in U.S. Children's Bureau, *Standards of Child Welfare*, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication no. 60 (Washington, 1919), 219–33.

¹¹² It is important to recognize that the degree of official control, even in France and Germany, varied locally. See the response of officials from Elberfeld, Germany, in Moore, *Report on Infantile Mortality*, 93–98.

staff wages and numbers to a minimum. It might be argued that American and British women had more autonomy in the field of child care—as elsewhere—but they also had to make do with scantier public subsidies and other kinds of governmental support.

The inability of American and British maternalists to gain more generous benefits for the women and children of their countries appears all the more ironic when one compares their bureaucratic and political power to that of women in France and Germany. In these latter countries, women had trouble gaining footholds in the state itself, even at the lowest levels of the civil service. Denied *Beamte* status (full membership in the civil service, which carried permanent job security) because they lacked the necessary qualifications, German women inspectors were viewed as little more than functionaries and had no police authority.¹¹³ British women factory inspectors had full powers to prosecute offenders and did so themselves.¹¹⁴ Their reports were published separately and often commended for their particular thoroughness and insight,¹¹⁵ while those of German women inspectors were usually published under name of the (male) head inspector.¹¹⁶ The position of French *inspectrices* resembled that of their German counterparts: they were often denied powers to investigate conditions or to enforce codes, and their authority and discretionary powers were severely limited. Because of educational and other bureaucratic requirements, they were unlikely to be promoted.¹¹⁷

German and French women's restricted avenues to the civil service also denied them political leverage, with the result that they had little voice in the legislative process.¹¹⁸ Nonetheless, concrete measures were passed on their behalf. British and American women were far more vocal. They served as expert witnesses and members of public boards and commissions, and used their positions as factory, health, and school board inspectors to organize female workers and more generally promote women's trade unionism. In addition to highly visible positions within the Children's Bureau, American women worked not only as factory inspectors but as statisticians and analysts in state labor bureaus, where they gathered data vital to their public reform campaigns. Even though they succeeded in establishing public programs at the municipal and state level throughout the 1910s and 1920s, they did not gain permanent federal entitlements for women and children until the 1930s.

¹¹³ See Jean Quataert, "A Source Analysis in German Women's History: Factory Inspectors' Reports and the Shaping of Working Class Lives, 1878–1914," *Central European History*, 16 (June 1983): 99–121. Quataert focused on the role of inspectors in imposing bourgeois behavioral norms on the working class, but she also considered the roles of male and female inspectors.

¹¹⁴ See Mary Drake McFeely, *Lady Inspectors: The Campaign for a Better Workplace 1893–1921* (Oxford, 1988), esp. chap. 7, on the inspectors' prosecutions of offenders.

¹¹⁵ See Gertrude Tuckwell Collection (Brighton, Sussex, Harvester Press Microform, 1981), for large numbers of newspaper clippings praising the reports of the women inspectors. Praise could be double-edged, as is clear from the report in the *Glasgow Herald* on May 20, 1910: "It is not many years since there was none but harsh criticism on the woman inspector and her 'narrow, fidgety, ways.' The change of opinions must arise from the fact that employers of labour have got accustomed to women as factory inspectors, or that the women take themselves less seriously and use their powers with more discretion than before." The piece ended on the "amusing note" that "men inspectors now admit women to the annual dinner, but they do not permit them to smoke on these occasions." It is important, however, not to overstate the power of British women in the civil service, for they still faced considerable obstacles well into the twentieth century. See Meta Zimmeck, "Strategies and Strategems of Women in the Civil Service," *Historical Journal*, 27 (1984): 901–24; and "The 'New Woman' in the Machinery of Government: A Spanner in the Works?" in Roy MacLeod, ed., *Government and Expertise: Specialists, Administrators and Professionals, 1860–1919* (New York, 1988), 185–202.

¹¹⁶ Quataert, "Source Analysis," 103–05.

¹¹⁷ Stewart, *Women, Work and the French State*, 89–93.

¹¹⁸ See Klaus, "Depopulation and Race Suicide."

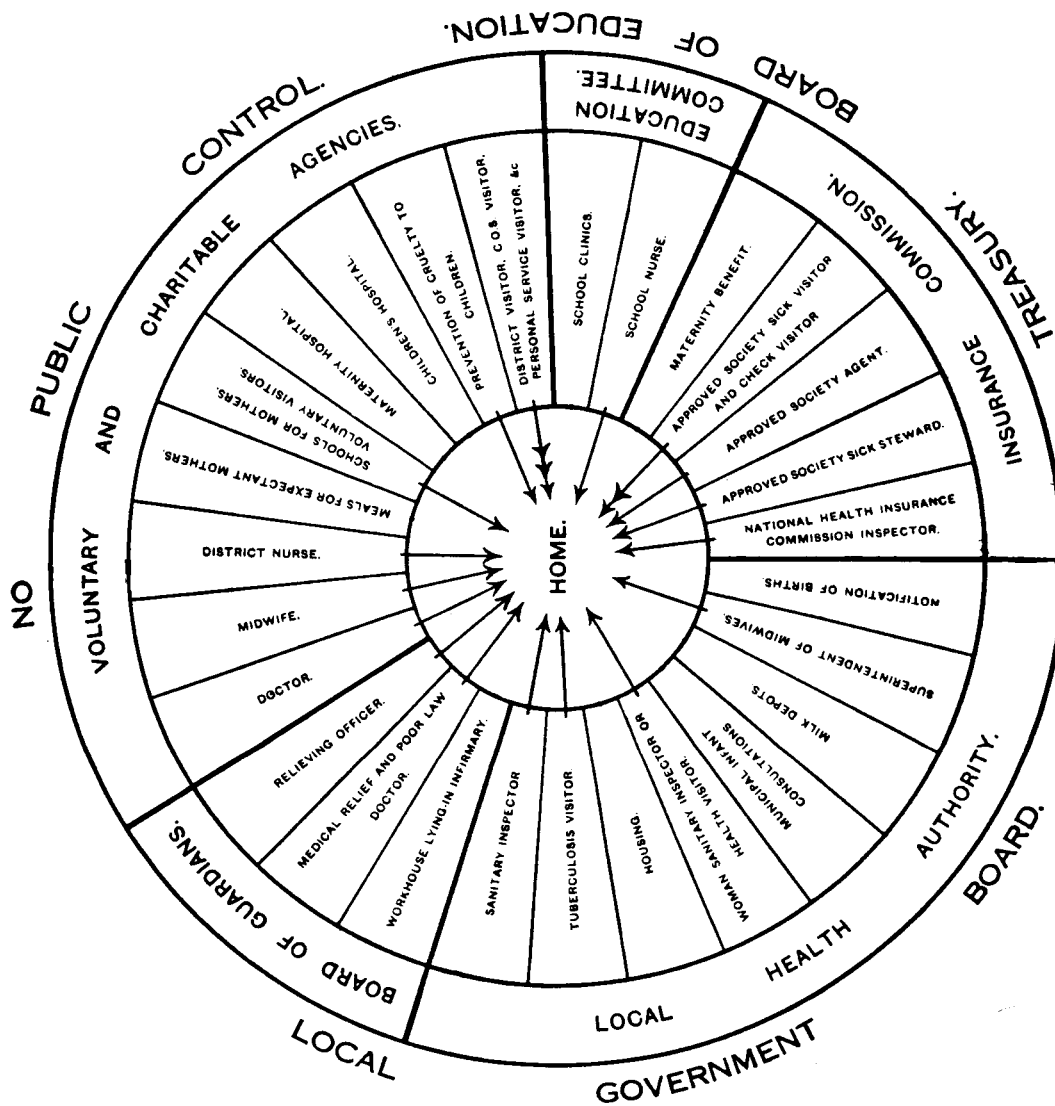


FIGURE 5: The Women's Cooperative Guild, whose members were mostly working-class mothers, lobbied for increased state maternal and child welfare benefits. However, guild women were sharply critical of the class biases of public and private social welfare schemes, which threatened their autonomy within the home. From Margaret Bondfield, *The National Care of Maternity: A Scheme Put Forward as a Basis for Discussion* (London, 1914).

In the development of maternal and child welfare legislation in the four countries, Germany and France repeatedly led the way in the range and amount of benefits they provided mothers and children.¹¹⁹ From 1883 onward, German women received assistance (*Wochengeld*, or confinement money) from the state to compensate for their lost earnings during mandatory maternity leaves. The length of these leaves and the categories of women eligible to receive them were expanded several times between 1880 and World War I, eventually reaching eight weeks and covering agricultural laborers as well as factory workers. Beginning in 1893, French women had the right to free medical treatment during confinement and, after 1911, paid maternity leave and a nursing bonus.¹²⁰

British women received fewer benefits, and what they had often took the form of limiting rather than redistributive protective legislation. From 1891 until 1911, Britain alone prohibited postnatal employment for four weeks, but it offered no compensatory payments. In 1911, the wives of insured workers and women insured in their own right were finally granted a lump-sum payment, usually 30 shillings at confinement, to address this hardship. Initially, the benefit was paid to the husband, but after strenuous lobbying by groups including the largely working-class Women's Cooperative Guild, mothers gained direct control over these funds.¹²¹ Confusion and skepticism over what constituted genuine incapacity to work due to pregnancy intensified deeply engrained objections to public support for maternal welfare in Britain. For several years after the Insurance Act was passed, the Approved Societies charged with administering it, fueled by the anxieties of their male rank and file as well as a looming fiscal crisis caused by an actuarial miscalculation of the extent of women's perinatal illness, usually denied women's claims for sickness benefits during pregnancy.¹²²

The United States provided neither federal maternity benefits nor medical care for mothers and children. Under the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921, public health nurses could offer maternal and infant health education but no direct services. The United States was, however, the first country to offer widows' and mothers'

¹¹⁹ For extraordinarily comprehensive and useful data about maternal and child welfare bills, their implementation and policy implications, see International Labour Office, Studies and Reports, esp. *The Law and Women's Work: A Contribution to the Study of the Status of Women* (Geneva, 1939), Series 1, no. 4; *Women's Work under Labour Law: A Survey of Protective Legislation* (Geneva, 1932), Series 1, no. 2; and the *International Survey of Social Services* (Geneva, 1933), Series M, no. 11.

¹²⁰ French women were also given a nursing bonus for the first twelve weeks. In addition to a maximum of eight weeks of paid pre-partum and post-partum maternity leave, they received half a franc per day of nursing for four weeks.

¹²¹ The guild was also responsible for the initial inclusion of a maternity benefit in the 1911 Insurance Act. Under the leadership of Margaret Llewelyn Davies, the guild was the largest and most politically adept organization representing working-class mothers in England. Davies claimed, "The Guild has . . . made a notable contribution to breaking down class and sex disabilities in public life"; *Life as We Have Known It* (1931; rpt. edn., London, 1977), xiv. The lobbying of women's groups like the Women's Co-operative Guild and Women's Labour League forced the government to acknowledge the sex-based distribution of resources within the family and to pay mothers directly. On internal economies of working-class families in Britain, see Ellen Ross, "Labour and Love: Rediscovering London's Working-Class Mothers, 1870-1918," in Jane Lewis, ed., *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940* (London, 1986), 73-98.

¹²² This miscalculation was, in fact, an artifact of women's own underreporting of illness during the period when they were not covered and felt compelled to work, no matter what the state of their health. Once benefits were available, they acknowledged their illnesses more openly. See Margaret Bondfield, *The National Care of Maternity: A Scheme Put Forward as a Basis for Discussion* (London, 1914), 9. On the attitudes of male trade unionists and friendly societies to the emergence of welfare legislation, see Pat Thane, "The Working Class and State Welfare in Britain, 1880-1914," *Historical Journal*, 27 (1984): 877-900. Also see Sonya Rose, "Gender Antagonism and Class Conflict: Exclusionary Strategies of Male Trade Unionists in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Social History*, 13 (May 1988): 191-208.

pensions (albeit only at the state level until 1935).¹²³ Since payment levels in most states were calculated to support children but not their mothers, these early pension plans did not prohibit maternal employment; this restriction came later, when the federal government took over provisions as Aid to Dependent Children under the Social Security Act of 1935.¹²⁴

Although British and American maternalists were often stymied in attempts to use their bureaucratic positions to institute and control maternal and child welfare programs in their own countries, they sometimes had the peculiar experience of seeing them taken up in France and Germany. With some bitterness, Margaret McMillan, a British child-welfare advocate, noted that "Germany never despised any advance in English social life." In 1896, McMillan had spearheaded "an agitation for school baths" in Bradford, where she sat as an elected Independent Labour party representative on the school board. As she tells it, "A leaflet on Hygiene and Cleanliness was sent out into the schools. It had been carefully and tactfully written. England ignored the whole effort, but not so Germany. She [Germany] had the leaflet translated and circulated in her schools, and she started to build school baths by the thousand."¹²⁵ While British women had the political and social space and power to develop innovative schemes like school baths, German bureaucrats transformed isolated pioneering efforts into widespread and publicly financed programs.¹²⁶

Once established, the German and French state welfare systems, through direct programs and indirect subsidies, offered mothers and children more and better resources than did those of the United States and Britain. However, French and German women generally had much less control than did their British and American counterparts over the formulation and administration of policy. In all four countries, women often lost control over maternalist discourses when they were debated in male-dominated legislatures or became linked with other causes.¹²⁷ This sequence of events was most dramatic in Germany. The middle-class feminists who established the first *Soziale Frauenschule* on the moral and non-partisan foundations of "spiritual motherhood" endured the transformation of their schools into tools of national socialism. The Prussian ministry of education decreed in 1934 that Salomon's *Frauenschulen* should be renamed *Schulen für Volkspflege*

¹²³ However, as Susan Pedersen points out, the criteria for mothers' and widows' pensions were more restrictive than those for the "endowment for motherhood" envisioned by British feminists (but never passed in its original form). While the endowment would have granted universal support to mothers of young children, American mothers' and widows' pensions, as well as the British version that was eventually passed in 1925, predicated payments on the absence of a male breadwinner. According to Pedersen, "[M]aternalist, 'separate but equal' ideology was pressed into service in the creation of policies encoding dependence, not the value of difference"; "The Failure of Feminism in the Making of the British Welfare State," *Radical History Review*, 43 (1989): 105.

¹²⁴ See Molly Ladd-Taylor, "Mothers' Pensions: Payment for Childrearing or Charity for Children?" paper presented to the Conference on Women's History and Public Policy, Sarah Lawrence College, June 1989.

¹²⁵ Margaret McMillan, *The Camp School* (London, 1919), 18. The French system of *Gouttes du Lait* (milk depots) and *crèches* were the envy of George McCleary, one of England's leading experts and bureaucrats in infant and maternal welfare in the early twentieth century; see his *The Early History of the Infant Welfare Movement* (London, 1933).

¹²⁶ This incident suggests that the exchange between Britain and Germany did not always follow the usual pattern, which went in the opposite direction; see, for example, E. P. Hennock, *British Social Reform and German Precedents: The Case of Social Insurance, 1880-1914* (New York, 1987).

¹²⁷ A striking example of such a turnabout is described by Susan Pedersen in "Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship." On the campaign for the endowment of motherhood, see Hilary Land, "The Introduction of Family Allowances: An Act of Historic Justice," in Phoebe Hall, Land, Roy Parker, and Adrian Webb, eds., *Change, Choice, and Conflict in Social Policy* (London, 1975), 157-231; and John Macnicol, *The Movement for Family Allowances, 1918-1945* (London, 1980).

(Schools for Training Officials for the People's Welfare), with the aim of planting "the ideas of National-Socialism deeply in the mind of the students" through instruction in subjects such as race theory and "Adolph Hitler and the history of the National-Socialist Party."¹²⁸

A REVIEW OF CURRENT RESEARCH DEMONSTRATES THAT welfare-state development was deeply influenced by female activists and their philosophies, commitments, and experiments in social welfare. Maternalist women put an unmistakable stamp on emerging welfare administrations. But their success was always qualified by prevailing political conditions and tended to be inversely proportionate to the strength of women's movements. Without maternalist politics, welfare states would surely have been less responsive to the needs of women and children, for maternalists raised issues—or highlighted them in specific ways—that seldom occurred to male politicians. Indeed, many men felt that only women could identify and respond to these needs. Yet women activists were compelled to rely on male politicians to gain state support for their programs and often had to wait until a national crisis such as war or class conflict created an opening for their initiatives.¹²⁹

To different degrees, depending on the availability of political space in the four nations we have examined, maternalism served women as an important avenue into the public sphere. Female reformers demonstrated that a strong commitment to motherhood did not necessarily limit or weaken their political participation but instead transformed the nature of politics itself. Paula Baker's observation about the United States holds true for France, Germany, and Great Britain: by identifying and insisting on issues of gender-based needs, women challenged the male monopoly on public discourse and opened it up to discussions of private values and well-being.¹³⁰ It was not the case that male political actors, unsolicited, instigated state encroachments on family life; rather, female political actors demanded that states take up the concerns of women and children.¹³¹

Nevertheless, for female activists and clients alike, the political process that culminated in the passage of protective and welfare legislation for women and children functioned, in an exaggerated fashion, as a Weberian "iron cage": they found dissonance between means and ends, their own motives and ultimate policy outcomes. The translation of maternalist measures into state policy meant that poor and working-class women, initially at a disadvantage because they lacked direct representation in philanthropically based social services, were even further removed from the sites of policy making. As social work and related health fields became professionalized and services moved into state-run agencies, middle-class women carved out niches for themselves within the state. In these new positions, however, women frequently found themselves at the bottom of organizational hierarchies, their voices diminished in policy discussions with male bureaucrats, physicians, and politicians. To offset their liability to marginalization, the younger

¹²⁸ See Alice Salomon, *Education for Social Work: A Sociological Interpretation Based on an International Survey* (Zurich, 1937), esp. 21–36.

¹²⁹ On the impact of class on French welfare policy, see Klaus, "Depopulation and Race Suicide."

¹³⁰ Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780–1920," *AHR*, 89 (June 1985): 620–47.

¹³¹ For a critical interpretation of this development in the context of the United States that holds female activists responsible for state incursions into the family and the private sphere, see Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Beseiged* (New York, 1979).

generation of American activists consciously jettisoned maternalism, which they characterized as unsystematic and unscientific.¹³²

In the United States and Great Britain, women used their authority as experts in maternal and child welfare to forge political identities. These identities, in turn, helped some to build a wide range of women's political and social action organizations and movements.¹³³ By the end of World War I, significant groups of women in both countries achieved full citizenship rights. But, because their positions in mainstream political parties and within the central government remained peripheral for decades, female activists could not make legislative gains on their own. The need for male political allies often forced them into difficult compromises and concessions.

French and German women were even weaker politically. Though granted more generous benefits, they were unable to convert welfare programs into political currency. In France, maternal and infant legislation existed in what was otherwise a political wasteland for women, who were, legally, appendages of their husbands until after World War II. German women won employment rights and the vote after War I, but these gains were vitiated during the Weimar Republic and under the Third Reich. Abetted by conservative women's organizations, the Nazi regime perverted the meaning of maternalism as it condemned women to producing children for the state.

Despite these outcomes, the weight of the new research compels revision of historical conceptualizations of maternalist activities, state development, and the relationship between them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. When viewed from the perspective of maternalist politics, women's charitable institutions and organizations take on new significance as components of networks of benevolence as well as sites of state welfare program and policy formulation, experimentation, and implementation. Women's campaigns for maternal and child welfare emerged at approximately the same time in all four nation states, sometimes in concert with one another, and drew attention to the special needs of women and children in an industrializing world. Joining humanitarian appeals to thorough research and investigation, they contributed to the political momentum needed for reform. Maternalist women not only played important roles in promoting the growth of publicly funded welfare programs but were quick to exploit the new opportunities that statutory agencies offered them. The interactions between women's movements, states, and national political cultures from 1880 to 1920 affected the subsequent course of both women's history and the history of welfare states. The traces of these interactions remain distinctly perceptible today.

¹³² This shift was led by Julia Lathrop, Grace and Edith Abbott, and Sophonisba Breckinridge; see Muncy, "Creating a Female Dominion," 102–03. In *Heroes of Their Own Lives*, Linda Gordon labels early maternalist efforts as feminist, insofar as they were linked to a comprehensive critique of male domination in society (32–34), and argues that "[t]he decline of feminist influence in social work, particularly after World War I, meant not only the decreased visibility of family-violence problems altogether but also their redefinition in ways that were disadvantageous to victims [women and children]"; 292. While her conflation of maternalism and feminism seems problematic (see n. 9 above), the transformation in social welfare that she identifies is striking.

¹³³ For the divisions among American activists on linkages between maternalism and feminist issues such as suffrage, see Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Conn., 1987).

A Call for Comparisons

KATHRYN KISH SKLAR

THESE FIVE ARTICLES constitute a progress report from the field of women's history. Few would have imagined even ten years ago that women's history would give new meaning to the ancient historical category of "the state." Where once we heard orators declaiming, now we hear babies crying. Where once "rights" reigned supreme, now "needs" compel our interest. This is a change worth celebrating, for it greatly increases the complexity of our understanding of the past.

Women's history first took root in the 1970s with studies of the relationship between private and public life. Exploiting new sources and embracing new populations, in the 1980s the field blossomed into a wide variety of subfields. As we enter the 1990s, one of the most vital is the history of women and social welfare.¹ Its vigor flows from the light it sheds on the intersection of public and private life, a juncture that remains central to women's history.

Historians of women are taking a fresh look at social welfare history partly in response to the political conservatism of the 1980s. Attacks on "welfare mothers" and school lunch programs have prompted them to see the past differently. Social welfare policies that once seemed relatively uncontested or static have been endowed with struggle and change. Old paradigms are dissolving. "Social control" no longer suffices to explain complex interactions among class interests, social problems, and state initiatives. The argument that the welfare state was created to assume responsibilities once held by the family no longer persuades.²

The articles by Susan Pedersen, Rachel Fuchs and Leslie Moch, Maureen Flanagan, Daniel Walkowitz, and Seth Koven and Sonya Michel offer us an excellent opportunity to assess the new directions historians of women are taking in social welfare history. During this time of profound transition in our understand-

¹ Examples of early work in women's history that united personal and public themes include Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn., 1973); Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston, 1977); and Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1830* (New Haven, 1977). The expansion of women's history in the 1980s led to research on women and social welfare history from many points of view, including women's communities; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago, 1985); women and social science, Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York, 1990); women and politics, Elisabeth Israels Perry, *Belle Moskowitz: Feminine Politics and the Exercise of Power in the Age of Alfred E. Smith* (New York, 1987); and social welfare bureaucracy, Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Raising a Baby the Government Way: Mothers' Letters to the Children's Bureau, 1915-1932* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986).

² Social welfare as a form of social control can be found in David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston, 1971). For an interpretation of social welfare as the displacement of family responsibilities, see Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (New York, 1979).

ing of social welfare history, we are witnessing a cascade of publications with little apparent cohesion. What can these five disparate articles reveal about a common core of historical concerns? Are new paradigms emerging to replace the old? What are the benefits and the liabilities of this creative moment?

One obvious benefit lies in the diversity of insights we are gaining into women's private and public lives through the window offered by social welfare history. In France, where the state has maintained a long history of paternalist welfare policies, client histories like those of La Maternité lying-in hospital permit historians to map a wide range of social processes in the lives of poor women, including the history of rural-urban migration. In England, where modern social welfare records contain a narrower range of information, they nonetheless highlight new aspects of the lives of working-class women, including their leisure activities. In the United States, association records created by the generation of women reformers who did much to shape the early welfare state eloquently testify to the differences between male and female political cultures within the middle class. Even the writings of social welfare professionals, a group once taken for granted as part of the furnishings of the modern state, now offer us a new view of the processes of professionalization among women. At this expansive stage of historiographic development, there seems to be almost no limit to the potential of social welfare records for illuminating women's lives.

Another advantage of these recent trends can be found in the overlap they create between women's history and related fields. Viewing women in relationship to the state and the wider society, social welfare history has become a powerful force for integrating women into other historical specialties. In this issue, we see it happen in terms of migration history, wartime mobilization, urban history, and the history of professionalization. The "double vision" of women's history has never been so clear. First and foremost the history of a social group, women's history necessarily becomes the history of the wider society.³

The bond between women's history and other fields has been buttressed by the diverse specialists currently contributing to the reevaluation of social welfare history. Like the changes that transformed the history of education twenty years ago, social welfare history is now being produced by new groups of scholars, only some of whom are historians of women.⁴ Encouraged by this growing interest in their field, historians who have long labored in social welfare history have expanded their vehicles of scholarly communication, ranging from newsletters to

³ A widely accepted definition of women's history is history that places female experience at the center of the historical analysis. Early definitional essays include Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges," in Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past* (New York, 1979), 145–59. The close but problematic relationship between female and male experience has prompted historians of women to emphasize the place of women's history within larger historical endeavors. See, for example, Joan Wallach Scott, "Women's History," and "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in Scott, ed., *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 15–90.

⁴ In U.S. history, Michael B. Katz has led the way in both transformations, his early work on the history of education now giving way to such publications as *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York, 1986). See also Katz, *Poverty and Policy in American History* (New York, 1983). One important aspect of the growth of this field is the increase in comparative studies, such as W. J. Mommsen, *The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany, 1850–1950* (London, 1981); Daniel Levine, *Poverty and Society: The Growth of the American Welfare State in International Comparison* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988); and Peter J. Coleman, *Progressivism and the World of Reform: New Zealand and the Origins of the American Welfare State* (Lawrence, Kan., 1987).

biographical dictionaries.⁵ In return, scholars new to the topic have contributed fresh views of the state, of welfare recipients, and of welfare advocates.⁶

Another conspicuous benefit of current research arises from the multinational trend visible in these articles. Since new studies on social welfare policies are being energetically pursued in European, British, and American women's history, today's work is establishing the pre-conditions for tomorrow's cross-national comparisons. Heretofore, historians of women interested in such work have focused primarily on the history of feminism or suffrage movements. Yet, despite the international dialogue among suffrage movements before 1920, they developed in such different social and political contexts that those who tackle their comparative history seldom rise above a simple narrative.⁷

AT THE SAME TIME THAT WE PROFIT FROM THESE NOTABLE ASSETS, WE MUST nevertheless recognize that our current situation contains all the liabilities associated with rapid growth, especially inadequate integration. How can we avoid the perils of overspecialization and learn from one another? Can new paradigms help us relate our findings to one another? How can we best convey our conclusions to nonspecialists?

Here I should declare my very emphatic bias. My own research strongly supports the "strong-state, weak-state" paradigm presented in Seth Koven and Sonya Michel's article. It seems to me that traditions of limited government in the United States opened wide opportunities for women reformers, but women's options remained much more restricted in countries with traditions of strong, centralized government, such as France and Germany. British traditions of limited government, not so extreme as those in the United States, created some opportunities for women's voluntary organizations but also embraced certain Continental characteristics that placed more power in the hands of state officials.⁸

Koven and Michel's analysis of the importance of "maternalist" values within women's political cultures in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States

⁵ For example, at the University of Minnesota, Clark Chambers greatly expanded the readership of the *Social Welfare History Group Newsletter* in 1986. See also Walter I. Trattner, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Social Welfare in America* (Westport, Conn., 1986).

⁶ New views of social welfare history include Linda Gordon's refutation of the "social control" thesis in *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* (New York, 1988); studies of protective labor legislation, such as Mary Drake McFeely, *Lady Inspectors: The Campaigns for a Better Workplace, 1893–1921* (New York, 1988); and Mary Lynn Stewart, *Women, Work and the French State: Labour Protection and Social Patriarchy, 1879–1919* (Kingston, Canada, 1989); occupational health histories, including Barbara Sicherman, *Alice Hamilton: A Life in Letters* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984); and philanthropist histories, including F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England* (Oxford, 1980). Interestingly, writings on the state itself have come primarily from nonhistorians, such as Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge, 1985); and Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (Cambridge, 1982).

⁷ Comparative suffrage studies include William L. O'Neill, *The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England* (London, 1969); and Donald Meyer, *Sex and Power: The Rise of Women in America, Russia, Sweden, and Italy* (Middletown, Conn., 1987).

⁸ See my forthcoming book, *"Doing the Nation's Work": Florence Kelley and Women's Political Culture, 1860–1930* (New Haven, Conn., 1992). My understanding of these comparative issues has been greatly aided by teaching a graduate research seminar on women and comparative welfare states with Jean Quataert, author of "Social Insurance and the Family Work of Overlaitsitz Home Weavers in the Late Nineteenth Century," in J. C. Fout, ed., *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History* (New York, 1984), 270–89; and "The Shaping of Women's Work in Manufacturing: Guilds, Households, and the State in Central Europe, 1648–1870," *AHR*, 90 (December 1985): 1122–48.

reveals the significance of women's agency in all four polities. They show us that a full accounting of women's impact on public policy requires us to consider three sets of factors: those related to the state's own internal dynamics, those deriving from women's political culture, and the interaction between the two. Koven and Michel also emphasize the critical significance of the interaction between male-dominated and female-dominated political cultures in our assessment of historical outcomes, implicitly urging us to avoid simplistic analyses of women's victimization on the one hand and naïve assessments of women's achievements on the other. Where women's historical agency was strongest, they remind us, policies for women were least generous. Perhaps most important, they point to the far-reaching chain of causation shaping social welfare policy, reverberating, in Emilia Kanthack's words, from baby and mother to "economic conditions of supply and demand."⁹

While written for other purposes, the essays by Pedersen, Moch and Fuchs, Flanagan, and Walkowitz offer information that can be used to test the hypothesis that women's activism is inversely related to the power of the state. At one end of the spectrum, Parisian public assistance provided essential services for migrating single women. In some respects, this assistance substituted for private support, since, as Fuchs and Moch note, the state assigned no fiscal, moral, or social responsibility to the fathers of children born out of wedlock. In its efforts to reduce the numbers of abandoned babies, the state unintentionally encouraged migration to Paris by serving as a surrogate for absent familial and communal supports at childbirth. The failure of the government's efforts to stem the influx of already-pregnant women by imposing residency requirements for admission to La Maternité revealed the desperate needs of unwed mothers. Elsewhere, Rachel Fuchs has described the larger context of L'Assistance Publique, "secours pour prévenir l'abandon," which by 1890 provided annually nearly 1 million francs to 11,000 needy babies and their mothers. This program employed middle-class *dames visiteuses* to report and interpret mothers' needs to male inspectors.¹⁰ The story in late nineteenth-century France, then, was one of public policy vigorously defined and implemented by state officials who left some but not a great deal of room for maneuvering by the middle-class women assisting them and by the working poor women who received state aid.

In contrast to France, the story of the state and female clients in the United States between 1880 and 1920 almost always involved middle-class women as policy shapers. The articles by Flanagan and Walkowitz tell different parts of this story. Revealingly, and in keeping with the paradigm, Maureen Flanagan's article focuses on two voluntary associations whose purpose was to improve city government, which, we are led to assume, was inadequate. Flanagan treats the state as a backboard against which her protagonists serve up their suggested public policies about garbage collection, public schools, and police. Yet its implicit importance is crucial, for legally constituted government alone could implement policies on these questions. I would like to know more about why the city's garbage policy came closer to the recommendations of the Woman's City Club than to that of the (men's) City Club, and where city government stood vis-à-vis recommendations by the two clubs about school and police policies. Nevertheless, by demonstrating the sharp

⁹ Emilia Kanthack, *The Preservation of Infant Life* (London, 1907), quoted in Sonya Michel and Seth Koven, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880–1920," *AHR*, 95 (October 1990): n. 3.

¹⁰ Rachel G. Fuchs, "Morality and Poverty: Public Welfare for Mothers in Paris, 1870–1900," *French History*, 2 (1988): 288–311.

differences between men's and women's political culture within the middle classes, Flanagan has made an extremely valuable contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of political power in the Progressive Era. Clearly, women were acting autonomously in gender-specific ways that contradicted their fathers', brothers', and husbands' views.

The social workers of Daniel Walkowitz's study reflect a later stage of development in which services that had once been offered through voluntary agencies were becoming professionalized, but middle-class women were still quite visible and the state still relatively absent, social work being dominated by "private agencies." Fittingly reflecting the demise of women's political culture based on nineteenth-century social and political principles, Walkowitz's study of social workers depicts a new set of power relations for professional social workers in the 1920s. Hemmed in by male managers and gender stereotypes, they had more in common with the *dames visiteuses* of Paris in the 1880s than with settlement workers in Chicago in the 1890s. Yet this restriction was less the result of the transformation of the American state (changed as it was by World War I) than of the professionalizing processes that robbed the former "volunteer" of her identity as an independent social and political force. The state remained relatively weak—indeed, some of the important gains achieved through social legislation were reversed in the late 1920s, most notable the 1921 Sheppard–Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act, which many hoped would set a precedent. Walkowitz's focus on cultural factors captures the causal elements behind the great reversal of women's power in the 1920s. It helps us see that a weak state was a necessary but not sufficient cause of women's power before 1920.¹¹ That power was also sustained by beliefs associated with women's political culture. When those beliefs were washed away by a sea change in values affecting gender identity and gender relations during the 1920s, so too was much of the power of women's political culture.

In between the French and the American lies the British case, which Susan Pedersen so ably describes as consisting of a strong state policy implemented by voluntary means. Here, too, middle-class women and their voluntary organizations played an important role in the construction of the welfare state, but ultimately theirs was an auxiliary extension of the state rather than an autonomous shaping hand. Pedersen's article is the best for a test of Koven and Michel's paradigm, with its use of evidence from all the players: female clients, women activists, and government officials. Focusing on the ability of men—as officials and as political constituents—to define public policy in their interest, it offers us an insightful, revisionist account of the meaning of "separation allowances" for women, which she refuses to see as the beginning of "the endowment of motherhood."¹² Pedersen's analysis of voluntarist and statist agendas, and the inability of voluntarists like Eleanor Rathbone to create a theory of working women's own unmediated claims to state aid, is critical to her argument's success. At the same time, I would like to suggest that, since Rathbone herself believed that the 1914 separation allowances were precedents for the Family Allowances Act of 1945, historians should continue to see at least a grain of truth in that connection. Pedersen rests on

¹¹ Comparisons with the professionalization of women social workers in Weimar Germany, especially as illuminated by the career of Alice Salomon, founder of Berlin's *Fachhochschule für Sozialarbeit* could be quite helpful in this regard. See Hans Muthesius, *Alice Salomon: Die Begründerin des Sozialen Frauenberufs in Deutschland, Ihr Leben und Ihr Werk* (Berlin, 1958).

¹² Susan Pedersen, "Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War," *AHR*, 95 (October 1990): 1004.

more solid ground when she returns to the basic hypothesis guiding her work here and elsewhere—that feminist calls for ethical equivalence between male and female forms of “service” were undercut by male-dominated institutional structures and political forces able to define women’s social and political status. The power of the state to define the terms of public policy about women—even in opposition to reformers like Rathbone—constitutes the very convincing bottom line of her analysis.

ALTHOUGH AT FIRST GLANCE, these articles might seem too disparate to illuminate one another, a closer look shows that they share a common core of concerns: women and children as welfare clients, the role of middle-class women and voluntary agencies in generating and implementing welfare policies, and the contested power of the state to achieve its welfare goals. Embracing a multitude of related fields, such as labor history, family history, the history of social science, the history of education, the history of political culture, and the history of state formation, they exemplify the wide range of impressive publications in which historians are articulating the relation of women to the welfare state.

The authors demonstrate the great gains to be made through cross-national comparisons of women as historical actors in the creation of welfare states. Ten or twenty years ago, we might have expected those comparisons to enhance our understanding of cross-national similarities. And indeed this has been true. They do give us a better view of the patterns prevailing throughout Western cultures. However, comparisons also help us discern differences; differences in this case being at least as revealing as similarities. Above all, comparisons help us to identify crucial causal paradigms of women’s historical agency—paradigms that may not be visible in any other way.



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Readers will note that—as in the book review section—*AHR* film reviews are divided by regions of the world. The traditional rationale for this practice, that it helps scholars to locate works pertaining to their own fields, may not always be useful for those interested in history on film. Some readers may find it more interesting to approach motion pictures through categories that at once give a sense of the issues raised by the creation of works of history on film and highlight the unique problems that *AHR* reviewers face. This last point must be stressed. Since there are currently no accepted standards by which to judge a historical film, each reviewer must not only attempt to evaluate a particular work but she or he must also wrestle with two more general questions: What are meaningful criteria by which to evaluate any historical film? How can one situate a work of cinematic history in relation to the tradition of written history?

One obvious category is subject matter. Even within a film section that is modest in size, significant topics spill across boundaries of region and cinematic genre. This year, two subjects appear in a variety of works: ethnicity (or race) and gender, particularly the changing roles of women in different periods of history. Films about ethnicity or race provide a look at black American soldiers during the Civil War (*Glory*), black female musicians during the 1940s (*International Sweethearts of Rhythm*), Vietnamese women since the revolution (*Surname Viet Given Name Nam*), Asian Americans today (*Who Killed Vincent Chin?*), and the interaction between the French and the natives in colonial Cameroon (*Chocolat*). Films that treat of gender show us the intricate sexual politics of *ancien régime* aristocrats (*Dangerous Liaisons*), the emergence of a Bengali woman from the *zenana* (woman's quarters) at the turn of this century (*The Home and the World*), the struggles of contemporary Vietnamese women against Confucian patriarchy (*Surname Viet Given Name Nam*), and the social difficulties and personal joys of female Swing musicians (*Tiny and Ruby*).

Another way to categorize films is by their approach to history. The oldest traditions are those of the documentary and the drama; these both emerged in the earliest days of the medium, when Louis and Auguste Lumière and Georges Méliès seemed to divide motion picture practice between them—with the Lumières making *actualité* film of everyday life and Méliès creating a special world for the sake of the camera. Yet this distinction between these two forms was never absolute; many classic documentaries that claimed only to “reflect” the world (such as Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North*) actually included dramatized episodes and fictional passages. The mixture that Flaherty and other documentarists once hid from the audience, recent directors have brought to the fore. Cuban filmmaker Manuel Octavio Gomez, in *The First Charge of the Machele* (1969), dramatized a nineteenth-century Cuban uprising against Spain in the style of a contemporary *cinéma vérité* documentary. Mainstream Hollywood got into the act with *Reds* (1982), a work that intercut shots of historical witnesses (talking heads) with dramatized re-creations of the lives of John Reed and Louise Bryant. Among the films reviewed here, *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* mixes dramatic and documentary techniques in a particularly subtle and suggestive way.

The word “documentary” encompasses a number of forms used to render interaction

with the past. As the following reviews show, such works can be highly ambitious in subject matter and inventive in their historical strategies. The documentary can be as broad as the attempt of young Chinese filmmakers to interpret the meaning of their 5,000-year historical heritage (*He shang*) or as narrow and intimate as the study of a forty-year romantic and domestic relationship between two women (*Tiny and Ruby*). The documentary can be a traditional and straightforward narrative that recounts the buried history of an all-female black Swing band of the 1940s (*International Sweethearts of Rhythm*) or it can be so complex in its multiple voices and alternative explanatory systems that historical truth itself may be made relative and a single, ultimately inexplicable, event come to serve as an indictment of a socioeconomic order (*Who Killed Vincent Chin?*). The documentary can be a piece of visual poetry in its evocation of the relationship of writers to a revolution (*Azul*) or a search for roots at once personal and historical (*Weapons of the Spirit*) or a detective story that seeks to uncover the moral obligations of prisoners in wartime (*Prisoners of Propaganda*).

The dramatic film also allows us to look at the world of the past in a variety of ways. One broad way of categorizing such films (suggested by Natalie Davis) separates those that attempt to represent specific historical events, people, and processes from those in which the characters and personal events are fictional but an authentic historical setting and issues are intrinsic to the meaning of the work (let us call this "fiction as history"). Among dramatic films, there is another line (admittedly not hard and fast) between those that attempt to wrestle seriously with historical issues (*The Return of Martin Guerre*) and the more typical Hollywood film that simply uses the past as an exotic setting for spectacle and romance (*Gone with the Wind*). Like some kinds of "popular" written history, films such as *Reds* attempt to do both at the same time.

To evaluate films based on actual people and events (*Glory*, *Eight Men Out*), historians must contend with the familiar questions of accuracy and interpretive strategies, then grapple with the problem of how to approach the fictional elements (characters, events, and incidents) that are virtually always introduced, either to fill holes in the historical record or in the name of dramatic necessity. For "fiction as history," the question is more fundamental: why should professional historians care about such renditions of the past? That they do care is obvious in the reviews of *The Home and the World*, *Dangerous Liaisons*, *Chocolat*, *Repentance*, and *1900*, reviews that struggle to understand the contribution of the fictional film and attempt to bring it into some sort of fertile relationship with the world of written history. Taken together, these reviews suggest that, while many historians consider the visual media a legitimate way of rendering the past, the criteria for evaluating this way of producing history is still in the process of development.

Reviewers seem to agree that the dramatic film can evoke certain elements or truths of the past better than words. That film often better conveys the substance and material importance of objects—the beautiful textiles of India that fill *The Home and the World* and were a crucial part of the socioeconomic problem that underlay the *swadeshi* revolt. That film can powerfully evoke a sense of place—the corridor that divides the Indian woman's zenana from the world of men, the broadness of the African bush, the confined and internalized aristocratic world of the *ancien régime*. That film is superb at conveying behavioral nuances that arise from the categories of class, gender, and race. That through the skills of actors, film is particularly good at portraying how personal relationships play themselves out in the complexity of lived experience, letting us see the forms of self-presentation of aristocrats, colonists, revolutionaries, natives.

More important than the screen's mere power to show may be the ability of the fictional historical film to raise questions about how we think and remember the past, and how we retell it to ourselves. By creating a world and making us believe—even live—in it for some hours, film forces us to question the relationship between present and past. It makes us wonder how much we can really "know" of the past and, indeed, what it means to "know" the past? Film can also bring together issues in a way that historians often do not: for example,

the cost and contradictions of such abstract notions as “modernity” and “class struggle” as they play out in the lives of individuals (*The Home and the World*). Certain motion pictures also show that “realistic” notions of storytelling are inadequate for some historical situations, that conventional narrative forms may wholly misrepresent the fact and the feelings of unconventional episodes or eras. The Holocaust or the terrors of Stalinism or the depredations of the Khmer Rouge seem to cry out for surrealism or expressionism or other extreme presentational modes. Indeed, for violent historical events, these modes may be the only sort of “realism” capable of handling broad-scale horror, irrationality, and inhumanity (*Repentance*).

Conventional motion pictures—the illusionist, “realist” drama and the narrated, descriptive documentary—provide us with a kind of history that we easily understand, history that seems much like written history rendered into images, history that is so familiar that we can ignore (as we generally do with written history) its formal, structured qualities. But unconventional films that utilize innovative techniques and unusual data can stretch us toward new notions of the past.

Because they defy convention, such works are difficult to evaluate in normal historical terms. Nor is it immediately apparent how they fit into our larger sense of the past, the meta-narratives that overarch our historical projects. Consider the problems of situating or understanding the contributions of two films reviewed here. One that is part narrative, part drama, and part compilation envisions a national history (Australia’s) not in terms of political, social, economic, or cultural development but in terms of the nation’s relationship to its landscape. And not just the landscape as geographic entity but the imagined landscape as well, the landscape mapped, drawn, photographed, filmed, advertised, dramatized, and described in words (*Camera Natura*). A second film, *From the Pole to the Equator*, reappropriates a lifetime of worldwide travel images shot by an early twentieth-century filmmaker and then reuses them to create a cinematic world of images without narration, a historic world in which Westerners and native peoples confront each other in a variety of situations never explained in words.

One clue to help us deal with such innovative works comes from *Surname Viet Given Name Nam*, a film that both presents a “history” of Vietnamese women since the revolution and engages in a critique of the methods by which traditional documentaries do “history.” Quite explicitly, this film exposes its own conceptual underpinnings; that is, it reveals how the historical world we see on the screen was created, thus pointing to the rationale for its own arguments and uses of evidence. This strategy reveals what is buried (by convention) in most works of history, written or filmed—the historical assumptions made by the author. By overtly exposing her own assumptions, director Trinh T. Min-ha suggests a larger point: any evaluation of history on film must pay close attention to the way that filmmakers themselves conceive of and visualize the past. For their conceptions and visions are clearly a crucial element in our understanding of the works by which filmmakers create a historical world.

AFRICA

Chocolat. Produced by Cinémanuel, MK 2 Productions, Cérity Films, Caroline Productions, La 7, TF 1 Films; directed by Claire Denis. 1988; color; 104 minutes. French with English subtitles. Distributor of video: Orion Home Video.

Claire Denis's film is a beautiful and subtle exploration of the memory and imagination of colonial Africa. She shows the difficulties and dangers of transgressing the boundaries between the races, as she suggests the impossibility of crossing the horizon of memory that separates present and past.

The film opens on a beach in present-day Cameroon. A young white woman, "France," is given a ride by a black man and his son. They assume she is a tourist trying to get in touch with the real Africa, but the viewer soon learns that she is returning to the land of her childhood and is on her way to the house where she lived with her parents during the end of the colonial period. The driver's son plays a word game in the car that brings her own childhood to mind. The greater part of the film consists of her memories of growing up as the daughter of Monsieur and Madame le Commandant and, most important, as the charge of Protée, a black servant responsible for the house with whom she spent most of her time.

Through the little girl's eyes, the audience sees the complex lines of power dynamics in the colonial household. The idealistic father departs for an expedition into the back country, leaving Protée to take care of his wife and daughter. The viewer becomes aware of the extraordinary boredom in the life of Madame le Commandant. She is the queen of her home, but her home is her prison. Little France has her donkey and the open country but no other child to play with. Each has Protée, the beautiful black man who can ensure the mother that the house is not only safe but liveable and who can be a friend and co-conspirator for the daughter. Above all, Protée follows orders: he is scrupulously in his place, a black in the white's Africa.

The tension in the film builds very slowly. The civility maintained by wife and by servant has its costs. Boredom strains the nerves to the breaking point, but they do not break. Obedience at all hours destroys the possibility of privacy, intimacy, and humanity, but the servant always remains human. When the household adjusts to the arrival of a group of strangers accidentally thrust into Cameroon, the habits, the mores, the culture that keep each figure in place begin to disintegrate. A young, seductive Frenchman trekking across Africa attracts Madame Aimé and spends time with her black servants. He destroys the color line (or does he just illuminate it?) by crossing back and forth over it. He does not know his place, or rather he refuses it. He detests the docile Protée and provokes his controlled wrath. The transgressor is expelled into the night. Aimé reaches for her less-than-free boy, but he puts her back in her place. He will be sent to work in the garage far from the house.

A banal account of a microcosm of a hierarchal society filled with sexual and racial tensions? Not at all. Claire Denis has made an extraordinarily nuanced film that allows the audience to feel these tensions before it can see them, before they are spoken. She works under the sign of memory, and with a sensibility and politics that long for friendship across the color line. In a wonderful scene, France's father explains to the girl what the horizon is: a line that is seen but that is not there. A line that is not real but that cannot be crossed. The line of the horizon is the line of race. It can be approached, but the goal recedes as one approaches it. Not real but ever present. This film does not attempt to account for the color line or its violators. But we are always aware of its presence as a horizon that envelops all.

Why should historians have any particular interest in this fictional representation of the past? A fictional film story by definition will not tell us about the way things really were, but it can place us into a relationship with the past and explore that placement. Indeed, through the realist effect of many fine fictional films, viewers may come to feel like spectators of the

past. The visual representations of the child's Africa are not real (that is, they are no more real than an accurate written representation would be), but with the lights out the audience may feel a more direct connection to the past than is achieved with books. And fictional films create a world we can believe as a whole; they are not as dependent on our knowledge of the world with the lights on as are "true" films.

But *Chocolat* is not interesting to historians because it can make them (or their students) feel they are really back in Africa for an hour and forty-five minutes. On the contrary, the film is important because it makes problematic any notion of an easy, direct connection to the past. The narrative frame of the film (that almost all the "action" of the film takes place as a flashback, a memory of the young woman getting a ride to Douala) calls into question whether it is possible to go beyond personal memory to make an authentic connection with the past. France is not a tourist; she grew up in Africa. The black man who gives her a ride is an American expatriate who "returned" to Africa in order to escape the feeling of being an outsider in a racist country. But in Africa no one thought of him as a brother, and at the end of the film he is a picture of alienation as the American in Africa. His return does not reconnect him to his roots; there are no historical roots for him in Cameroon. And, although France's personal roots are there, there is no possibility of return for her, either. She wants to find the house of her youth, but she is warned: "Leave quick before somebody eats you up." At the airport, Africans are shown carefully loading "native" art objects onto a departing plane. France leaves.

In the film, the horizon that is seen but that does not exist is the line between the races, but one might also say that the film figures the line that separates past and present as a kind of horizon. Through various forms of representation, we may think we cross the line to some kind of direct connection with a time gone by, but, in fact, as we approach the line separating present and past, it recedes. The remembrance at the core of *Chocolat* gives France the illusion that she can find a place she comes from, while the emplotment of that remembrance shows that in the present there is no object to be found. She comes to Africa in search of the home she knew as a child, but that home can only be recollected, not rediscovered.

Historians can find in *Chocolat* a complex, evocative portrait of French colonial Africa but a portrait painted with the colors of childhood memories, without the pretense of objectivity or of realism. In this way, it allows the viewers to confront the intricate web of race and gender relations within French colonial Africa, as we acknowledge our own distance from this past and the horizon separating us from any history we would make our own.

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ASIA

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The Home and the World. Directed by Satyajit Ray. 1984; color; 130 minutes. Bengali with English subtitles. Distributor: European Classics Release. Video: Nelson Home Video.

A sumptuous film that until recently many thought would be the last in a long line of spectacular films by Bengali director Satyajit Ray, *The Home and the World* recapitulates many of the central themes in Ray's cinematic world view, especially as expressed in Ray's earlier *Charulata* (1964), as well as in the work of Rabindranath Tagore, Ray's frequent source of stories and inspiration. The film begins and ends with a fire, signified as a funeral pyre by its juxtaposition with an obviously dazed and grief-stricken woman whose head is covered with the end of a widow's white sari. Thus the dramatic tension shifts from the outcome of

the story to how and why it will unfold. Such foreshadowing helps make an unlikely ending more believable, although notions of destiny and inevitability, of free will and determination, and, ultimately, of the inexorable tragedy of tempting fate are wrestled with throughout the film.

The film is set in rural Bengal in the traumatic year of 1905. Lord Curzon has just divided Bengal Presidency into eastern and western halves, in what was simultaneously a classic act of divide and rule, a clear assault on the all-too-politically conscious Hindu elite (or *bhadralok*) of Calcutta, and the administrative basis for the creation first of East Pakistan and then Bangladesh. The partition precipitated the *swadeshi* movement, in which foreign commodities, especially cloth, became the symbols of colonial domination, and the cry "swadeshi"—meaning "of our own country"—became the principal focus of nationalist politics. Political symbolism followed from economic analysis, in particular, the contention that India's raw materials and markets had been used to service the English industrial revolution with the direct result of impoverishing and further enslaving India.

The image of fire is used not only at the beginning and end of the film but also to depict the communal destruction and frenzy of a riot. Moreover, fire signifies the central political ritual of the *swadeshi* movement. Throughout Bengal, rallies were held in which political leaders encouraged citizens and merchants to dump all foreign cloth into a large fire that both consumed the cloth and symbolized the death of colonial domination.

At one level the conventionalized story of a lover's triangle, the film is allegorical in its use of a set of homologous antinomies: home and world, woman and man, private and public, love and politics, tradition and modernism—all placed within the larger classical frame of the struggle between free will and determinism. Although the story in its original textual form could perhaps be read without reference to these significations, the film's insistent images—from that of fire to the much-photographed corridor between zenana (women's quarters) and drawing room—impregnate the story with multiple meanings. Ray's use of cinematographic images allegorizes what is otherwise a simple story set in a highly specific historical and social landscape.

After the opening shot of a final conflagration, the scene shifts to Nikhil, a young and progressive landlord (*zamindar*), reading an English romantic poem to his young wife Bimala while boating on the river. In the early moments of the film, Nikhil encourages his traditional wife to learn English, take singing lessons with an English governess, engage in political discussion—to encounter the world outside the home. Soon, he persuades his wife, against her instincts and judgment, to leave the safety of the zenana to meet his old friend Sandip, a political activist who has come to town to make speeches about the evils of British colonialism. The conceit of romantic individualism becomes paradoxically linked with the character of Sandip, whose politics and morality seem base and opportunistic to everyone except a group of young idealist students and the beautiful Bimala. Nikhil wanted his wife to become a modern subject, it turns out, so that she could love him out of choice and not because of fate. Instead, she falls in love with Sandip.

As the story unfolds, Nikhil's altruism and deep faith in rationalism appear increasingly admirable—not only does he argue against *swadeshi* measures because they hurt the poor Muslim merchants far more than the British (or the rural landlords and urban bourgeoisie), he has, by trying to manufacture soap and other commercial goods locally, been a *swadeshi* before his time. By all accounts, he is a very good man. But something is not quite right. Sandip may be a cad, but Nikhil is most imperious when he compels his wife to choose him and his ways out of her own free will. The promise of freedom is presented against the backdrop of predestined tragedy and overwhelming fatalism. By the time Bimala comes back to her senses, realizing that her husband is a genuine treasure—far more the political hero than his rival in love—communalist riots, set off by *swadeshi* agitation, have engulfed the estate in flames. And Nikhil, compelled by his own sense of nobility and responsibility, no sooner learns that his wife has returned to him than he rides off to quell the riot that engulfs him, too. Bimala's last words, "I knew I would be punished," leave little doubt that her freedom has underscored the determinations in her life and made her the most

unhappy of traditional Hindu women: a widow in the prime of life, just like her spiteful and unattractive sister-in-law, who spends most of her time glowering at Bimala from the moral purity of her bitter fate. Is Nikhil a tragic hero or a selfish fool?

In the penultimate scene of the film, Nikhil's body is solemnly carried down the path leading out from the landlord's house to the estate. The image recalls the earlier scene of the corridor between the zenana and the drawing room; both are powerful sites of passage and transgression. Each opposition is metonymized in Ray's obsessively choreographed cinema. Even the beautiful textiles that play such an important role in creating the visual fabric of the film become signs of the relations between home and world. When Bimala is inside her bedroom, she spends her time incessantly folding and admiring exquisite cloth, saris as well as the blouses she designed to blend European and Bengali fashion. These textiles, although based on Indian colors and designs, are sensuous reminders that even the traditional zenana has been infiltrated by the West, for the cloth was all loomed, as Nikhil reminds her, in English factories. The *swadeshi* fire that burns foreign cloth never reaches Bimala's wardrobe but instead becomes the fire that consumes her husband, consigning her to a world of plain white cotton.

The Home and the World seems on the one hand a self-conscious, aesthetic reflection on the gendered antinomies I listed above. These concerns are not new to Ray, as they were clearly depicted in *Charulata*, made twenty years before. But *Charulata* ended with the possibility of hope, with a chance that public and private, politics and poetry, male and female might be united in the final reconciliation and collaboration of a political newspaperman and his romantically inclined poet-wife, whereas this film ends with death and widowhood. No doubt the shift could be construed as a result of the difference between the India of Nehru and that of post-Emergency politics, with its resurgent communalism and corruption. But, whatever Ray's specific intention, history has taken on epic proportions. Destiny—inscribed in character, plot, and image—seems, like fire, to be engulfing the history of unilinear development and liberal optimism.

Ray's film asks powerful questions about the character of India's nationalist past—about the costs of revolutionary politics, the nuances of dispassionate reflection, the nostalgia for lost pasts, and the contradictions of modernity in India today. Curiously, despite Ray's sensitive evocation of the subject position of women (here as well as in other films), *The Home and the World* gives much less sense of Bimala's complex relationship to her experience of outer freedom than does Tagore's novel. Tagore uses the consecutive and overlapping first-person stories of the three characters of the triangle to capture the full tragedy of Bimala's fate. But, in both works, the relationship of words and pictures to the "historical" past is far more interesting and subtle than the usual oppositions between fiction and history or film and history suggest. The fictional words and cinematic pictures of Tagore's and Ray's art bring the dilemmas of modernity, gender, politics, and narrative into moments of focus that historians—with rare and recent exception—seem to have missed entirely. Although critics might justifiably complain that Ray's politics, perhaps even more than Tagore's before him, seem dangerously reactionary, the film ends, as it begins, by calling into question the very categories we use to think about politics and its relations to both art and life.

Nicholas B. Dirks

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He shang [River Elegy]. Written and directed by Su Xiaokang, Wang Luxiang, and Xia Jun. A six-part television documentary. 1988; color; 200 minutes. Chinese. Distributors: Cheng and Tsui Company, 25 West Street, Boston, Mass. 02111; and China Video Movies Distributing Co., Inc., P.O. Box 51710, Palo Alto, Calif. 94303.

The Yellow River is here pictured as rushing in rapids down the mountains from its source, moving through gorges into the old loess hill country of the North China highlands, now passing green fields, now moving more slowly, constantly carrying its huge burden of silt toward the ocean, which it finally reaches with a clear demarcation between the muddy silt and the blue sea. The Yellow River is China, and it is old and needs to be renewed. Posed as a question of cultural continuity, the issue of cultural renewal is acute in non-Western societies, where modernization comes from the outside. Cultural renewal nonetheless remains recognizable as the problem at the root of many polemics in the West as well.

The goals of *He shang* are nothing less than to capture the essence of Chinese history, to determine why China failed to create a modern industrial civilization while the West and Japan succeeded, and to show the Chinese the way to further reforms. The film's call for renewal was rejected in the government's repressive actions of June 1989, and its makers became *personae non gratae*, but the film continues to engender controversy in Chinese communities around the world. Filmed in six 30 to 40-minute segments, the documentary features clips from a wide variety of sources, including aerial shots of the Yellow River and the ruins along its banks, nineteenth-century prints, ancient art and sculpture, and historical reenactments from contemporary movies. The six parts do not move chronologically but thematically, with a good deal of overlap.

Although the Yellow River is its symbolic focus, the film actually depends on the fast-paced juxtaposition of a wide variety of images with a historical narration. The river provided the cradle for China's ancient civilization, and its propensity to flood cyclically forms the focus of the fifth part of *He shang*. The filmmakers explicitly use the river as a metaphor for China's long "feudal" era, marked as it was by periods of peace, prosperity, and complacency punctuated by disaster, war, poverty, refugees, beggars, and the dynastic cycle. The most heavily silted river in the world, the Yellow River symbolizes farming and devotion to the land (in spite of centuries of erosion) more than transportation and commerce. Attempts to dike, channel, and, more recently, dam the river have only been partially successful; so, too, the question before China is how to break out of cyclical history.

Other images are presented to express China's dilemmas. The Great Wall is treated not as a technological achievement but as a symbol of China's self-imposed isolation, conservatism, and indeed stagnation. Contrasted with it are symbols of the dynamic, commercial, inventive, industrial—and free—modern West: railroads with their engine wheels turning powerfully, ships moving across the blue seas, the great, clean (!) cities of Tokyo, London, New York.

The heart of the film lies in such contrasts: river and seas; rice fields and wharves; peasants and scholars, traders and soldiers; plows and hoes, caravans and ships. They emphasize that China continues to fall behind the West and Japan. Communism is treated obliquely, but the conclusion is clear. Mao Zedong failed in the primary task before him: to open China to international commerce in both commodities and ideas. The post-1949 period was as closed and as subject to periodic upheavals as were the preceding eras. The message that China must open up or perish also is reinforced by the film's narrators, who present a consistent argument about the nature of Chinese civilization. Chinese agriculture originated in isolated riverine lands. The first Chinese polities represented the victories of cultures from the Yellow River basin over southern and eastern cultures. During the ensuing dynasties, China could claim many brilliant achievements, often leading the world and certainly dominating East Asia, but it never broke free of agrarian conservatism. In the West, however, science and freedom led to industrialization and wealth.

China failed to discover science on its own, in spite of reasons to think it might. Marco Polo learned from China in the thirteenth century; the Chinese failed to learn from the Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. China failed again to learn from the West even after its superiority was proven in war. China thus largely had itself to blame for the humiliations inflicted on it in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The filmmakers show us familiar scenes of imperialist depredations: foreign soldiers taking command of Chinese towns, people fleeing in terror, Chinese prisoners being executed. But such images are ambiguous: are they meant to arouse anger at the incapacity of Chinese leadership to respond to Darwinian challenges or to arouse anger at the imperialists?

Other images repeated in various guises are equally ambiguous. Primitive, naked tribal peoples are sometimes shown. In the film's macro-historical approach, they may simply represent the Neolithic. But are they also meant to serve as a prod to the Chinese? As a warning that a people must progress or it will decline into barbarism? Similarly, old, decrepit peasants toil throughout the film. They clearly illustrate devotion to the land, industriousness, obedience to the centralized state, and autocracy. But it is not clear here whether they are victims of the system or conservative dead weight, the moral equivalent of the primitives. The filmmakers give short shrift to the Maoist interpretation of peasants as a revolutionary force; at best, peasants evidently have little to contribute to the modernization revolution being advocated in this film.

He shang thus presents a history that is oversimplified and sometimes fallacious (specific errors are minor but annoying). More important, the film leaves basic questions unanswered: was China destined by its agrarian success to fall behind the West thousands of years later? by the founding of the centralized, bureaucratic, and authoritarian Qin dynasty in 221 B.C.? by the isolationist Ming (1368–1644), builders of the present Great Wall? What cultural traits may be useful in the present and future? Any? Its thesis may be simple-minded, but the film is a rich and complex documentary nonetheless. Its argument is serious and has much truth in it. Modernization is not coming easily to China.

The film participates in a Chinese debate over Westernization that has been going on since the nineteenth century. The makers of the film do not see themselves as "complete Westernizers," even though others have made this charge. Instead, they ask, if Westerners can modernize and ultimately transform themselves without worrying about losing their identities, why can't the Chinese? They suggest a series of answers to why China "failed," although these answers are not particularly original: the ties to the land, the authoritarian traditions, and the lack of the competitive spur of an interstate system. In the final episode, they emphasize the need to de-politicize the questions before China. They suggest that a longstanding habit of regarding all questions as moral questions has stymied practical reform.

The power of *He shang* lies less in its argument than in the link between image and argument. And we should be aware that it was made in a period of widespread disillusionment and intellectual openness. The fast pace of the film acts to prevent reflection on the meaning of the images. They are almost kaleidoscopic and cumulatively drown out subtlety. But, upon reflection, the visual thrust of the film exaggerates Chinese faults and Western virtues: there are no shots, for instance, of American slums. Although the argument may be one-sided, the film does contribute to the debate on Westernization through its immediacy and its urgency.

Moreover, those who would defend the old culture or deliberately limit Westernization, whether they be communists or conservatives, lack similarly powerful images. The culture they would defend, the culture they take pride in, is primarily in the mind, a matter of memory and ideology. While anyone can see the thousands of images of Chinese poverty and Western wealth, a specific and continuous Chinese culture is relegated to the museum. At one point, communism claimed to embody a living Chinese culture through the tradition of peasant class struggle ("class" struggle, hence revolutionary; "peasant," hence non-elite but certainly Chinese). There is still a chance that, one day, communism will be remembered for having industrialized and modernized China at a lower human price than industrializa-

tion cost in the West. Meanwhile, Chinese communism is adrift between cultural continuity and Marxist utopianism. Cultural conservatives of all stripes may seek a route to wealth and power that more clearly rests on Chinese ground, but they would have a hard time making a cinematic reply to *He shang*.

Historians and others may well protest its one-dimensional treatment of Chinese history as static; it better represents Hegelian racism than current scholarship on the dynamics of Chinese history. Yet few historians ask why so many of the attributes of modernization remain frustratingly out of reach. The filmmakers look to intellectuals, students, and perhaps the new entrepreneurs to revive the science and democracy movement of the early twentieth century. It is not clear that this will be enough to build a dynamic and progressive nation, but we all may sympathize with their hopes.

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Surname Viet Given Name Nam. Produced and directed by
Trinh T. Minh-ha. 1989; color, 108 minutes. Vietnamese
and English. Distributor: Women Make Movies.

Trinh T. Minh-ha's *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* is an extremely complex film about a number of interrelated issues: the nature of representation in media discourse, documentary filmmaking practice, patriarchy and the construction of gender, ethnography, national and cultural identity, translations and the foreignness of language itself, social change in relation to myth and history, and the essence of revolution. As such, Trinh's work is a distinctive contribution to an increasing number of films, both documentary and commercial features, that are rewriting the Vietnam experience for consumption by different segments of the public. For the most part, these films have focused on Americans rather than Asians and on men rather than women. Shifting the perspective to Vietnamese women, Trinh makes unusually challenging demands on viewers accustomed to the conventions of documentary filmmaking. *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* evades easy summation and provokes frustrated feelings as well as thoughtful debate, for its strategy is to resist appropriation by dominant Western and male discourses.

A brilliant montage of image and sound, *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* is a self-reflexive work that challenges the claim of so-called nonfiction film to represent reality and hence to be factual and truthful. Granted, Trinh does make extensive use of black-and-white archival footage and still photographs, sometimes cropped for dramatic emphasis, to evoke the past through scenes of Vietnamese ritual, daily life, and events of war. Juxtaposed against this montage, however, are the "talking heads" or interviews, that staple of documentary practice, here represented as a self-conscious and artificial construct. Vietnamese who have emigrated to the United States portray four women who describe life in Vietnam after the fall of Saigon. Although Trinh has translated their interviews into English for the film's script, the Vietnamese actresses speak with thick accents and are often incomprehensible. Consequently, large subtitles are superimposed over their faces and bodies, but these represent a fraction of their statements and require speed reading. The interviews are heavily stylized with respect to costume, setting, camera angle, use of color, and lighting. For example, a physician in a white uniform sits on screen right to face the camera, but only the left half of her body is shown, while a stethoscope lies on the center of a table draped in white, and a billowy white curtain flutters on screen left. Furthermore, Trinh's cinematography is obtrusive: the restless camera pans and leaves the interviewee out of frame or tilts down black trousers, giving the impression of a blank screen, only to focus on a pair of shoes. During another interview, both the camera and the subject remain stationary. Although one

of the women occasionally turns her back to the camera, the voyeuristic lens is relentless in its close scrutiny of facial features and body parts. Altogether, unstable framing reinforces the elusiveness of the interviewed subject.

Trinh's soundtrack is even more complicated than her manipulation of visual images because she minimizes the use of synchronous sound. Despite problems of translation from a non-Western to a Western language, the testimony of the four Vietnamese women is eloquent. Witnesses to a socialist revolution, they speak of mistrust and suspicion, despair and retreat into silence, male chauvinism and the inability of powerless women to articulate their needs, exploitation of women subject to the double day, prostitution as a means of survival, ignorance and muteness about the female body, and the isolation of women who struggle alone to nourish their children. Juxtaposed against their testimony are Vietnamese songs and English voice-overs heard on the soundtrack during the montage sequences. Although the songs are subtitled, lyrics appear only fleetingly on the screen. Fragments of these songs celebrate marriage: "She who is married is like a dragon with wings. She who has no husband is like a [broken] rice mill." But a rebellious woman asks, "Why should I . . . bow my head . . . stoop over and be a slave to man?" In the voice-overs, an Americanized Vietnamese woman enunciates clearly and without accent, while Trinh herself speaks in the softly modulated voice exemplary of Vietnamese womanhood. As the filmmaker, Trinh comments about the uncertainty of translating interviews, "an antiquated device of documentary"; about media images as the continuation of war, a war that has been won by the Americans; about successive governmental appropriations of the *Tale of Kieu*, a national epic poem that recounts the adventures of a beloved heroine. In Vietnam, a woman is said to be fated to become a lady before marriage, a maid during marriage, and a monkey after marriage, but the country's folklore also resonates with the exploits of liberated women and fearsome female warriors.

Surname Viet Given Name Nam becomes even more self-reflexive in the second half, as Trinh focuses on the filmmaking process itself, especially the lives of the exiled Vietnamese women acting for the first time before a camera. She questions two of these women about their decision to appear in the film and learns about the reaction of their friends, who have been influenced by the Western concept of a movie star. Like their socialist counterparts in Vietnam, these women are burdened by the demands of the double day and, in addition, are confronting racism in the United States. Again, the elusory nature of translation is underscored, since the women now speak in Vietnamese while a few subtitles flit across the screen. Despite the process of Americanization, typified by a young Vietnamese woman who grew up in the United States, Vietnamese in exile cling to a powerful cultural legacy. A contestant in the 1988 Miss Vietnam Pageant asserts in subtitled Vietnamese, "as far as women are concerned, we should preserve our Vietnamese heritage." For a Vietnamese woman, this means observance of the three submissions—to acknowledge the authority of father, husband, and son—and the four virtues—to be skillful in domestic duties, to maintain a gracious and compliant appearance, to speak softly, and to know a woman's place. Significantly, Trinh includes footage of several wedding ceremonies throughout the film, the last a Westernized version with the couple raising champagne glasses in a toast. Once married, a Vietnamese bride lives not for herself but for the requirements of husband, patrimony, and state.

Undoubtedly, not the least of the questions raised by *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* involves its reception. Is this film accessible to an audience that has not been schooled in theoretical debates about narratology, authorship, ethnography, documentary practice, and feminism? By critiquing and moving beyond the hegemonic discourse, is Trinh preaching to the already converted? Since poststructuralist theory is debated mostly within the walls of academic institutions, are the initiated themselves elitist and compromised? Are there any cinematic strategies that women and ethnic peoples can devise to communicate with a wider audience without being appropriated? Doesn't the emphasis on gender and ethnicity

minimize the significance of class? Finally, isn't any review written in the language of the dominant discourse itself an appropriation of alternative cinema? Part of the elusiveness of Trinh's film lies in the articulation of issues that reverberate with endless questions.

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AUSTRALIA

Camera Natura. Produced by John Cruthers; written and directed by Ross Gibson. 1986; color; 32 minutes. Distributor: Australian Film Commission, Sydney, Australia. 61-2-925-7333, Fax 61-2-954-40001.

Given the specialized subject matter and the vagaries of international film distribution, chances are that few historians other than a handful of Australian researchers are likely to see Ross Gibson's half-hour documentary, *Camera Natura*. This is unfortunate. Not only does *Camera Natura* persuasively argue a provocative thesis concerning Australian national character but, of more general interest to scholars from all fields, it poses by example the complex issue of what it means to "write" history using audio and visual materials. A breakthrough film of considerable importance, it realizes in practice Hayden White's call in theory for new forms of historical narrative cognate with the advanced literary forms of contemporary culture.

Scholars committed to the printed page may be scandalized by the suggestion that filmmakers be counted in their ranks, but, in form and content, *Camera Natura* demonstrates that it is possible to produce cinematic works of historical analysis on a par with more conventional modes of publication. The crucial difference is, Ross Gibson has chosen to "write" his essay using a multimedia language particularly appropriate to the subject matter and to the requisites of postmodernist historical narrative. Troubling as it may be to academics wedded exclusively to narrative forms inherited from the past, *Camera Natura* is a clear portent of intellectual work to come. Tenure and promotion committees should take heed.

Gibson's thesis argues that concepts of the natural landscape have been central to the national identity of Australia's white population from the earliest period of colonization through the present. The vast expanses of land, much of it inhospitable to settlement and stubbornly resistant to European propensities for tidy social control, shaped the national character and engendered mythologies that have come to be seen as characteristically "Australian." The landscape, he argues, has been far more than a neutral backdrop to the saga of social construction; rather, the physical setting has itself been integral to the evolving forms, contents, and functions of ideology.

In one way or another, over a period of more than two hundred years, the ultimate intractability of the continent has shaped major components of the collective consciousness, often in seemingly contradictory ways. It has been both a rallying point for patriotic pride and a worrisome cause for feelings of inferiority, an inspiration for spiritual transcendence and a sobering object lesson for those with beliefs in secular salvation. It has placed the civilizing mission high on the agenda of social engineers, while for others it has served as a convenient alibi for passivity in the face of social imperfection. It has helped to create bonds of community, while at the same time celebrating a remarkably antisocial brand of rogue individualism.

But, for all of its compelling arguments about Australian history, what is most interesting about *Camera Natura* for the general historian is less what Gibson asserts than the

innovative ways he goes about making his case. In a major departure from the conventions of traditional historiography, he privileges audio and visual materials as the primary source of documentation. He assembles a staggering array of maps, paintings, fiction film clips, documentary footage, television advertisements, and popular music, not primarily to fulfill the entertainment or didactic requirements of film production but rather because they are essential requisites to presenting the thesis itself.

Secondly, these sounds and images are fashioned into an innovative historical narrative fully consonant with contemporary artistic and literary sensibilities—a form-breaking, postmodernist pastiche that moves freely back and forth in time and ranges widely over seemingly disparate subject matters. In the quest to shape a message appropriate to a multimedia format, Gibson rejects the confining restraints of chronological storytelling and the artificial homogenization of synchronic portraiture. Part dramatization, part compilation, and part intellectual commentary, the film eludes easy categorization. The shape of the argument is unfamiliar—never reassuringly linear, cyclical, pendular, spiraling, or even dialectical.

Nevertheless, for all of its seemingly free-wheeling qualities, by the film's conclusion the viewer comes to experience *Camera Natura* as an elegantly reasoned work carefully calculated to create an interactive relationship between the film text and its audience. The key to its effectiveness is a narrative strategy that weaves its multiple threads into a net that captures a viewer within an environment of numerous meanings and a plurality of interpretations.

Several of the individual threads are diachronic. One periodizes the whole of Australian history from pre-colonial musings on Terra Australis to the present, tracing evolving attitudes toward the natural landscape. A second thread traces the development of representational practices and the impact of evolving technologies on the ideology of the image. From an eighteenth-century painter falsifying images of the harsh outback in order to make it more palatable to the English homeland, to a nineteenth-century photographer hiding subjective impressions behind the camera's alleged objectivity, to twentieth-century film directors disseminating nationalist mythologies through mass culture, each new form of media came to both reflect and affect the historical process. Representational practices are Gibson's tools of inquiry: they are also his subject matter.

Crossing these diachronic lines are threads essentially typological in nature—each one laying out an array of meanings for an important and recurrent iconographic motif. There is, for example, the image of nature as threat—a torrid, alien wasteland where the unwary or the innocent can easily become lost, never to be found again. There is also the image of nature as spiritually redemptive, a sacred site that tests the limits of human endurance and purifies even social outcasts by heat and fire. A still different image of the landscape stresses its erotic dimensions, both as subliminate and a target for conquest. "Women and earth!" proclaims a romantic hero of an Australian film classic, "I've always felt they were much the same, only the earth more exciting." There is also an obsessive love affair with images of transportation—cars, planes, horses, and even walking—all expressions of a compelling need to master the continent's vast open spaces. (It is no coincidence that in director George Miller's anti-utopian *Mad Max* trilogy the basic requirement for civilized life is identified as gasoline.) Finally, there is the internally contradictory iconography of Australian individualism—a solitary figure isolated in the midst of an overwhelming landscape, a survivor who is an odd mixture of strong-willed independence and self-demeaning humility.

The end result of this unique criss-crossing of diachronic and typological currents is a filmed essay that aggressively argues the author's point of view while at the same time inviting the viewer to construct alternative and even contradictory points of view. In its nonlinear, multifaceted complexity, *Camera Natura* creates a richly textured intellectual site for the discovery of multiple meanings. It is an ingeniously constructed interactive text that valorizes historical writing as an interpretive activity rather than the laying out of immutable truths.

Appropriately, when the film, nearing its conclusion, turns to analyzing the role of imagery in contemporary society, it leaves the viewer to ponder a series of unresolved

contradictions. A digitized aerial photograph of the natural landscape captures extraordinary detail, but the closer the image comes, the more the pixels become an illegible abstract pattern. A television advertisement for fast food uses special effects to transform sacred mountains into a hamburger and french fries. These examples suggest that the long-sought-after domestication of unruly nature may finally have been achieved but only at the sacrifice of traditional icons of national identity.

When titles appear in *Camera Natura* announcing "The End," in fact it is not the end, nor can it be. Ross Gibson in the film's final segment makes clear there is no definitive ending to an open text, no last word to be said on subjects of enduring importance, and no ultimate conclusion to the interpretive challenges confronted by the historian. The same open-ended possibilities exist in defining the historian's craft itself. *Camera Natura* provides a window into a future with vastly expanded concepts of scholarly "publication." We would be wise to start preparing for them now.

Robert Rosen

UCLA Film and Television Archive

Prisoners of Propaganda. Executive Producer: Geoffrey Barnes; director, writer, researcher: Graham Shirley. 1987; color; 58 minutes. Video Distributor: Films Inc., 5547 N. Ravenswood Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60640.

In March 1942, the Japanese occupied Java, accepting the surrender of Dutch forces and several thousand Australian soldiers who were in Java by way of Syria, sent to delay the Japanese occupation of Indonesia. A year later, in a sophisticated attempt at psychological warfare, Australian prisoners of war appeared in Japan's *Calling Australia!*, a film intended to persuade Australians at home that prisoners enjoyed resort-like conditions as privileged guests and that Australia should seek a separate peace as part of Japan's Co-Prosperity Sphere. No invasion occurred; the film was not parachuted into Australia and was never seen by its intended audience.

In 1945, the Netherlands Indies Film Unit, exiled to Melbourne, produced *Nippon Presents*, an amateurish response to *Calling Australia!*, using some of the same men. The POWs' extreme hostility toward the Japanese was regarded as politically inexpedient in a cold war world, as were the colonialist attitudes of the Dutch producers. *Nippon Presents* also found no viewers.

Prisoners of Propaganda, made by Graham Shirley for Film Australia in 1987, uses the technique of the detective story to tell how Shirley came across *Calling Australia!* and the paper records relating to the film, then tracked down surviving POWs who had appeared in both *Calling Australia!* and *Nippon Presents* and asked them to appear in yet a third film. Shirley presents the background necessary to understand the diplomatic and strategic complexities of the story with considerable skill; his film is sensitive to that part of the story that can be comprehended visually.

Shirley explores two instances of counterfactual historical explanation: first, a sophisticated Japanese attempt to use Australian prisoners of war to soften up the Australian home front; second, the use of film to demonstrate why collaborating with the enemy is not treason but an instance of wartime necessity. Those who think of Japanese wartime propaganda in terms of clumsy leaflets aimed at enemy soldiers will be impressed with the effectiveness of *Calling Australia!*, whose script and visual depiction of life under Japanese rule almost persuades us.

For Shirley, the moral dimensions of collaboration are complex. He asks those POWs who appear on camera to explain why, instead of performing heroic deeds ("in the face of certain death"), they appeared in a scripted film, depicting a life far from reality: steak

dinners, a jolly camp show, visits to the shopping district of downtown Bandung, use of a luxury pool, billiards, a world shared with smiling Dutch women and children. One POW even reads a letter home as a voice-over. Was this degree of collaboration really necessary?

Shirley does not condemn his interviewees. Each is given every opportunity to explain his actions; Shirley includes one interview with an Australian POW not in *Calling Australia!* who says he was no hero either, surrendering weeks ahead of his comrades to the Japanese. But any viewer will recognize from the evasions, the complicated explanations, the discomfort of those being interviewed, the too-strident insistence of *Nippon Presents* that there are some moral uncertainties. Indeed, what is one's moral obligation as a prisoner of war; what are the limits of collaboration? Is it less reprehensible to collaborate in the making of films if, in the end, those films are not seen? Is the matter of wartime collaboration somehow less acceptable because the POWs, through film, show us precisely the extent of their collaboration, and we are invited to gauge their degree of complicity by their persuasiveness as actors for an enemy's propaganda campaign? (Shirley's research was subsequently used without permission by an Australian commercial television star, Derryn Hinch; see "Seven's Deadly Sin," *Filmnews* [Australia] [March 1989]: 5-6. For the paper records for *Calling Australia!*, see Frans Nieuwenhof, "Japanese Film Propaganda in World War II: Indonesia and Australia," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 4 [October 1984], 161-77.)

Students of propaganda will compare *Calling Australia!* to *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (The Führer Gives the Jews a City), a 1944 German propaganda film about the joys of camp life in Theresienstadt, a film also never released. In the 1971 Institut für Film und Bild version, this film adds an on-camera interview with Karel Ancerl, longtime conductor of the Czech Philharmonic. Ancerl conducted the inmate orchestra in the 1944 production. He notes that every other member of his family sent to Theresienstadt later died at Auschwitz.

How rare it is for any film to allow the viewer to hear and see the same persons addressing issues belonging to three separate political worlds: Shirley lets the viewer see the behavior of men as actors while prisoners of the Japanese, as strident enemies of Japanese militarism in 1945, and as old men attempting to justify themselves to posterity. Shirley asks us to take seriously films that never found an audience, for he recognizes that *Calling Australia!* is a superb example of the sophisticated psychological planning that characterized Japanese military occupation plans for Australia. Finally, *Prisoners of Propaganda* invites the viewer to make connections between military policy and domestic politics over time. The result is a wonderful piece of filmmaking, something that deserves careful consideration not just by students of propaganda but by all those interested in questions about enemy intent, which gain in historical significance with the passage of time.

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EUROPE

Dangerous Liaisons. Produced by Norma Heyman and Hank Moonjean; directed by Stephen Frears. 1988; color; 120 minutes. English. Distributed by Warner Home Video.

When Pierre Choderlos de Laclos published *Les Liaisons dangereuses* in 1782, he took his epigraph from Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*: "I have seen the morals of my time, and I have published these letters." Laclos, however, turned Rousseau on his head, giving the morals of his time personification in the characters of the deceitful marquise de Merteuil and the

scheming vicomte de Valmont. Idle aristocrats who devote their energies and intellectual powers wholly to sexual intrigue, this pair corrupts the naïve Cécile de Volanges to avenge slights by her relatives and plots the seduction and downfall of the pious Madame de Tourvel simply because her morals present a new and interesting challenge. Yet, while Merteuil and Valmont are particularly clever and far-ranging in their choice of "projects," Laclos portrayed them not as unique individuals but simply as the most outstanding representatives of an entire stratum of Old Regime French society. The members of the Second Estate described in the anecdotes that the marquise and the vicomte share about their acquaintances lead lives of idle and corrupt distraction, consecrating themselves to laying siege to a famous virtue or deploying the diplomatic skills necessary to keeping more than one lover.

Beyond the tale it tells of individual morality, the novel *Les Liaisons dangereuses* offers a description of Old Regime France at its worst, revealing the shape of a society in which the possibilities for political action were narrowly limited. Physically separated from the royal family by the king's retreat to Versailles and unable to enter any larger political milieu in Paris or elsewhere, the French nobility sought other arenas of activity. Laclos's novel suggests that the most important of these arenas was not constituted by church or army but by a private realm of personal relationships. In the absence of a public sphere, sexual intrigue replaced political activity, and strategy, gossip, and reputation reigned supreme.

Stephen Frears's film *Dangerous Liaisons* is a condensed version of the novel: the social milieu evoked in the stories that Merteuil (played by Glenn Close) and Valmont (John Malkovich) tell of their own and their acquaintances' intrigues has been stripped away to leave only the essentials of the central tale. The film's pace quickens steadily as Valmont's seductions of the innocent Cécile and the devout Madame de Tourvel become increasingly complicated, and above all, as Valmont and Merteuil find that the mutual admiration and confidences that initially drew them together are driving them apart, into a war to the death. Laclos's explicit condemnation of a whole order has been suppressed in Frears's film, for a few characters bear the burden of representing their entire class, but the novel's portrayal of the perversion of political impulses into sexual intrigue and the stifling absence in Old Regime France of a viable public sphere are given vivid visual representation.

From the opening sequence of *Dangerous Liaisons*, the viewer is impressed by the splendor and emptiness of these aristocratic lives as marquise and vicomte patiently undergo the lengthy ministrations of their servants—then, fed, scrubbed, groomed, and dressed—they pay visits to drawing rooms where they do no more than play cards or plot the details of a new "project." This elaborate ritual of preparation for the drawing room sets the tone of the film, which takes place almost entirely indoors or within the confines of an enclosed garden. The viewer sees music rooms, bedrooms, foyers, and staircases, but these individual elements are never situated in a larger physical or political world: Paris is glimpsed only briefly through a window, and the rural countryside is little more than a tree-linked walk between church and chateau.

The extraordinarily internal and internalized world of Merteuil, Valmont, and their victims is underscored by the film's only excursion beyond chateau walls, when the vicomte ventures into a village near his aunt's property to ostentatiously save a poor family from the tax collector and so to impress his intended victim, Madame de Tourvel, with the favorable influence that she has had on his personality. Here at last, it seems, is a moment of participation in a public world of politics as the bored and privileged aristocrat stoops to ease the burden of an overtaxed peasant: yet the scene is played for comedy with absurdly overdrawn gestures of assistance and gratitude. As they return to the chateau, the vicomte praises his valet for having found such a gratifyingly downtrodden family but can barely interest himself in the reply that a half-dozen such families may be found in any village in France; he has already turned his attention to the next detail of Madame de Tourvel's seduction. In this context, and by implication for the Old Regime aristocracy as a whole, the public and political world is illusory and exists only as a backdrop for the true action: seduction and personal intrigue.

Director Frears reinforces the claustrophobic and stylized character of this private aristocratic milieu by shooting the majority of the film not only in closed rooms and enclosed gardens but in very close shots—the camera lingers on subtle changes of expression to register one character's effect on another and the shifting balance of power between the two principals. In this representation of a world in which self-control and self-presentation are all, Glenn Close gives an astonishingly nuanced performance as the "virtuoso of deceit," Madame de Merteuil, keeping the vicomte at arm's length with only a slight turn of her head and acknowledging her rival's power with a barely perceptible hardening of expression.

That Frears quite consciously uses camera proximity to suggest his characters' relationships to a larger political world is underscored by the very different vision of contemporary British society that he represented in his first film, *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985). There, the dynamic interplay of race, sex, and class in Margaret Thatcher's England profoundly shaped the personal lives and sexual choices of the major characters. Unlike the intense close-ups of faces, rooms, and clothing that exclude the larger political world of eighteenth-century France in *Dangerous Liaisons*, *My Beautiful Laundrette* visually represented the relationship between personal lives and the public world by repeatedly backing away from the characters and lingering on neighborhood streets and the London skyline to give the audience a sense of the larger urban and national world that shapes, and is shaped by, seemingly private lives.

Frears's film of *Les Liaisons dangereuses* gives a rich, visual sense of the self-involved and deeply apolitical world of a few eighteenth-century French aristocrats. But, by paring away Laclos's vignettes of Merteuil's and Valmont's peers, and by enclosing all activity within narrow physical and visual confines, Frears's film becomes so focused on the central protagonists that the audience may lose sight of these individuals as representatives of a broader social milieu. Stripped of social and political context, the film risks becoming a well-paced, well-acted costume drama about two ahistorically wicked characters. But, in spite of the intensity with which that drama unfolds, it is the larger context that roots this story in eighteenth-century France, suggesting a powerful critique of a restrictive and decaying monarchy and giving the tale a particular pointedness in light of the revolutionary events that would soon follow. While much has been left out, *Dangerous Liaisons* does offer a striking visual characterization of the frustration and corruption of political impulses at the pinnacle of eighteenth-century French society.

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1900 [Novecento]. Produced by Alberto Grimaldi; directed by Bernardo Bertolucci. 1976; color; 243 minutes. Distributor: Films Incorporated. Video: Paramount Home Video.

Bernardo Bertolucci's *1900* presents a sweeping political epic covering Italian history from the dawn of the twentieth century to the Liberation in 1945. Set in the Po Valley near Parma, the movie follows the stories of Alfredo Berlinghieri, the son of a rich landowner, and Olmo Dalco, a bastard child whose extended family toils on the Berlinghieri estate, both born on the same day at the turn of the century. Bound by a close childhood friendship but separated by the social chasm between landless peasants and well-to-do, landed proprietors, Olmo and Alfredo follow opposite destinies during the turbulent interwar and war years. Alfredo, who takes over as *padrone* of the family estate in the 1920s, lacks the courage to offer more than a timid, cowardly opposition to fascism (for instance, not intervening when on his wedding day the Black Shirts beat up his friend Olmo), while Olmo emerges as a leader during the agricultural strikes of the early 1920s. Olmo later directs the local communist resistance against the fascists, "liberates" the Berlinghieri estate, and brings Alfredo, his friend and

padrone, before a people's trial. Bertolucci ends *1900* by implicitly criticizing the communists for turning in their weapons, failing to expropriate Alfredo and other large landholders, and passing up the opportunity to seize power in May 1945.

From its first European showing (at the 1976 Cannes Film Festival), *1900*, over three years and 8 million dollars in the making, has met with considerable controversy. The film (originally five-and-a-half hours long and later cut to just over four hours for the American market—the version reviewed here) pleased neither the Italian communists, who objected to its analysis of the opposition to fascism and its criticism of their policies in 1945, nor critics on this side of the Atlantic, who disliked *1900*'s Manichean, Marxist vision of the world and labeled it as nothing more than “sadly outdated agitprop.” In retrospect, however, *1900* is more than a purely political saga, pitting poor, landless peasants against agricultural barons and suggesting that the countryside's unequal social structure has remained largely identical through a half-century of war, fascism, and liberation. But, even as politics, *1900* has much to offer. Of all the Italian “peasant” films produced in the 1970s (for instance, the Taviani brothers' *Padre Padrone* [1977]), *1900* is perhaps the one that most consciously proposes a historical and political interpretation of the peasantry's place in Italian society. Bertolucci's intention is clearly to act upon history, but in the end his ideological vision tells us as much about him and his generation as it does about the past.

Bertolucci's wide-ranging social and political tale allows him to address themes dear to his heart and to discuss the rise of fascism in one of its future bastions. The opening frame, which focuses at length on Pellizza da Volpedo's famous “social painting” (to use Pellizza's own words) of rural workers, *The Fourth Estate* (1898–1902), sets the tone for the director's down-to-earth depiction of the Emilian peasantry in the early twentieth century. The poor, landless peasants, exploited by their masters, embody values of social justice, solidarity, and class consciousness, which Bertolucci at times romanticizes. The peasants, led by Olmo, are everything the upper classes are not: hard-working, productive, attached to family values, and committed to egalitarianism. (“If it's yours,” Olmo's father tells his son, “then it belongs to all of us.”) The film convincingly portrays the bitter agricultural strikes that shook the northern Italian countryside both before (1908) and after World War I (1919–1920). Bertolucci excels at showing how social conflict evolved in the midst of war, changing economic circumstances, and a new generation of increasingly militant landholders—and he does this without forgetting that behind immediate social demands lies the eternal problem of land hunger. *1900* offers a compelling interpretation of why landowners turned to fascism and organized to combat socialist agricultural trade unions in the postwar years, and it poignantly conveys the unpreparedness and profound demoralization of rural socialists in the face of the first fascist punitive expeditions.

As a work of historical fiction, *1900* has much to teach us about the recent Italian past. The complex, ambiguous, though always credible, friendship between the young landowner and the bastard peasant turned socialist organizer gives the film dramatic substance and distinguishes *1900* from a documentary or even a socialist realist film. The main characters have a breadth and depth not usually found in historical works, allowing Bertolucci to discuss issues often left unexplored. For instance, the companionship between the *padrone* and his peasant (as Alfredo once reminds Olmo) illuminates the tensions inevitable in such a relationship while underlining the gulf that separates social groups. The film is best, however, in its portrayal of the upper classes and of three generations of landowners: the benevolent grandfather who views the breakdown of the old system with nostalgia and believes that masters and peasants are “all born equal”; his son, Giovanni, tough, uncompromising, and downright cruel toward the peasants who work his estate; and the grandson, Alfredo, who leaves his dilettantish youth behind when he becomes the *padrone*, dislikes the fascists but lacks the backbone to oppose them even on his own farm—this at the cost of losing the esteem of both his wife (who takes refuge in alcoholism and accuses him of being worse than the fascists) and his childhood friend. Through a series of finely crafted upper-class characters, *1900* offers penetrating insights on differing responses to fascism

among the affluent. Alongside wholehearted supporters of the new movement, Bertolucci characterizes those who oppose it altogether and those, such as Alfredo's wife, who, revolted by the fascists, only want to flee as far away as possible.

1900's strengths are accompanied by disturbing weaknesses, however. The fascists, for example, reach power thanks to the ruling class and the collusion of the military but without (or so it seems) any grass-roots support. The political views of Bertolucci's faceless peasants remain identical through wars, strikes, and fascist repression. And 1900 does not entirely succeed in re-creating the ideology of an epoch. It sheds much light on one special peasant (Olmo) but little on the others, who are, in contrast to the upper classes, treated as one large, undifferentiated mass. As a result, Bertolucci's attempt to chronicle the peasantry's growing political consciousness is rarely convincing; his peasants seem frozen in time. Finally, it is troubling that Bertolucci gives us a deliberately unbalanced rendition of the main representative of fascism, Attila, the overseer of the Berlinghieri estate. Granted, Attila does on occasion use anticapitalist and antisocialist rhetoric, but he also squashes cats with his head, rapes and murders little boys, and spikes poor widows atop wrought-iron fences. Bertolucci's point is clear, but it comes at the expense of a multilayered explanation of fascism's appeal that would rely on more than clichéd explanations of material envy, sadistic violence, and sexual frustration.

Ironically, 1900, largely concerned with peasants, tells us less about their world view than it does about the *mentalités* of the well-to-do. This family saga from below is most illuminating from above.

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Repentance [Monanieba]. Produced by Gruziafilm; directed by Tengiz Abuladze. 1984 [released 1986]; color; 151 minutes. Georgian with English subtitles. Distributor: Cannon Group. Video: Media Home Entertainment.

If a single film were chosen to symbolize *glasnost* in cinema, that film would surely be Tengiz Abuladze's *Repentance*. Made for Georgian television in the "period of stagnation" before Mikhail Gorbachev, *Repentance* was released in the USSR as a feature film in 1986, to the startled acclamation of the Soviet intelligentsia. Although there have been other fine Soviet films about the Stalinist past, none has evoked more comment and controversy within the Soviet Union than *Repentance*. It has offered both epiphany and catharsis for the generation that survived Stalinism and for the generations struggling with the Stalinist legacy.

Repentance reached the West in 1987, garnering a prize at the Cannes Film Festival that year. Its dense symbolism, stylized acting, musical counterpoint, saturated colors, complex narrative, and moral message have been the subjects of numerous analyses, and most critics and scholars have judged it a cinematic masterpiece of considerable originality. *Repentance* is and will remain an artifact of exceptional importance for all who seek to understand the USSR of the 1980s.

Repentance has a history, but is the film itself "history"? In other words, what can it tell us about the 1930s? *Repentance* obviously represents life under Stalin, and Soviets immediately identify the central character, Varlam Aravidze, as Lavrenty Beria, the Georgian party boss who presided over the Terror in the Transcaucasus, becoming head of the NKVD at the end of 1938. Nonetheless, film as a medium is poorly suited to presenting factual information under the best of circumstances, and *Repentance* is not a "historical" film in the typical sense, being neither costume drama nor "docudrama." Evaluating the film as a historical work becomes even more problematic because of its defiantly fanciful detail. We

know, for example, that the NKVD did not dress in knightly armor for their nocturnal calls, as they do in this film; we strongly suspect that few Georgian artists' wives wore scarlet satin like Nino Barateli.

How can anyone claim that a surrealistic film like *Repentance* is "history"? Certainly *Repentance* cannot replace scholarly monographs or survivors' memoirs as sources of factual information about the 1930s. But neither can any book, whether professional "history" or eyewitness account, replace *Repentance* as a history of the Terror and Stalinism. I can think of no other single work about the period that raises as many fundamental historical questions—or that so forthrightly challenges us to come to terms with the meaning of history.

Repentance is a tour de force of cinematic surrealism sustained through *mise-en-scène*, music, dialogue, and plot. For this brief review, I have chosen to focus on the narrative, because it is here that Abuladze's extraordinary understanding of the Stalinist past is most clearly demonstrated. Each scene carries equal weight, so the sequence of events becomes of fundamental importance in evaluating the film as history.

Repentance consists of a "story within a story," a narrative convention that is far from conventional in Abuladze's treatment and exceptionally suited to the film's preoccupation with history. Unless already familiar with the film's plot, the typical Western viewer probably would not recognize that *Repentance* is about Stalinism until the flashback begins. But Soviet audiences (accustomed to the Aesopian language of the Soviet arts) know it from the opening scene, as soon as Varlam is eulogized at his funeral as a "modest man" with a talent for "turning a foe into a friend and vice versa."

The Aravidze family has a peculiar problem: Varlam's corpse will not remain buried and keeps reappearing in their garden. After it has been unearthed and reburied several times, the miscreant—a middle-aged woman named Ketī Barateli—is caught in the act and brought to "justice." Her testimony at the trial ("I was eight years old . . .") ends the first part of the framing narrative and opens the flashback.

Viewers then see a much younger Varlam, sporting a Hitlerian mustache and a fascist uniform, standing on a balcony watching a parade in his honor. The child Ketī looks on until her father, Sandro, forces her inside, a small action that does not escape Varlam's attention. Sandro, an artist, is probably doomed from this moment, but Abuladze nonetheless takes pains to portray him as a man not only out of touch with his times but also concerned with the preservation of the past. Sandro next appears in the company of two elderly "blue-bloods" protesting the sacrifice of their "crumbling church," which has been turned into a laboratory. Varlam listens courteously and explains "reality" to them but promises to investigate. To Sandro's complete shock, this "investigation" leads to the arrest of the old couple.

Varlam (accompanied by his young son Abel and his dim-witted henchman Doksopulo) then visits the antique-filled Barateli apartment. A cultured and sensitive man, Varlam admires the art, recites a Shakespearian sonnet, and sings an aria before jumping out the window and riding away on his horse. Knights in full armor soon arrest Sandro as a "pseudo artist," "hooligan," and "anarchist." They strip the apartment of the paintings Varlam had admired. When Sandro's friend Mikhail Korisheli (apparently the party secretary and certainly a "true believer") protests, Varlam replies that, by arresting his "cousin" Sandro, he is "fulfilling the will of the people."

Sandro's wife Nino is desperate. In successive scenes of harsh realism and relentless emotional intensity that sharply contrast with the film's prevailing surrealism, Nino visits first the prison (vainly hoping to learn Sandro's fate), then Varlam (whom she begs on her knees to save Sandro). Finally, in the movie's most powerful and heartrending scene, she and Ketī head for the railroad yard. They have heard that deportees sometimes carve their names and destinations on the logs deposited at the yard, and they slog through the mud trying to find Sandro's name. Nothing.

Sandro in the meantime is being interrogated in a summer garden, by a man dressed in a tuxedo and playing a white grand piano. The investigator tells Sandro that his friend

Korisheli has also been arrested. Korisheli has confessed and implicated Sandro in a 2,700-man conspiracy to dig a tunnel from Bombay to London. Korisheli, gray and drawn, appears; he urges Sandro to name 1,000 names, to "reduce it all to a complete absurdity" so that the "malefactors misleading the government" will be unmasked.

Repentance's surrealism intensifies in a number of short, climactic scenes. Varlam announces in a speech that "four of every three people are enemies." The historic church is dynamited. Sandro confesses and is sentenced—to dangle over a pit. Nino is arrested by the knights, who greet her with the incantation "Peace unto this house"—and Ketí is alone. The flashback has ended, and action resumes in the courtroom.

The judges are annoyed by Ketí's testimony because they find her past irrelevant to the question at hand: is she or is she not insane? She *must* be insane, since she continues to insist that if she is set free, Varlam will not be buried. As the lawyers and judges and Varlam's friends and family, completely unaffected by Ketí's heartbreaking story, wrangle over the outcome of the trial, one person is in a "state of shock." Varlam's teen-age grandson Tornike cannot come to terms with "such a past." Desperate to understand what happened, Tornike goes to his father Abel, who only tells him "those were complicated times." Tornike next visits Ketí in jail; although she absolves him as a "poor innocent," he is not comforted. While his parents celebrate their victory over Ketí, Tornike kills himself with the shotgun Varlam gave him. The anguished Abel throws Varlam's corpse off a cliff.

I tell my students that style is rarely a matter of concern in the historical analysis of a film. *Repentance* is that rare exception. One learns *nothing* factual from it—and *everything* that matters about the Stalin period. By deliberately eschewing facts, Abuladze has precisely captured an era when truth meant less than nothing. The film's surrealism is perfectly suited to its subject. There never was a time more horrifyingly unreal than Stalin's, and Abuladze has distilled everything I know about the Terror into a film of chilling accuracy. Every twist and turn of the bizarre plot is agonizingly familiar to those who lived through those times and to those who presume to "know" them through years of study. Every detail of setting and dialogue is absolutely impossible yet, in this context, absolutely right. Perhaps no one was executed for digging a tunnel from Bombay to London; perhaps . . . *Repentance's* flashback is a superb re-creation of a specifically Soviet past.

But, as my synopsis of the plot should indicate, Abuladze intends to do more than re-create the past in this film. *Repentance* also poses serious questions about the meaning of history and our responsibility to the past. The key to Abuladze's concept of history can be found in the framing story. The adult Ketí is clearly Abuladze's surrogate as the film's historian. Her determination to remember and to tell her story keeps the past alive, as does her obstinate refusal to allow the past (Varlam) to be buried.

This point becomes obscured in the second half of the framing story, as the film is overwhelmed by unbridled religious symbolism and by Tornike's troublingly melodramatic suicide. Abuladze seems in the end to have abandoned history to focus on moral issues. The puzzle is this: why does Tornike feel he must atone, and for whose crimes? The suicide suggests that Abuladze believes in collective guilt and in the inheritability of guilt, both of which are fundamentally unhistorical concepts. Despite Varlam's disclaimers that he was Sandro's "victim," the viewer can easily agree that Varlam is responsible for his actions. Yet why does Tornike blame his father Abel, who was only a child at the time of the events in the flashback?

The answer lies in Abel's attitude toward the past. Abel is Ketí's antithesis, counterhistorian to her historian. Abel takes some pains to conceal that he too is a witness, so the viewer is as surprised as Tornike to learn in the flashback that Abel and Ketí know each other. Abel's silence about the past is worse than a lie. Falsification of the past at least acknowledges its power, but silence is its ultimate repudiation. Through his silence, Abel has become Varlam's accomplice after the fact; he has abrogated his duty to be a historian. This is why Tornike cannot live with "such a past." This is why Abel, who at last understands, unearths Varlam. The past must not be buried.

Stephen Cohen began *Rethinking the Soviet Experience* (1985) with an epigraph from William Faulkner: "The past is never dead. It's not even past." Abuladze has rethought the Soviet past in *Repentance*—and has come to the same conclusion.

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Weapons of the Spirit. Produced and directed by Pierre Sauvage. 1989; color; 90 minutes. Distributor: First Run Features.

This documentary tells an extraordinary story about the ordinary people of Le Chambon. Its events do not appear in standard historical works on the Holocaust. Even in Marrus and Paxton's *Vichy France and the Jews* (1981), they receive less than a page. Philip Hallie's *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* (1979) focuses on Le Chambon, but his approach tends to be idiosyncratic and theological rather than historical and psychological.

Director Pierre Sauvage takes us to Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, a tiny village in south-central France, thirty-seven miles from St-Etienne. During the period of the Nazi occupation of France, Le Chambon became a safety zone for both foreign and French-born Jews; it is estimated that five thousand Jews were protected, sheltered, and hidden by the approximately five thousand inhabitants of the surrounding area. While the Nazi Holocaust escalated in France, Central Europe, and Eastern Europe, the citizens of Le Chambon refused to name names, defiantly opposed all anti-Jewish policies, and valiantly resisted the Judeocide. Such active resistance was dangerous. In France, it was a time of indifference, betrayal, denunciation, and anti-Semitic excess, partly legitimized by the Nazi occupation, partly reflecting a deep thread of anti-Jewish and xenophobic sentiment in modern French history. Both the French police and the government handed Jews over to the Nazis long before they were pressured to do so. Of the 350,000 Jews living in France in 1940, 75,000 perished to Nazi genocide; many of the Jews rounded up in France went to their deaths in Auschwitz.

While statistics are cold and difficult to grasp, the film is warm, compassionate, and sensitive, avoiding sentimentality in its searching examination of resistance and its motivation. Sauvage explores historical and psychological themes while engaging in an intensely autobiographical drama. A "Jewish baby" born in Le Chambon on March 25, 1944, Sauvage infuses the film with artistic and historical tensions that echo his own poignant search for his roots, his quest for his ethnic and human identity, his preoccupation with how he and his family survived the Final Solution. The director's wish to celebrate the meaning of Le Chambon becomes particularly evident in a scene in which he interviews a pro-Vichyite Minister for Youth. Sauvage asks the minister some pointed questions about the origins and consequences of Vichy's anti-Jewish policies. He replies that he did not know the fate of 20,000 Jewish deportees, adding, "Some of my best friends are Jews." The activities of the citizens of Le Chambon stand in sharp contrast to this empty and shallow speech.

Sauvage pursues a number of hypotheses to explain the decency of the Chambonnais. To begin with, the village was predominantly Huguenot; the plain and conscientious Huguenots had a vivid memory of centuries of political and religious oppression in France, dating back to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Recalling their own struggle to keep their faith and dignity intact, they resonated to the life and death dilemmas of the Jewish population. Reared on the Bible, dedicated to fundamental ethical precepts like caring for their neighbors, these villagers were ready to render help, even when it meant placing themselves in grave danger. To aid those in trouble was considered a customary, everyday event; it did not require elaborate theorizing or moral justification.

Since members of the Catholic minority in Le Chambon also rescued Jews, one cannot

account for this episode solely in terms of Protestant religious ideology and practice. There was also a significant tradition of pacifism, conscientious objection, and militant internationalism in the town—a tradition perhaps inspired by the diffusion of Gandhian ideas in French Protestant milieus in the late 1920s and through the 1930s. The town had two centers of pacifist resistance: a school with a distinctly nonviolent curriculum, which fostered a climate of study and political solidarity, and a man, Pastor André Trocmé, a Christian pacifist who organized opposition to the state. Trocmé preached pacifism at the outbreak of World War II; he subsequently called for non-obedience to Marshal Pétain and active forms of nonviolent resistance to the Germans. Though attributing “influence” to the pastor, Sauvage argues that the “conspiracy of goodness” occurred in Le Chambon spontaneously, naturally, without coherent leadership, reflecting a broad community consensus.

Ultimately, the film raises a profound if insoluble question, namely, how to account for the decency of Le Chambon in an era dominated by the implementation of the Final Solution. We are moved by these generous acts, particularly by the villagers’ apparently unheroic, unself-conscious, unselfish ability to render service to the Jewish victims. Can individual and communitarian altruism be explained, historically and psychologically?

In watching the succession of interviews with the surviving villagers and peasants forty years after the events, the viewer is disarmed by the simplicity of faces, of dress, of personal presentation; these proud people remain reserved and self-contained, eager to behave in ways that are not shameful. Permitting himself a bit of license at the end of his film, Sauvage wonders if Le Chambon’s refusal to collaborate actively in atrocities can be generalized to an attitude toward life that others could emulate. But Le Chambon was unique; most other communities, including Protestant communities, did not rescue Jews. During the massive trauma of the Holocaust, Le Chambon remained a significant but unusual island of peace. Goodness and decency may be beyond historical and psychological understanding, possibly because sustained acts of sympathy and solidarity are so exceptional. It would be relatively facile to analyze the dynamics of decency by seeing it as psychopathology, to attribute acts of goodness to rescue fantasies, to identification with kind parents or caretakers, the need to be needed, or the rechanneling of hostile or aggressive urges into their opposites. But that would be cynical. And probably unjustifiable. We need more research to explicate goodness, to move us from memory to more reliable forms of knowledge. Samuel P. Oliner’s book *The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe* (1988) is a step in the right direction.

Sauvage’s attitude of gratitude and astonishment toward the village carries its own rewards, for this is a strong film that evokes powerful emotions and compels the viewer to ask puzzling questions. Sauvage agrees with Albert Camus, who, perhaps not accidentally, lived in Le Chambon from 1942 to 1943 while writing *The Plague*. Its heroes, like the villagers of Le Chambon, are plain-spoken and quietly courageous; they possess an uncanny knack for grasping the basic issues: “The essential thing was to save the greatest number of persons from dying and being doomed to unending separation, and to do this there was only one resource: to fight the plague. There was nothing admirable about this attitude; it was merely logical” (Albert Camus, *The Plague*, trans. Stuart Gilbert [New York, 1948], part 2, p. 122). The director clearly understands the same logic; the logic of the struggle against plague microbes, within and without, animating the resistance of the people of Le Chambon to the Nazis.

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From the Pole to the Equator. Produced and directed by Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi. 1986; color; 96 minutes. U.S. distributor: Museum of Modern Art.

This is a powerful, wordless work that radically but elegantly stretches the parameters of film. A brilliant reworking of the old silent footage of a pioneering filmmaker of travelogues, this film focuses wholly on moving images of the past, eschewing narration, titles, words in any form. Even sound is limited to a minimalist musical background that assiduously avoids commenting on events on the screen.

The film confronts us with images of the early twentieth century produced by Italian filmmaker Luca Comerio, who, from the 1890s until after World War I, specialized in filming the exotic "other," whether native peoples or animals. Filmmakers Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi acquired the archives of this quintessentially "Western" director and created a new film out of Comerio's documentaries and unused footage. With no pretense at objectivity, Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi relentlessly reveal and critique Comerio's consciousness. As a result, viewers are presented with Comerio's images and the implicit views that shaped them. By its simultaneous concern for the historical observer, the visual, and the past, the film pushes viewers to reexamine the processes of filmmaking and the ways they form the images we see.

The filmmakers also question the role of narrative in films—the need to tell a conventional story. Their interest in alternatives to narration is established at the film's beginning, with slowed-down footage shot from a train rolling through mountains, presumably the Alps. This tracked motion creates both a mood of movement and discovery and a rhythm of time. The next sequence switches to sportsmen hunting polar bears from a ship in the Arctic. A small story develops of a mother bear attempting to defend her cub in the water as the ship, bullets, and the camera pursue them. The sequence ends with a bloody but still living polar bear hauled from the water like some crucified martyr. Whether it is the mother or not we cannot know, but the reversal of the viewer's identification from Comerio's intention—that is, from hunter to victim—is unequivocal.

Sandwiched between the persecution of polar bears and the final long sequence on World War I, *From the Pole to the Equator* whips around what seems to be primarily Africa and Asia with a bewildering array of fascinating footage. Cossacks, China, India, Southeast Asia, big game hunters, and various parts of Africa are all displayed to us and for us. As organized here, Comerio's footage suggests themes of domination, whether it is the slaughter of game or the performances of natives for Westerners and a camera. The film is sprinkled with staged events that make clear the type of stories Comerio wanted to communicate or believed his audiences wanted to see. Most intriguing is an awkwardly staged skirmish in a village square, possibly in Eritrea. With the camera stationed in such an exposed position that the fighting cannot be real, Eritreans run about brandishing spears and being appropriately fierce while a white man stands in the middle and calmly fires his rifle. As if this sequence were not sufficiently bizarre, Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi follow it with a scene in the same square, shot from virtually the same angle but focusing on a passing caravan of exotic animals.

The viewer not only watches staged events but notices that those being filmed are often amused or intrigued by the process. By observing Comerio observing others and being observed himself, Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi make the process of observation transparent. They deconstruct Comerio's footage and reconstruct his vision in ways he would never have dreamed in order to present their vision of him. Now aware of the observer question, it is natural for us to wonder who might someday re-edit *From the Pole to the Equator*.

Re-editing Comerio's footage is an act of appropriation, a reshaping of the work of another consciousness that breaks apart the usually unquestioned processes of creating films. The typically smooth products of filmmaking avoid any but the most arch hints of reflexivity. The rare work that revels in reflexivity, that trumpets its subjectivity, refreshes our

appreciation of the potential of the medium. Making Comerio's vision pivotal adds a historical dimension to the film and raises questions about the nature of film and its role in the creation of a sense of other.

This self-reflexivity is only increased by Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi's bold decision to create a work without language. Images here have the primacy one might expect but rarely sees in a reputedly visual medium. Film is, in reality, a mixed medium that requires the union of such processes as cinematography, sound and film editing, and writing. Stripping away most of the sound allows the viewer to perceive its intrusive quality and, in particular, the way that words direct us in most films while images are relegated to illustrative or subliminal roles. Historians should notice the extent to which films and documentaries about history (including many excellent ones) are awash in words: oral history, narration, songs, dialogue. As we begin to come to grips with the significance of the photograph, the need to assess the meaning of moving images looms before us.

By avoiding words and most sound, *From the Pole to the Equator* pushes us to develop our own interpretations of these old images. The filmmakers' unorthodox strategies force us to watch carefully and think visually. Since Gianikian and Ricci Lucchi have no desire to make a documentary, they feel free to rearrange Comerio's footage dramatically. Much of their film is run at slower than standard speeds, which subverts passive watching. By tinting the old footage in bright colors that sometimes flow in waves, they remind us we are watching not reality but only images. Even more dramatically, portions of the film documenting World War I are on negative reversal film, an eerily beautiful effect that refocuses our eyes.

The directors further heighten the viewer's concentration on the visual by eschewing standard structural strategies. Avoiding dazzling montages, the filmmakers sometimes simply group related shots, leaving the viewers to create their own stories or meanings. In the absence of narration, we are often unsure of where the footage was shot or, indeed, what is going on. Thus we are forced to infer or to guess from what we see; in the process, we may give up trying to create conventional stories and focus on affect or subtle visual clues. This freedom can be exhilarating, as sensibilities we have ignored or repressed are loosed.

The visual focus of *From the Pole to the Equator* is sharpened still further by its reliance on images of the past. As we watch the footage, we know that all this is gone; that these people are almost surely dead; that the shots are a tenuous link to a moment of human existence. Despite all the mediations, in some way the images are experienced as real. Just as we believe a mirror, just as we place an almost totemic value on certain photographs that connect us to moments and people in the past, we invest moving images with the emotional gravity of "real" images. Their psychological power must be considered in future assessments of the significance and role of moving images for historians.

Daniel Sipe

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LATIN AMERICA

Azul. Produced and directed by Roland Legiardi-Laura.
1988; color; 103 minutes. Spanish with English subtitles.
Distributor of film and video: Roland Legiardi-Laura, 295
East 8th Street, New York, N.Y. 10009.

"Strange whim of the people! They demand their history from the hand of the poet and not from the hand of the historian. They demand not a faithful report of bare facts, but those facts dissolved back into the original poetry whence they came."

Heinrich Heine's acute observation on the difference between what "people" and

historians look for in accounts of the past is no doubt as pertinent today as when he expressed it in the middle of the nineteenth century. For most academic historians in the developed world, poetry has little to do with history—whether by “history” we mean the social and political acts that change the world or the construction of discourses about the past. Cutting against the grain, *Azul*, a lovely, lyrical documentary film, incorporates poetry into history, opening up alternative ways of thinking about historical representation and counteracting the propaganda of U.S. politicians who maintain that Nicaragua constitutes a “threat” to democracy in the Western hemisphere.

The main goal of Roland Legiardi-Laura’s film is to present Nicaragua as a singularly endowed country of poets. He does so by utilizing the form of “direct cinema”; in place of the omniscient narrator of “classical” documentaries, *Azul* is constructed through interviews with a wide range of Nicaraguan poets and selected passages from poems, edited together with contemporary “cut-aways” of landscapes and city scenes, as well as some archival footage and photographs. As the film unfolds, it reveals that almost everyone in that country writes poetry, from internationally recognized artists like the cultural minister, Ernesto Cardenal, and political leaders such as the minister of interior, Tomás Borge, to semiliterate *campesinas* and soldiers fighting in the mountains against the *contras*.

In *Azul*, poetry is posited as the essence of Nicaragua’s being and pivotal to its political development—a crucial formulation, given the importance of history in forging the national identity of societies in the process of decolonization. This relationship of poetry, history, and identity is made explicit early on in a conversation between Cardenal and José Coronel Urtecho. Cardenal describes the most famous of Nicaraguan poets, Rubén Darío (1867–1916)—one of whose works provides the title for the film—as the creator of today’s national culture. Coronel agrees: “He makes us aware of what it means to be Nicaraguan. Because of him, we can say ‘Nicaragua is beautiful,’ just as negroes say ‘Black is beautiful.’” But Darío’s role is not limited to that of the arts, for Coronel and Cardenal assign him a political mission as well; not only is he seen to be the co-creator of Nicaragua together with Augusto César Sandino (1895–1934), but they take it an unnecessary step further: “there would have been no Sandino without Darío.” This is a curious notion, given Darío’s “apolitical,” aristocratic, and French-inspired concept of poets as “towers of God,” standing above and apart from the world.

This view of poets as the makers of history and forgers of national identity is vital to the film’s argument, however, for it is later reiterated through the figure of Leonel Rugama. A twenty-year-old poet who was involved in the underground struggle against the dictator Anastasio Somoza, Rugama in 1970 was surrounded in a house by three hundred soldiers with tanks. Facing certain death, and called upon to surrender, he chose instead to become a martyr to the Sandinista cause, shouting what has become a national slogan, “Let your mother surrender,” as tanks leveled the house. This skirmish, a text informs the viewer, was recorded by Somoza’s television crews. The writer, Omar Cabezas—who reads Rugama’s moving poem, “The Earth Is a Satellite of the Moon”—asserts that the death of Rugama radicalized Nicaraguan intellectuals.

The concept is exciting and exhilarating: a revolution in which poets are among the main protagonists. But, instead of that vital footage shot by Somoza’s television, which could inform us about that battle and the uses of mass media under the dictatorship—or, at the very least, provide some sense of what it was like to be there—film is shown of street fighting some nine years later. It is the great weakness of this movie as historical cinema that what little archival graphic material the audience is offered is either anachronistic or purely illustrative. Although *Azul* does offer an interesting critique of Hollywood’s cinematic practices, using scenes evidently shot during the filming of the movie *Walker*, it commits essentially the same sins of failing to respect the integrity and reality of the past.

If this work’s historical discourse is perhaps suspect, history—in the sense of the fundamental transformation of social relations—is ever present and is shown most clearly through the situation of women. Daisy Zamora grounds the film in the “fact of history,” the reality of the extraordinary changes wrought by the Sandinistas, in her remark to fellow

women poets that they are transitional: "We are the generation that has things to say that no one will ever say again." This transition is underlined by other testimonies: the *campesina* who made up poems in her head but was unable to record them until she was taught to read and write by the Sandinista literacy campaign; the cultural vice-minister, Vidaluz Meneses, who came from a family tied to the Somoza regime and experienced the rupture between the old and the new in the highly personal termination of her relations with parents and children; the prisoner who used to beat his wife but now understands that that is no longer accepted.

These sudden conversions are a bit overstated. That the Nicaraguan revolution has made great innovations in people's lives is beyond doubt; and the example they have provided to the rest of Latin America is so threatening to U.S. rulers that they are willing to invest hundreds of millions of dollars—and the lives of those mercenaries who will risk them—to prove that such an experiment cannot work. But that the Sandinista revolution has eradicated sexism and placed poets in power belongs more to the realm of myth than history.

Unfortunately, while the form of direct cinema is very efficacious in allowing viewers to see and hear actual participants, it is not very helpful in getting beyond or behind the vision of those interviewed. Their memories become the equivalent of history, their perspectives are taken to be reality. Legiardi-Laura does try to qualify their pro-Sandinista perspective by juxtaposing them with some interviews of Nicaraguan poets in exile, but what is absent in the film is a critical dimension from *within* the revolution—something not lacking in its dynamic and pluralistic reality.

In a work obviously made for U.S. audiences, however, the director may have felt that to include such criticism would have weakened his message. After all, Nicaragua is a tiny, underdeveloped country attempting simply to survive while being bullied and besieged by the most powerful war machine on earth. In a sense, this film is like the flowers protestors put in the muzzles of soldiers' rifles during the Vietnam War; and it is hoped that it will be of as much use. A unique and aesthetically pleasing attempt to portray the past and present—although the musical score is curiously deficient, given the artfulness of the film and the wonderful music available in that culture—in the end, *Azul* is still better poetry than history.

John Mraz

Universidad Autónoma de Puebla

NORTH AMERICA

Glory. Produced by Fred Fields; directed by Edward Zwick.
1989; color; 122 minutes. Distributor: TriStar.

African-Americans, and indeed history itself, have not received a fair hearing when it comes to the Civil War. The "moonlight and magnolias" approach has been the dominant motif, as exemplified by *Birth of a Nation* and *Gone with the Wind*; perhaps not coincidentally, both are viewed by many film scholars as the apex of U.S. cinema. With *Glory*, 125 years after the fact, Hollywood finally gets this chapter in history right. Though not without flaws, this gripping drama underscores the decisive role of African-Americans in a war whose reverberations are still felt in the Constitution and does so in a manner that should inspire the viewer to pick up a history book and learn more about it.

Glory recounts the fascinating story of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry from its beginning in the winter of 1863 to the attack of July 18, 1863, against Fort Wagner, the formidable earthwork guarding the approach to Charleston. The combined naval and

military attempt to capture this city failed in 1863, as did the attack on Fort Wagner spearheaded by the 54th; the 54th absorbed almost 50 percent casualties in the assault. Killed was Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, who in *Glory* is the focal point.

His role sharply repeats the question posed by *Mississippi Burning*, *Cry Freedom*, *Hearts of Dixie*, *A Dry White Season*, *A World Apart* and the other films released lately concerning blacks and whites in the United States and South Africa. Filmmakers and producers seem to feel that such films must have a non-black in the lead role if success is to come at the box office. In *Glory*, since Shaw was an actual figure, the film is true to history. Yet this small use of fact does not speak to the larger issue of the filmmaker choosing to have the story unfold through the eyes of Shaw; because of the much-criticized, pallid acting of Matthew Broderick in this role and the misguided focus on Shaw rather than on one of the black characters played by Denzel Washington or Morgan Freeman, the power of the film is diluted.

Still, it would be churlish to deny that *Glory* is a powerful film that strips away the layers of ignorance and misinformation projected by the "moonlight and magnolias" school. The Civil War remains the war in which the most U.S. citizens lost their lives; it divided families and nation. Yet, often in the popular imagination, those who sought to overthrow the flag and government are treated as heroes, while the critical role of blacks is ignored. The raw power of *Glory* is refracted through this flawed prism of whites only, increasing its appeal to the emotions of many viewers; in the theater on the West Side of Los Angeles where I saw this film, two unusual events happened: there was noticeable sobbing throughout the film and stormy applause at the film's conclusion.

This response is understandable. Arguably, the apex of the representation of race in U.S. cinema is reached in battle scenes where black troops send white Confederates fleeing. Equally affecting but more symbolic is the scene where a charging Shaw on horseback slices with his sword watermelons perched on stakes; even one not schooled in deconstruction could readily and verily grasp the cinematic attack by whites on racial stereotypes and racism.

Glory, like other Hollywood versions of history, inevitably raises questions regarding its historical accuracy and its use of artistic license. In the film, the 54th charged southward against Fort Wagner, with the Atlantic Ocean on its left, when in actuality the attack proceeded northward. The 54th began organizing in February 1863, not three months earlier. Frederick Douglass is presented in the film as a graying senior citizen, whereas in 1863 he was in his mid-forties. Many of the characters in this film are fictional. Actually, fact in this case may be more dramatic than the story woven by producer Fred Fields, director Edward Zwick, and screenwriter Kevin Jarre. It would have been striking to focus on William Carney of New Bedford, Massachusetts, the highly decorated African-American soldier, or Eli Biddle of "the Biddles" of Philadelphia, who played a heroic role at Fort Wagner.

Even more could have been done with the Shaw character. He actually received the offer to command the 54th in a letter taken to him by his father while Shaw was encamped in Virginia with his regiment (the 2nd Massachusetts). A protracted discussion with his father ensued, then he refused; shortly thereafter, he changed his mind and accepted. In the film, however, Shaw is present at a chic Boston party when the offer is made, and he quickly accepts. Was this simple artistic license or was the richness of fact sacrificed on the altar of flashy cinema? The spirit and meaning of history may not have been mangled, but should that be the only criterion for concern?

A further worrisome use of artistic license occurs when *Glory* skimps on historical context. Contemporaneous with the Fort Wagner battle was the horrific four-day draft riot and pogrom in New York City directed at African-Americans. Certainly, Republican analysts did not fail to connect these two developments. It seems that the New York riot had significant impact on President Lincoln's thought and action on race. On the other hand, it is not altogether accurate to suggest, as the words on the screen at the film's end indicate, that the heroism at Fort Wagner inspired Congress to authorize more black regiments (this

had happened earlier). It may be difficult for a two-hour film to grapple with the subtle complexities of the past; again, perhaps all we can ask is if the basic thrust of the film has been true to history. *Glory* easily passes this test.

The applause and commendation won by actors Denzel Washington and Morgan Freeman are deserved, although this reaction stems in part from their symbolic presence as African-Americans playing a decisive role in the war. W. E. B. Du Bois was not the first but was one of the most eloquent historians to detail how black labor abandoning the slave South and joining the Union military was a turning point in the conflict. *Glory* does detail the militant black objection to being discriminated against in pay, although it could have done a better job of illuminating how the 54th fought for eighteen months before they were paid wages equal to those of white soldiers. History and art could have been served better if attention had been paid to attorney Nelson Mitchell of Charleston, who risked his practice fighting for the black soldiers captured at Fort Wagner to be classified as prisoners of war and not shot as insurrectionists or sold back into slavery.

In the context of the glory that is *Glory*, the force of its antiracist theme, these quibbles pale into insignificance. Only 125 years after the Civil War, millions in this nation finally are seeing a more complete version of its military history. *Glory* merits the plaudits it has garnered and deserves much, much more.

Gerald Horne

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Eight Men Out. Produced by Sarah Pillsbury and Midge Sanford; directed by John Sayles. 1988; color; 120 minutes. Distributor: Orion Pictures. Video Distributor: Orion Home Video.

From its opening scene, *Eight Men Out* signals its difference from recent versions of The Baseball Movie. There are no fathers playing catch with sons, as in *The Natural*, none of the offbeat sweetness of *Bull Durham* or *Field of Dreams*, and (best of all) no cornfields. Rather, director John Sayles presents us with a pointed montage of spectators at Chicago's Comiskey Park—two star-struck boys, two cynical sportswriters, and two scheming gamblers—watching the 1919 White Sox finish off their pennant-winning season. There is little ballplay in Sayles's account of the famous "fix" of the 1919 World Series by eight "Black" Sox; what there is takes place on a dry, dusty field, shot in flat, uninviting light. For this is less a movie about playing games than about watching them, paying for them, and controlling them. It is about the forces that surrounded the ballfield, like those different spectators: forces that elevated baseball into "the national pastime" and that threatened, in the 1919 series, to destroy it.

Here, baseball is played and displayed on the field of history. Indeed, *Eight Men Out* is as smart and subtle in its handling of American cultural history as any recent movie I have seen. Based on Eliot Asinof's exhaustive book, it portrays the Black Sox scandal with fairly scrupulous accuracy (albeit with some elisions to which I will return). It is wonderfully attuned to the larger contexts within which the fix and the World Series unfolded. Sayles gives us a knowing glimpse of the "sporting life" of rough male sociability and vice that brought ballplayers and gamblers together; he captures the mass cultural world of newspapers, street lore, and athletic spectacles that transformed city folk into die-hard fans and paying customers; and he vividly portrays the class conflicts that underlay baseball's growth as a commercial entertainment. Most important, Sayles's historical imagination comes through in the theme that frames his rendering of the Black Sox story. What preoccupies *Eight Men Out* is less the moral condition of its protagonists than the social construction—the making and meaning—of their actions. The movie seeks to unpack the contending interests and motives that produced the scandal and determined its trajectory; to

recover sympathetically the experiences of the anti-heroes at its center; to explore the desires, grievances, and inequities that formed and deformed their choices. The result is a poignant work of demystification: a case study in the fall of culture-heroes and a meditation on the limits (to use the jargon of historians and big-leaguers) of "free agency."

Given its subject, *Eight Men Out* could hardly avoid being anti-heroic. Yet it does more than simply debunk the romance of baseball as a boys' pastorate, a refuge of timelessness and innocence. Sayles in fact shows enormous affection for the mystique of the game, but he historicizes it, rooting it in the mass media and mass fantasies of twentieth-century urban life. This is why those pairs of sportswriters and adoring boys, whom we follow throughout the film, are so important: they are the Greek chorus of *Eight Men Out*, producers and consumers of the heroic myth Shoeless Joe Jackson and the others betrayed. The (fictive) boys in particular represent the voice of baseball's innocence; one of them gets to speak the most famous (I almost wrote "timeless") line of the story—"Say it ain't so, Joe"—to Jackson outside the Cook County Courthouse. Yet Sayles goes out of his way to place them *within* the realities of working-class street life and urban commercial culture; they earn their "two bits" for bleacher seats selling the daily papers in which their idols' legends have been fabricated. The two sportswriters, Hugh Fullerton and Ring Lardner (historical figures who helped to expose the scandal), are similarly ambiguous: disillusioned insiders who cannot quite expunge their own boyish infatuation with the game. *Eight Men Out* thus presents big-league ball as a game whose heroism has always already been commercialized, an institution that strategically promotes but then passionately consumes its own mystifications.

Unsurprisingly, then, Sayles depicts the throwing of the 1919 World Series as both a betrayal and an outgrowth of baseball's ascendance. On the one hand, the Black Sox betrayed a national rite; on the other, they simply played "hardball" in what had become by 1919 a big and fiercely contentious business. It was pecuniary conflict, pure and simple, that produced the fix: the players' revolt against White Sox owner Charles Comiskey's almost incredible parsimony. If anything, *Eight Men Out* mutes the degree to which "Commy" (ironic nickname) underpaid the best team in baseball, while profiting extravagantly from their success. The movie also mutes the larger class conflicts within professional ball that made the players' actions so predictable. "Commy's" draconian labor policies depended on legal and institutional controls—most of all, the infamous reserve rule—which gave team owners monopoly power over their players' mobility and market value. Conversely, the Black Sox's bribetaking was only the most shocking episode in forty years of player resistance that also included union drives, wildcat strikes, and intermittent collusion with gamblers. Particularly in the Chicago of 1919, scene of a bloody steel strike, it is hard not to read the throwing of the World Series as a form of labor sabotage.

Yet, as the movie makes clear, it was a poignantly self-destructive act of rebellion. The gamblers with whom the Black Sox dealt had even less solicitude than Comiskey for their well-being. With its own hierarchy of small-timers, stars, and money men—even its own "Commy" in Arnold Rothstein ("AR"), the financier and main profiteer of the fix—the gambling underworld simply constituted another form of big business: pro ball with the romance and publicity stripped away. Not surprisingly, very little of the promised cash found its way into the players' pockets; Rothstein and company merely repeated the exploitation that drove the Sox to deal with them in the first place. By the end of *Eight Men Out*, "Commy" and "AR," the legitimate and illegitimate businessmen, have converged on one another; they collude together to fix the 1921 extortion trial of the players that followed exposure of the scandal. When the Black Sox are acquitted—in part, because key evidence is removed from the state's attorney's files—the one preserves his baseball property, the other his profitable secrecy. Both remain, in Sayles's populist version of the story, parasites on the skills of those they cheat.

Against these adversaries, the Black Sox exercised what control they could muster—control that grew progressively weaker throughout the story. It is here, in tracing the effects of their choices and their powerlessness on the players themselves, that Sayles's exploration of agency is most interesting and most moving. He makes *Eight Men Out* the drama of their

shrinkage as historical actors. The process begins with the World Series itself; by the last game, with several players having second thoughts, pitcher Lefty Williams is coerced into completing the fix by a threat against his wife. Yet it is in the shift from ballfield to courtroom—where the players are pawns in an arcane struggle among Comiskey, Rothstein, the baseball establishment, and the state—that the movie best portrays their diminishment. The legal scenes are filled with vignettes of marginalization: an attorney's smug claim to being the Babe Ruth of the bar; the crabbed, awkward "X" with which Joe Jackson, the most masterful athlete among the Black Sox, signs his confession. Despite the verdict of innocence, the extortion trial merely prefigures the players' ultimate exclusion from the field of action: baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis defeats Comiskey by banishing them forever from the game.

It is not clear that the players were in fact quite so adrift. Judging by the original book, their collusion was more active and less ambivalent than Sayles presents it; their legal maneuvering, both during and after the trial, was more cunning and tenacious. Yet these are matters of interpretative portrayal. And Sayles's portrayal is a powerful one: it was the players' loss of agency, not their loss of innocence, which made the scandal so sad. For baseball is, above all, a game that lionizes personal agency: its narrative logic, its capacity for suspense and heroics, is rooted in discrete tests of skill and clear contests for mastery. The game's jargon underscores this celebration of the personal contest and the decisive action: "control" pitching, "power" hitting, "strikes," "hits," "steals," "runs." The Black Sox were in the 1919 World Series because, more than anyone else, they embodied the capacity for controlled interventions and masterful action—on the field. Yet, in throwing the series, that is precisely what they bargained away. They used their only source of authority against itself, placing it under the dictates of others.

Eight Men Out thus captures the pathos of a certain kind of "people's history": the spectacle of popular heroes colluding, shrewdly and foolishly, in their disfranchisement. For what the Black Sox lost was not baseball itself but the social franchise—the wages and prestige and adulation—that came with it. They lost their place in the big leagues. Sayles ends the story with a wonderful emblem of this loss: a dream-like sequence, shot in bleached, nearly monochromatic tones, in which the viewer watches Joe Jackson come to the plate one more time. As in the opening scene of the film, he cracks a triple and turns to acknowledge the cheers of the fans—a hundred or so. He is playing semipro ball under an assumed name. Ironically—and cannily—Sayles has returned us to the romance world of *The Baseball Movie* he began by subverting. He leaves us with a vision of the boy-hero as a refugee from the burdens of his past, playing on a field of dreams. Yet this is hardly an image of transcendence. Shoeless Joe is an exile. He can play ball but not as a public person, not as a means of marking his "X" on the world: not on the field of history. History goes on elsewhere, and the games are fixed.

David Scobey

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International Sweethearts of Rhythm. Produced by Jezebel Productions and Rosetta Records; directed by Greta Schiller and Andrea Weiss; co-produced by Rosetta Reitz and Rebecca Reitz. 1986; color; 30 minutes. Distributor of film and video: The Cinema Guild.

Tiny and Ruby: Hell Divin' Women. Produced by Greta Schiller and Andrea Weiss; directed by Andrea Weiss. 1988; color; 30 minutes. Distributor of film and video: The Cinema Guild.

“Our sole purpose,” said bandleader Anna Mae Winburn, “was putting across the music.” And put it across they did, if the film is any indication of the sound and the experiences of the racially mixed group of women that formed a Swing Era band called the “International Sweethearts of Rhythm.” Interestingly, while issues of race and gender pervade the film, especially in the musicians’ reminiscences, they serve more as context than the point of the production. The same is true of *Tiny and Ruby: Hell Divin’ Women*, a warm, “slice of life” documentary revolving around the forty-two-year relationship of Ernestine “Tiny” Davis (featured trumpeter of the Sweethearts) and Ruby Lucas (also known as Renee Phelan). Both films share a remarkable ability to convey the effect of racism, sexism, and homophobia on lives nonetheless filled with personal joys and triumphs.

In *International Sweethearts of Rhythm*, oral and documentary history are blended masterfully to tell the story of a band that should not be forgotten. Remarks from interviews with six former members provide the framework, illustrated by archival clippings, photos, and films, which convey the history, social milieu, and ultimate fame of the group. Underlying it all, literally and figuratively, is the music, always the music: the sound track and footage of the band in performance evoke the “International Sweethearts” more vividly than any artifact or recollection.

The Sweethearts had their beginning in a Mississippi school founded by a disciple of Booker T. Washington. Formed just prior to World War II to raise money for the school while also training students as musicians, the Sweethearts constituted the first racially integrated, all-female jazz band. Eventually, their reputation carried them to clubs and theaters in New York, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., and overseas to entertain U.S. troops. In telling the story of their rise to fame, the film effectively uses the Sweethearts’ reminiscences to re-create the racial prejudice faced by the group, from the assumption that they would play for black troops only to white saxophonist Rosalind Cron’s fears of being exposed as white while trying “everything” to pass as black. Such recollections are the heart of the film, and the matter-of-fact, even humorous, way in which they are told makes the past tangible and alive. Juxtaposed against the band’s faultless music, these incidents reflecting racism are rendered additionally absurd.

In similar fashion, the theme of sexism threads through the commentaries of the band members and their observers but is not at their center. One of the best moments is the clever placement of one (black) man’s comment that the Sweethearts “didn’t have the power” of a male band—immediately before proof to the contrary in footage of the band performing. Despite their hard work (emphasized by the women throughout) and their obvious abilities, the International Sweethearts shared the fate of many other women of the period, for whom opportunities expanded during the war and constricted at its end. This link is made both visually and aurally with scenes of women in war industries interspersed with shots of the band overseas and stories of marriage and family taking precedence for many members after the war.

Marriage, at least in the traditional sense, did not claim all the musicians, however. In 1946, one member left both Sweethearts and husband behind and began a new life in Chicago that revolved around her own all-female band, “[Ernestine] Tiny Davis and her Hell Divers,” and her eventual life partner, Ruby Lucas. *Tiny and Ruby*, called a “sequel” to

International Sweethearts of Rhythm in promotional material, does offer an in-depth look at one member's life after the Sweethearts, but it also stands on its own. Indeed, although similar techniques are used—archival film clips and stills intertwined with oral history—the overall character is different.

The contrast between the two films (not intended here as a criticism) may stem from their different purposes. *Tiny and Ruby*, taken on its own, is a superb study of a lesbian relationship over time but is not “historical” in the same sense as *Sweethearts*. It tells a story, primarily from Tiny's perspective, about her life before and after the International Sweethearts, supplemented by a periodic narrative written and spoken by poet Cheryl Clarke. One of the few former Sweethearts to continue a musical career, Tiny formed a number of bands (with Ruby as pianist and drummer), of which the Hell Divers was the first. Although Hell Divers and subsequent bands toured the Caribbean, cut records, and gained a following, one-night stands were the rule more than the exception. The difficulties of black female musicians—especially if instrumentalists rather than vocalists—are here illustrated in a typically subtle way. Likewise, gay life (in an era notorious for its condemnation of homosexuality as an “un-American activity”) is presented, through home-movie footage and almost passing mention of gay clubs and experiences, more in order to reinforce the normalcy of the women's relationship than to emphasize the problems they undoubtedly faced over time. At first, this reviewer saw such an approach as a weakness of the film. In reconsidering, though, I realized that my expectations of “horror stories” reflected a narrow but all-too-common vision of lesbian history that this film impressively rectifies.

What emerges most clearly in this personal history is the naturalness of the love and companionship between the two women. “Renei [Ruby] keeps me alive,” says Tiny at one point, and Ruby's comparatively few words in the film are spoken during tasks eliciting a comfortable domesticity—cooking, doing dishes, watering plants. The sense of timelessness that their bond evokes may cause some viewers to see the work less as “history on film” than a sociological case study, but, once one accepts the validity of the genre, this emerges as an outstanding example.

In sum, each film is excellent in its own way. Like all histories, the narratives are shaped by the questions as well as the responses, and specific images of the past are produced by selective organization and editing. In resisting the temptation to insert commentary or polemic, the filmmakers achieve a nice balance between their own agendas and their attempt to recapture the past. The results begin to fill in important gaps in our collective memory, and the two films serve as powerful testaments to survival and affirmation in the face of prejudice and oppression.

Vicki L. Eaklor

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Who Killed Vincent Chin? Produced by Film News Now Foundation and WTVS-Detroit Public Television; directed by Christine Choy and Renee Tajima. 1988; color; 82 minutes. Distributor: Film News Now Foundation, 350 Broadway, Suite 1207, New York, N.Y. 10013.

The *Rashomon* structure and metaphoric, minimalist approach that filmmakers Christine Choy and Renee Tajima chose for *Who Killed Vincent Chin?* were intended to introduce interpretive complexity and active audience reception to a film whose title question is purely an ironic one. Rather than adopt the traditional NBC “white paper” approach that would analyze the case from the distance of objectivity that a public television editor sought to

impose, Choy and Tajima opted for "a central, parallel structure, cutting back and forth between two points of view" (Burl Brulingame, "Filmmakers Searched for Who Killed Vincent Chin," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 2, 1988, B1).

The cause of Vincent Chin's death is not contested. One June night in 1982, Chin, a Chinese-American engineer celebrating the final days of his bachelorhood at a Detroit topless bar called the "Fancy Pants," quarreled with a fellow customer, Chrysler Corporation foreman Ronald Ebens. The auto worker and his stepson Michael Nitz pursued Chin afterward to a nearby McDonald's restaurant, where Nitz restrained Chin while Ebens clubbed Chin to death with a baseball bat. Eyewitness accounts and Ebens's confession corroborate the facts of the case. What remains contested is ultimate moral responsibility for the killing.

When Tajima and Choy initially read a one-paragraph story in *The New York Times* about the case, they set out "to do a 15-minute advocacy piece that would raise awareness about anti-Asian feelings." The killing appeared to have been racially motivated, with Ebens allegedly having mistaken Chin for a Japanese-American and blamed him for unemployment in the Detroit auto industry. However, a field trip to Detroit and perusal of the state trial transcript led to a decision to function as Asian-American filmmakers rather than as Asian-American activists and to explore the dynamics of the cultures that produced Ebens and Chin. Choy views the film as an exercise in deconstructing prevalent stereotypes, including "the image of the Asian as either a noble victim or noble savage" (David A. Kaplan, "Film about a Fatal Beating Examines a Community," *New York Times*, July 16, 1989, sect.2, p. 32).

The documentary film that Choy and Tajima have created is rich, complex, and evocative; it weaves together interviews, location shots, news and television clips, still photographs, and the music of Motown and the Chinese-American community. Its exploration of causality is wide ranging, as it implicates industrial alienation, the failure to acculturate rural youth, Detroit's sagging automobile economy, as well as racism, in Chin's tragic death.

While *Who Killed Vincent Chin?* is no simple propaganda film, the intentions of the filmmakers remain problematic. The film appears to alternate between two interpretive paradigms. The first is a neo-Marxist position that indicts industrial alienation. Ebens is portrayed as a victim of the industrial economy to which he failed to adjust. A friend spoke of the fast pace of the commercialized leisure to which assembly line workers were compelled to resort: "You lead a very fast and hard life. You work hard and play hard. Ron fitted in real good." A still photograph portrays Ebens as a Wisconsin farm boy, and he and his wife Nita admit the difficulty of his adjustment to the pressures of an industrial city such as Detroit. Ebens's success is a superficial one. Despite his rapid rise to a foremanship at Chrysler, the price for his mobility was alcoholism, and a psychiatric evaluation preliminary to trial recommended detoxification.

The second paradigm that the film presents is far more hostile to Ebens and indicts both Ebens and the American judicial system as racist. The interview with Ebens, instead of attesting to his victimization, is an example of the banality of evil. Ebens claims never to have been a racist, despite an eyewitness account that Ebens had exclaimed to Chin, "It's because of you motherfuckers that we're out of work," indicating his mistaken belief that Chin was Japanese-American. Viewers are distressed to learn that the two black off-duty patrolmen who observed the killing never were called as eyewitnesses, nor was a black stripper at the Fancy Pants. The clubbing death of Chin seems visually to echo the ritualized destruction of a Japanese car by Detroit auto workers armed with mallets. In an agreement with the district attorney, Ebens was allowed to plead guilty to a reduced charge of manslaughter, and Judge Charles Kaufman sentenced both defendants to only three years probation and a \$3,750 fine. He reasoned that, since the victim lingered for four days, the assailants had intended only to "administer a punishment." "Had it been a brutal murder," Kaufman added, "of course, these fellas would be in jail."

The *Rashomon* structure of the film, with its multiple points of view, creates parallels that

seem to link Ebens's narrative with that of Chin, but these parallels begin to dissolve as the film unfolds. Michael Nitz and Chin are both stepsons who share the *bonhomie* of the bar culture of Detroit. Ebens believes that he has mastered the bar scene, and he has greater skill with the black stripper than Chin, who manages to offend her, but neither is fully acculturated. The equation dissolves musically. The music for Ebens's narrative is the hard-driving sound of Motown, whereas the music that accompanies the narrative of Chin's barely articulate immigrant mother Lily is plaintive Chinese music performed by an adolescent girl in a pure white dress photographed from below in a worshipful manner that privileges her song. Chin's mother's grief transcends Ebens's complacency.

There are troubling elements in the film that remain underdeveloped. The film notes the media exploitation of the tragedy as Chin's mother appears on the *Phil Donahue Show*, a Japanese television crew seeks to interview Ebens at home, and Lily Chin is accompanied by Jesse Jackson at a public rally. While such publicity kept the case alive as a public issue, the film never explicates the price exacted by this notoriety. Despite being crafted by two females, the film does not examine the gender relations in the case, such as the support Nita Ebens unquestioningly provides for her husband, whose crime originated in a strip joint that regularly sold sexual services. Nor is Lily Chin's grudging toleration of her son's bachelor-night activities despite his traditional upbringing explained.

The choice of a parallel structure for the film fails to complement the other intentions of the filmmakers. Both Choy and Tajima express little sympathy for Ebens, but they wanted their film to be more than a strident indictment of him, preferring "to show the dynamics" (Kaplan, *ibid.*) of two peoples and two cultures. This binary vision adds to the power and complexity of the film but also to the viewer's confusion. It is unclear whether Ebens is a "good ol' boy" or a racist. His handsome, even features, his all-American look, his utter calm during the interview, granted after his acquittal on another charge against him, all add to Ebens's credibility. Yet viewers know that he used a racial slur against Chin and that his self-vindication has recourse to the classic denials of the racist with respect to Asian-Americans: "I'm not aware of any plight. I know very few Asians . . . and the ones that I do know have been very nice people. In fact, my daughter used to help an Asian kid at school." The film has to present Ebens's and Nitz's exit from the courthouse in slow motion to render them grotesque; they are far too normal to be the stuff that villains are made of.

In contrast, Lily Chin is grotesque from our initial encounter with her, her mouth tremulous with grief, her tale far less intelligible than Ebens's because much of it must be translated from Chinese. While her intense emotions are authentic and poignant, she is far less articulate than Ebens and becomes more articulate only as her grief is exploited by others. Michael Nitz's girlfriend complains of the case, "I think the media blew it all out of proportion." While the filmmakers would have the audience demur from her judgment, it is disconcerting to see Lily Chin's grief become a media event on the *Donahue Show* or to see Jesse Jackson expropriate it in the political interest of the Rainbow Coalition.

The parallel structure also yields a disturbing interpretive convergence that imperils the intentionality of Choy and Tajima. When Ebens tries to explain his actions as a murderer, he invokes fate: "It was just like this was foreordained to be," a remark obviously intended to exculpate him. But then Lily Chin informs us that when her son left home for the Fancy Pants on the eve of his violent death, he had promised his reproachful mother it would be the last time. "Don't say last time," Lily Chin had cautioned Vincent. "It's bad luck." Chin's clubbing death occurred only a few hours later, as if it were his tragic destiny. By presenting both Ebens and Lily Chin as invoking fate to explain Chin's death, the filmmakers raise troubling questions about intentionality and culpability. If the killing is removed from the realm of human volition, it simultaneously is removed from the realm of human responsibility and political activism to combat racism.

There also are deeply disturbing omissions. Another eyewitness was present at the scene of the crime, Chin's Chinese-American friend Jimmy Lee. He also was the victim of racial slurs, yet he does not appear on camera, and no reason is given for so blatant an omission or for the failure to interview him. When a jury exonerated Ebens and Nitz, the federal

government decided to retry them on charges of obstructing Chin's civil rights. Ebens was found guilty of that charge, then a technicality in the trial forced a retrial, and the venue was changed to Cincinnati. Since the film implies that a Cincinnati jury was unable to comprehend life in Detroit on the eve of the murder and thus failed to convict, it is strange that this puzzling change of venue is never explained.

While the film is disconcerting at times, it is refreshing in its willingness to examine honestly the commercial, industrial culture that shaped the worlds of Ronald Ebens and Vincent Chin and their tragic intersection. Despite its flaws, *Who Killed Vincent Chin?* is a compelling film whose candor and complexity are remarkable.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

SEBASTIAN DE GRAZIA. *Machiavelli in Hell*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. 497. \$39.95.

Sebastian de Grazia has provided in English a fine example of a genre typical of French and Italian popularizing scholarship, a sort of *Machiavel par lui-même*, which aims at presenting an elaborate and detailed portrait of the man, his ideas, and the themes of his works using only Machiavelli's own words. The result is a learned, enthusiastic, and partisan intellectual biography that will at once stimulate and madden the reader.

Some statistics indicate the nature and extent of de Grazia's use of Machiavelli's own words. Of the 1,470 quotations from the works, about one quarter (383) come from the *Discorsi*, and one fifth (300) derive from *Il Principe*. There are 171 quotations from the *Istorie fiorentine* and 173 from the *Lettere* (about 12 percent each), 42 from *La Mandragola*, and only 22 (less than 2 percent of the total) from the six volumes of the *Legazioni* and other early writings recently edited by Fredi Chiappelli or Sergio Bertelli. All other works, including the *Arte della Guerra* and *Vita di Castruccio Castracani*, account for the remaining 379 citations. As those figures suggest, de Grazia has relied on the famous works of the mature Machiavelli with very little reference to the early diplomatic reports that might have revealed some of the formative ideas of the Florentine secretary "in the field" before 1513.

De Grazia's traditional reliance on *Il Principe* and the *Discorsi* is reflected in the conventional theme of his book. The book is a new attempt to explicate the Machiavelli problem, to explain how Machiavelli had to justify "The Way of Evil" to rulers and the people and in so doing provide new definitions of morality and of heaven and hell. It is in that context that de Grazia's amazing intimacy with Machiavelli's works pays off. In discussing the forces of religion and patriotism in the *Discorsi*, Machiavelli's view of the realities of politics in both republics and principalities, and the dissembling of the prince, de Grazia constantly provides new insights, stimulates new thinking, and achieves his aim of placing the reader in Machiavelli's presence. This is just the sort of book a professor will want to consult before leading a class discussion of Machiavelli's works.

Maddeningly, de Grazia's concern to present Machiavelli exclusively in his own words requires him to overlook (or perhaps to suppress) any reference to contemporary scholarship. That oversight leads to some bizarre results. De Grazia blithely asserts, for example, that *Il Principe* and the *Discorsi* were both begun in 1513 (p. 23), as though the detailed research and passionate debate of Hans Baron, Gennaro Sasso, Felix Gilbert, and others on the origins of Machiavelli's ideas had never occurred. Elsewhere he defies the usual canons of scholarship, quoting from the *Libro di ricordi* of Machiavelli's father, Bernardo (p. 14), and from the text of Machiavelli's will (pp. 246–47) without citing the original source.

In short, for a sure and documented guide to the events of Machiavelli's life, one must still turn to Roberto Ridolfi's classic biography, preferably in its later Italian editions. But, as a detailed examination of Machiavelli's main ideas in context, presented in a colorful, often-colloquial style, de Grazia's work is compelling. No serious student of Machiavelli can afford not to read this book.

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JEAN-CLAUDE LAMBERTI. *Tocqueville and the Two Democracies*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 323. \$50.00.

Jean-Claude Lamberti credits to Seymour Drescher the recognition that the second part of *Democracy in America* was fundamentally different and less assured than the first. Sensitive to this distinction, Lamberti is essentially concerned to examine systematically Alexis de Tocqueville's profound conviction that nineteenth-century France and Europe were at one and the same time the fortunate heirs of the brightest promises of 1789 and equally fatally burdened by the unfree consequences of that legacy. From this perspective, France's revolutionary past, unlike the democratic experience of America, is judged by Lamberti to have presented Tocqueville with interpretive problems, paradoxes, and dilemmas attending all of his efforts to understand his own times

and the political and societal future of France and Europe.

In a sense, though without any specific reference to the myth, Lamberti sees Tocqueville as assuming the task of Sisyphus, not in terms of the problem of absurdity that Albert Camus confronted but in terms of the ambivalence of both Tocqueville and nineteenth-century Europeans in the face of antagonistic democratic and revolutionary forces. For Tocqueville, according to Lamberti, these irreconcilable options determined his responses to the great issues of freedom and equality, the separate democratic experiences of France and America, and his comprehension of revolution as a possible creator of democracy and equally as an unrestrained destroyer of democratic expectations.

Lamberti's work is distinguished by the rigor of his analysis and by his illuminating consideration of Tocqueville's thought in relation to that of his predecessors and contemporaries such as Benjamin Constant, François Guizot, Montesquieu, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Equally important is Lamberti's analysis of the place of liberalism, aristocracy, and individualism in the construction of Tocqueville's *Democracy*. In the same fashion, Lamberti's exploitation of the Yale Tocqueville Archives adds measurably to his presentation of Tocqueville's significance as sociologist, political scientist, and historian.

Historians will perhaps miss in Lamberti's work a more concrete, detailed representation of France's history in the years 1830 to 1859. None of Tocqueville's contemporaries responded with greater intensity than he did to his nation's *quotidienne* and *longue durée* crises. This passion helps to explain Tocqueville's admission that the contradictions of the French revolution and modernity not infrequently surpassed all understanding but left him nonetheless enthralled by the mystery of it all. In this posture Tocqueville eludes the net of even the best sociologists.

EDWARD T. GARGAN
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SANDER L. GILMAN. *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 320. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$13.95.

Studies of meaning embodied in images—visual, linguistic, and even musical—have had considerable impact in lessening historians' preoccupation with a restricted range of sources. Representations, however, have a protean character, creating methodological problems for historians reared in an empiricist culture that locates meaning in precise denotative statements. Sander L. Gilman's collection of essays exemplifies both the freedoms and the problems concomitant with developing representations as a historical resource. This is, therefore, a volume likely to generate strongly contradictory responses: negative concerning a lack of

rigor in evidential argument and underlying assumption; positive concerning the connectedness and rich connotations of the visual and literary vocabulary of illness.

The volume consists of thirteen essays on the depiction of illness, preceded by a sketch that provides a common interpretive framework. Nine of the thirteen essays have appeared in earlier versions (though often not in English), and all continue to develop the arguments of Gilman's previous studies of the stereotyping of madness, pathology, and Jewishness. The four new essays are indicative of Gilman's startling range of reference and allusion: a reassessment of Leonardo da Vinci's representation of homosexuality, an analysis of *fin-de-siècle* images of disease in Richard Strauss's opera *Salome*, an account (which does not depend on quite the same analysis of representation) of the twentieth-century category of schizophrenia, and a paper that compares the current portrayal of AIDS with historical images of syphilis. That range means that different readers will find different virtues and vices in different places. For example, the essay on schizophrenia is helpful as an introduction to a topic that medical historians have hardly touched. Gilman's style, however, is to sidetrack the discussion to other points rather than to analyze one point in depth. Thus, one essay, "Medical Colonialism and Disease," opens up the otherwise undiscussed question of the transmission of representations between Western and Chinese culture.

The collection as a whole simultaneously presupposes and attempts to establish the authority of two claims. Both have the most general implications for historical work and need to be considered in relation to longstanding debates. The first claim is explanatory: stereotyping and similar representations of disease over time are a consequence of a psychological need to organize and tame what is "other," and the negative experience of "otherness" grows out of the earliest and hence most general experiences. There appears here to be the basis for a general theory of the construction of categories—whether of homosexuality, madness, or AIDS—and that theory is then deployed as the base line for historical explanation. Considerable theoretical elaboration would be needed, in addition to application in diverse historical case studies, to establish the credibility of that approach. Nevertheless, in Gilman's defense, one might note the extent to which even the most empiricist and particularist of historians do in fact deploy such theoretical schemes, however hidden in the conventions of common sense, biography, and professional style. What is perhaps needed is more systematic attention to the psychosocial content of explanatory terms rather than promiscuous reference to subjective fantasy, ontological insecurity, discourses of power, and social control.

The second unifying claim is for the recurrent and continuous history of representations of illness: "our ongoing attempt to categorize (and, therefore, to distance) ourselves from those we label as different (and their response)" (p. 17). The result is sometimes a

breathless dash across the centuries, alluding to particular representations as part of a common tradition without first establishing the historical dimensions of that tradition or the particularities of context. That approach can pry open perspectives unseen by the narrowly focused historian, but it also leaves many matters for more detailed examination. Ultimately, the validity of the transhistorical approach must rest with the cogency of the first theoretical claim. But even without a firm conclusion about his unifying claims, historians will find Gilman's "heterogenous series," written "in order to make the social construction of the various images of disease more visible, and to illustrate how various levels of historical consciousness are present in a given model for disease" (p. 10), suggestive and worthy of further research.

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JANET COLAIZZI. *Homicidal Insanity, 1800–1985*. Foreword by JONAS R. RAPPEPORT. (History of American Science and Technology Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1989. Pp. x, 182. \$23.95.

Janet Colaizzi sets out "to describe how physicians have diagnosed, explained and restrained the dangerous insane" (p. 3) during the last two centuries. Her narrow focus on homicidal insanity follows from her belief that this particular condition "has remained a central social issue and conundrum for psychiatry" (p. 3) throughout the period. Her principal conclusion is that, although specialists in the diagnosis and treatment of insanity have changed nosologies and revised theoretical frameworks, they have been remarkably consistent in the objective phenomena (such as delusions, uncontrollable impulses, and lack of remorse) that they have associated with homicidal madness. Moreover, such specialists have consistently attempted to predict future dangerousness on the basis of virtually the same phenomena.

Colaizzi surveys medical literature that touches on dangerousness and the insane. She considers important American authorities as well as the European writers who shaped their thinking on insanity and shows a sound understanding in her selection of sources. She demonstrates a solid grasp of the major conclusions of such familiar experts as Benjamin Rush, Isaac Ray, Henry Maudsley, Adolf Meyer, and many more. The brevity of the book and the vast range of its subject, however, allow for little more than a cursory examination of any one authority. As a result, Colaizzi reports largely familiar conclusions and provides virtually no original insights. She offers little critical analysis and never stands apart from the sources to ask questions that the authors themselves have not already posed.

Colaizzi's survey of the medical literature has a major shortcoming. She fails to examine the legal authorities

on homicidal insanity or to grasp the context of law in which the question of homicidal insanity always appeared. The whole of the study suffers as a result. For example, never is the common law discussed. It was a fundamental rule of common law that, unless accused of a crime, no free adult could be denied liberty without evidence of danger to others or self. As a result, restraint of the mad, in theory at least, necessarily followed from a finding of danger. Colaizzi overlooks that basic premise, which was familiar to all judges and lawyers throughout the period she discusses. That premise had a subtle but profound impact on the medical authorities she surveys. Medical writers were but participants in a larger debate with legal authorities who, during the nineteenth century at least, required consideration of dangerousness. Often, then medical writers such as Ray were forced to use a language of dangerousness not because they believed it to be a by-product of nearly all insanity, as Colaizzi suggests, but because medical discourse alone would never have convinced the courts to accept their conclusions.

Medical historians more than others will find Colaizzi's sometimes jargonistic language accessible. They will likely be disappointed, however, by her survey-of-the-literature style and her lack of original insights to enlarge on the work of Norman Dain and Gerald Grob. Legal historians will be especially frustrated by Colaizzi's lack of regard for the doctrinal and procedural context of American law. Modern psychiatrists, probably Colaizzi's intended audience, may find the book disappointing, though for different reasons. One of her more astute conclusions, that "no rational method exists to this day to discriminate insanity from crime" (p. 6), offers them little encouragement.

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JUDITH M. HUGHES. *Reshaping the Psychoanalytic Domain: The Work of Melanie Klein, W. R. D. Fairbairn, and D. W. Winnicott*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 244. \$30.00.

Judith M. Hughes has written a pellucid account of psychoanalytic "object-relations" theory, often referred to as the "British school." She admirably achieves her goal of showing how this body of theory grew out of and differs from classical Freudian theory as well as how it developed from its beginnings in Melanie Klein's analyses with children. Hughes's book is based on the writings and clinical work of Klein, W. R. D. Fairbairn, and D. W. Winnicott, in the half-century between 1920 and 1970.

Although Freud did not delve deeply into "object" love—an "object" usually being a significant person or the mental representation of that person—the British school focused on children's relations with "objects." In so doing, the school's adherents eventually constructed

a theoretical approach not reliant on instinctual biological forces, as Freud's work and even Klein's had been. And, whereas Freud had given the lion's share of attention to the father, the British deemed the mother the most important external object.

Klein focused on the innate aggression she found in infantile psychosexual (libidinal) development. Although this emphasis signified the importance of nature over nurture, Klein opened the door to the preeminence of environment by viewing objects as psychologically significant from birth onward. Because all of the libidinal stages coexist from the earliest months of life, she argued, libido and object love converge well before the oedipal stage of three years, the time at which Freud began to pay significant attention to parents as real love objects. Rather than believing that the resolution of the oedipal conflict was the key to a child's psychological development, Klein considered the crucial developmental task to be management of the anxiety aroused by innate sadistic fantasies toward objects. She thus paved the way for a new school of thought with her notion of the "object-relation," which meant the child's relation not only to an external person but also to internal "loved and hated objects [which] constitute an [unconscious] inner world" (p. 60).

Fairbairn carried Klein's de-emphasis of libido theory to its logical conclusion, transforming the libido from sexual energy into "the object-seeking principle" (p. 96). Thus, for example, thumb sucking and masturbation came to signify not means of sexual pleasure primarily but signs of unsatisfactory object-relationships, that is, the child had had to turn for satisfaction to his or her own body because an object was either missing or unfulfilling. With Fairbairn, Freud's three infantile libidinal stages gave way to three stages of dependency, and the Oedipus lost center stage in favor of the infant's dependence on the mother.

Winnicott began his career as a Kleinian, stressing emotional factors arising from within the child, but he soon turned his gaze to the psychological ability of parents to tend their children. For him, "good-enough mothering" (p. 133) began in the final stages of pregnancy and culminated in a mother who was able to read her baby's signals and thus minister to its needs. Under these circumstances psychosis was "an environmental deficiency disease" (p. 135). The role of psychoanalytic therapy was to provide a "holding" environment (p. 144), simulating the reliability of a good mother, so that the patient could finally achieve a unique, separate identity.

Historians of psychoanalysis will value Hughes's study for its artful presentation of often-difficult theoretical material. Yet as a historical work, the volume has shortcomings. It would have been better had the author distinguished between Klein's accepted and controversial views and offered critical evaluation of Winnicott's extreme environmentalism. Moreover, Hughes has not related her subjects' theorizing to events in their lives. Klein's "vivid descriptions of a haunting

inner world" (p. 64), for instance, cry out for an explanation in terms of her personal experiences. In general, Hughes does not breathe full life into her protagonists and the British psychoanalytic scene. One would welcome, for example, some amplification of the provocative statement that nowhere more than in Britain has "the consulting room . . . provided the empirical base for the psychoanalytic enterprise" (p. x).

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PHILIP J. PAULY. *Controlling Life: Jacques Loeb and the Engineering Ideal in Biology*. (Monographs on the History and Philosophy of Biology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. 252. \$24.95.

All biographies are difficult to write, but the biographies of scientists are perhaps the most difficult of all. The protagonists do battle in the realm of ideas: instead of grand deeds, there are grand thoughts; instead of calls to action, there are lab reports. Worst of all, famous scientists almost always adhere to the ideal of objectivity—the rigorous suppression of the self. And what is the biographer to do without a "self" to write about?

Philip J. Pauly has solved this problem by acting as a historian instead of a biographer. This book is more an intellectual and social history of German and American biology in the decades before and after the turn of the twentieth century than it is a biography of Jacques Loeb (1859–1924). This was a wise choice because, as famous as Loeb was in his day, he was also elusive; the story of his life contains much that is both ambiguous and ambivalent. Loeb hated publicity but leaked stories of his most startling discoveries to the press. He regarded himself as a beleaguered outsider (an immigrant among the native born, an anti-evolutionist among Darwinians, a Jew among Christians) but held jobs in some of America's most prestigious institutions (the University of Chicago, the University of California, Berkeley, the Rockefeller Institute). He detested theorizing, but his most well known work is a collection of popular essays called *The Mechanistic Conception of Life* (1914). Most daunting of all from the point of view of biography, Loeb was a rigorous advocate of objectivity, which means that he assiduously suppressed information about himself, even including the procedures that he followed in his laboratory.

Thus, deprived of a cooperating subject, Pauly chose to focus on context. Lacking information about Loeb's youth, he draws a portrait of the German university system; lacking a fully articulated statement of Loeb's philosophy, Pauly depicts instead the views of Loeb's teachers and adversaries; lacking insight into Loeb's private life (Anne Leonard Loeb, Jacques' wife, was one of the first American women to earn a Ph.D.), Pauly gives us instead the careers of some of Loeb's most influential disciples, among them J. B. Watson, B. F. Skinner, and Gregory Pincus, inventor of the

birth control pill. This book taught me less than I had hoped to learn about Loeb but much more than I ever expected to learn (from one monograph) about the institutional and intellectual climate in which modern experimental biology developed.

All of us, not just historians of science, ought to know more about that climate because we are living (right now) in the tornado (if the reader will forgive the slightly strained metaphor) that it has produced. Pauly's theme is encapsulated in his title. Loeb and his disciples, more at home in the laboratory than in the field, wished to control nature, not commune with it; anxious to become the engineers of biology, they were concerned with manipulation, not understanding. If we had but the eyes to see we would know that Loeb's legacy is now with us at every turn. The writing style of this book is, in places, unbearably wooden (perhaps because Loeb was also?), and Pauly seems, on occasion, to lack mature insight into human personality (but then Loeb was not exactly introspective or sensitive either). Despite these failings scholars will find the book essential, and concerned citizens will find it worth reading. The National Institutes of Health is now embarked on a multimillion dollar program to map completely the human genome. Loeb's shade is, no doubt, applauding with delight, and we who are his heirs ought to attend to Pauly's message, no matter how woodenly delivered.

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PETER J. BOWLER. *The Non-Darwinian Revolution: Reinterpreting a Historical Myth*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 238. \$27.50.

Peter J. Bowler is the author of four previous books dealing with the history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century evolutionary theory. He has thus established recognized credentials as an important commentator on the subject. Although this fifth contribution does not present new material and is largely derived from secondary works (including his own), it is valuable for its broad historiographic message.

In the first five chapters, Bowler surveys evolutionary thought from the Darwinian period to the period of the modern evolutionary synthesis of the 1940s. He distinguishes between "pseudo-Darwinian" (p. 76) evolutionists, such as T. H. Huxley and Ernst Haeckel, who supplemented and distorted Charles Darwin's theory, and "anti-Darwinian" (p. 90) evolutionists, such as St. George Jackson Mivart, Edward Drinker Cope, and James Mark Baldwin, each of whom in one manner or another rejected Darwin's theory and offered an alternative theory of evolution in its stead. By the turn of the century, the anti-Darwinian evolutionists dominated biology. They emphasized mechanisms other than natural selection, sought primary guidance from morphology, and remained decidedly teleological in outlook. Historians of science, Bowler argues, have

failed to examine in depth why it was that what was novel in Darwin's work coincides exactly with those elements that for eighty years were misunderstood, rejected, or ignored by scientists.

In the next three chapters, Bowler argues that the same mismatch between Darwin's unique contributions and the prevailing evolutionary beliefs existed in archaeology and in physical and cultural anthropology and that it was also reflected in Western culture in general. In those three scientific fields of study, he finds the widespread use of unilineal or teleological patterns and non-Darwinian mechanisms of evolution. A general picture of the dominance of "non-Darwinian" theories of evolution emerges.

The misfit between the modern historical studies of Darwin's achievements and the preceding eighty years of the scientific neglect of those achievements leads to a historical puzzle. Why has Darwin become identified with one of the greatest revolutions in human thought when what he accomplished was neither accepted nor understood? Bowler only partially answers this question. He claims that Darwin's work acted more as a catalyst that legitimized contemporary and independent evolutionary studies than as a solution to previous intractable scientific problems. He fails, however, to specify precisely how this catalyst worked. Bowler also blames the Whiggish tendencies in histories of evolution written after the 1950s for ignoring the misfit between interests and reality. Instead of focusing on Darwin, he chides the well-established "Darwin industry" to concentrate on the details of non-Darwinian evolutionary theories. In most of these, he claims, we find an analogy between the evolution of species and the growth and development of the individual. Because those processes of growth and development are blatantly teleological and easily construed as unilineal, it is easy to understand how evolutionists, from the time of Jean Baptiste Lamarck and Robert Chambers to the 1930s, found teleological, unilineal, nonrelativistic processes impressed into the interstices of their conclusions. Bowler further contends that only with the advent of Mendelian genetics after 1900 and more particularly with the fashioning of population genetics in the early 1930s was the analogy between the evolution of species and the growth and development of the individual scientifically discredited. Here was the real revolution in biology.

For the specialist, there is little new or startling in Bowler's thesis and historiographical complaints. For years historians of biology have recognized the importance of non-Darwinian evolutionary theories and the distortion brought about by the single-minded concentration on Darwin and the eventual success of his ideas. The activities of the "Darwin industry," however, have been fully justified on other grounds. There is merit to the criticism, mentioned but not adequately answered by Bowler in his preface, that his book, despite its title, actually describes a "Darwinian non-revolution." It is also easy to fault this book for confounding the processes of growth and development and for a lack of

involvement with the details of the technical material under survey. A closer examination of the science of morphology would seem especially in order, for, according to conjecture, this science promoted in its many guises the dominant analogy on which Bowler's explanation hangs. Nevertheless, the book represents a comprehensive discussion of material that has not been brought together before in such a general manner, and Bowler's challenge to the "Darwin industry" will appropriately ruffle some professional feathers. The book will be particularly useful for most historians who have neither the inclination nor the time to master the specialized literature but who recognize that there is a growing amount of scholarship on the history of evolutionary thought in biology, anthropology, archaeology, and Western culture in general.

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G. J. WHITROW. *Time in History: The Evolution of Our General Awareness of Time and Temporal Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 217. \$29.95.

In his influential *Natural Philosophy of Time* (1961, 1980), G. J. Whitrow presented an analytical survey of modern Western theories of time. His *Time in History* supplements that work by expanding the survey of views of time through the course of history and across cultures. The general theme that lies behind Whitrow's selection of materials is that, although the human capability to have an idea of time probably has its origins in our psychological and physiological evolution, the form the idea of time takes is a cultural product, shaped by the nature of temporal awareness present in a given society. These particular notions of time in a society are a product of its mode of existence, but the notions have a reciprocal relationship, influencing in turn that mode of existence.

Although we are now obsessed with living by the clock, Whitrow is concerned to show that the different experiences of societies throughout history have led to various attitudes and ideas about time unlike our own. On the whole, from prehistory down to the Renaissance in the West, in the Islamic world, the Far East, and Mesoamerica, he argues, the view of temporality was mostly negative. Although timekeeping had its practical side, time awareness was subservient to religious or other prepossessions about the nature of things that valued a static permanence above temporal change. As a result, temporal change was viewed as nonprogressive, being perceived largely as the endless repetition of cycles or the manifestation of some higher order of permanence. Only with the acceptance of the processes of change as desirable was the emergence of modern time awareness possible.

One of the main threads that Whitrow follows as he moves through ancient cultures to contemporary soci-

ety is methods of time measurement. Throughout the book Whitrow relies on the scholarship of others, but his coverage of time measurement, though brief, is comprehensive, interesting, and illuminating. His own interest in this subject has resulted in the garnering of many curious insights whose inclusion is only loosely connected with his more general theme, but they do help in anchoring timekeeping with the practical experience of earlier societies. The reciprocal relationship, however, of the awareness of time and the mode of existence in a society is exceedingly complex, as Whitrow recognizes, and the development of technique in time measurement does not necessarily result in a break with traditional awareness of time. He suggests that there was such a break in the West, but that it occurred later than is often supposed.

Although the West was indebted to the ancient cultures for techniques of timekeeping, a new turn was taken with the invention of the mechanical clock around the end of the thirteenth century. In the long run, the mechanical clock had a decisive influence on the modern awareness of time, but he concludes that it was first adapted to traditional attitudes of time. The break in time awareness came not through this method of timekeeping alone but in conjunction with social and cultural changes that fostered an appreciation of temporality, as evidenced in the emergence of ideas of history, progress, and evolution. This change of values, to the acceptance of temporality as being good, he attributes to the Western perception of the importance of time in the transactions of practical life, markedly so with the growth of industrialization, and to the growth of science and critical reason, which broke the hold of tradition on intellectual attitudes.

The idea of the reciprocal action between views of time and cultural experience presents difficulties in historical causation and explanation that Whitrow does not address in any depth. He has read widely in history, but, within the compass of so small a book, his treatment of history is necessarily summary and hurried. Still, he does convey the range of time awareness present in the development of the modern sense of understanding in terms of temporal process.

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JOAN WALLACH SCOTT. *Gender and the Politics of History*. (Gender and Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 242. \$29.00.

Historical scholarship, especially in comparison to other disciplines such as anthropology or literary criticism, has been relatively inarticulate about its theory and method. Periodically the discipline produces a wave of self-reflective considerations about the nature of our craft and its epistemological or explanatory powers and claims, but those seem the extraordinary moments, and in the ordinary ones most historians

proceed without explicit discussion of their theoretical assumptions. The writing of history has benefited in some ways from that silence, which has minimized sectarian disputes, overdrawn oppositions, and conformity and encouraged relative pluralism and tolerance. But in other ways the naive commonsensical approach of so many historians may hold back the discipline and its fertilization by influences from other fields.

Joan Wallach Scott's collection of essays will enrich and stimulate historians in all fields and should be widely read. Its unifying subjects are the importance of gender and of deconstructionist linguistic analyses to any work of history. It is a unified, coherent collection. Although eight of the nine essays were published previously, several have been rewritten for this volume. There are two essays in which Scott argues at a theoretical level for the importance of gender analysis in history; two critiques of the work of British historians Gareth Stedman Jones and E. P. Thompson in which she shows the distortions of histories that are inattentive to gender, particularly to gendered language; three essays on mid-nineteenth-century French working-class history in which she demonstrates application of gender and linguistic analyses; and two essays in which she discusses contemporary politics in the historical profession.

To me, the essays on French history are the best, perhaps because I prefer an empirical to a deductive "proof." In "Work Identities for Men and Women: The Politics of Work and Family in the Parisian Garment Trades in 1848," Scott shows that gender is not a fixed set of dichotomous categories. Rather, the meanings of the genders can shift considerably as they are reconstructed by men and women in action, notably here in the course of labor struggles. In an essay on *La Statistique de l'industrie à Paris, 1847-1848*, a basic source of information on the French working class, Scott offers a fine if not unprecedented critique of a supposedly objective statistical compilation, showing how the categories construct a certain vision of class divisions. In a third essay she shows how the discourse of French political economists between 1840 and 1860 constructed women workers as marginal.

The heart of Scott's theoretical argument is not that analyses of gender and language are important but that the two are closely connected. She believes that the new linguistic theories will inevitably make gender visible and, conversely, that without linguistic analysis gender will remain invisible. Her critiques of Jones and Thompson may be controversial because she is complaining about the limitations of such fine works of history. I am entirely on Scott's side here, as she argues that it is precisely because their work is so good that it merits such close scrutiny. I take issue, however, with the determinism of the methodological case she is making. I doubt that anything about linguistic analysis automatically leads to questions about gender; rather, I suspect that one must ask gendered questions to get gendered answers, whether using deconstructionist, Marxist, or liberal analytic assumptions. In her critique of Thomp-

son, Scott shows persuasively how he accepts an exclusively male understanding of the working class. Less convincing is her rejection of his continued insistence that class and class consciousness arise from productive relations; her position, focusing entirely on linguistically constructed meanings, leads to the conclusion that class consciousness is randomly created and limitlessly variable.

Those are the kinds of arguments that historians ought to be having and that ought to be part of graduate and even some undergraduate education in history. Scott's book makes a powerful case not only for a historical scholarship that recognizes the depth of gender difference in human experience but also for a renewed self-consciousness about the role of the historian in constructing the meanings of our past.

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KARL DIETRICH ERDMANN. *Die Ökumene der Historiker: Geschichte der Internationalen Historikerkongresse und des Comité International des Sciences Historiques*. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, third series, number 158.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1987. Pp. 492. DM 98.

This is in many ways an impressive work. It is a history of the international historical congresses since 1898 and of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, of which Karl Dietrich Erdmann was president from 1975 to 1980 and in which he was active for many years. It constitutes the first comprehensive international history of historical studies in the twentieth century. The congresses provided the institutional framework for the otherwise rare dialogue of historians across national and ideological lines. In this book Erdmann follows the congresses chronologically until 1955 and topically since 1960. He considers organizational aspects but gives a great deal of attention to the political atmosphere in which the congresses took place and to the methodological issues they confronted. Throughout the book, from Henri Berr's call in Paris in 1900 for a "historical synthesis" to the attempts at more recent congresses of French *Annales* historians, American cliometricians, and German Weberians to construct a historical social science, runs the confrontation between what has been called a "positivist" orientation and its "historicist" critics.

In that confrontation Erdmann makes no secret of his commitment to the values represented in the classical German tradition of historical writing. Yet he shows a remarkable openness to other positions in his attempt to recapture the "intellectual minimal consensus" that has made "institutionalized dialogue (*Miteinander-Reden*)" possible (p. 6). He is thus able to welcome the confrontation with Marxist historians, which began with the participation of the Soviets in the Oslo con-

gress of 1928, as essentially productive of dialogue. Yet there are a number of places in the book where his philosophical and political outlook appear to interfere with his earnest concern to present a balanced picture. That is true particularly in his discussions of the West German debates as they were reflected at the congresses. It is questionable whether the diaries of Kurt Riezler, which Erdmann edited, destroyed the foundations of Fritz Fischer's revisionism as effectively as Erdmann suggests (p. 351). Similarly, historians whom he credits with reestablishing West German historical scholarship after 1945—Gerhard Ritter and certainly Theodor Schieder but also, despite his enforced emigration, Hans Rothfels—had a much more ambivalent attitude toward democratic values than his brief discussion of their roles in the years between 1933 and 1945 suggests (p. 406). I have been quoted somewhat out of context in a way that mutes my criticism of the classical historicist tradition as Erdmann perceives it (p. 418). More important, in his final chapter, "The Congresses 1960 to 1985: Marxist and New Historicism," Erdmann, in my opinion, does not do justice to the diversity within historical writing and thought in the West and in the East or to the changes within historical writing since 1960 that have made the borderline between Marxist and non-Marxist historiography fluid. It is thus puzzling that he reports at length about the two-day discussion "Max Weber and the Methodology of History" in Stuttgart in 1985 (pp. 421–24) but ignores the most exciting part of the sessions, the new openness of historians from the socialist countries to Weber and the lively interchanges that resulted, so different from earlier congresses. Finally, he gives a good deal of attention to the debates between traditional historians and those who intend to make history into a social science, but he neglects the growing critique by those who view history as a literary genre and challenge the "regulative idea of historical objectivity" (p. 440), which, I agree, is crucial to history as a scholarly enterprise.

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PATRICIA B. CRADDOCK. *Edward Gibbon, Luminous Historian, 1772–1794*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 432. \$29.95.

Here at last we have the concluding volume of Patricia B. Craddock's biography of Edward Gibbon, the story of Gibbon in the years of triumph (1772–94), from the writing of the *Decline and Fall* and the autobiography to his premature death. Craddock's new work certainly shows great pains and supplies more detail and precision than any previous biography, and for that we should be grateful. But whether it was quite worth the effort for her, or will be for her readers, is another matter.

Craddock separates the historian from his life in a

surprisingly drastic and mechanical way. Her chief contribution, she claims, is to retrieve what Gibbon was thinking, feeling, and doing apart from writing the *Decline and Fall*. She makes "no attempt to establish direct causal connections between events in Gibbon's personal or public life and his changing methods and views as a historian" (p. xii). Yet she also wishes to describe the composition, and indeed to summarize the contents, of the *Decline and Fall* as the work was written, chapter by chapter. In practice, this means that she oscillates between descriptions of Gibbon's ordinary life—his dining habits, financial transactions, personal relations, and the rest, assembled in meticulous (though not always coherent) detail—and long summaries, book by book, of the contents of the history.

The historian will almost surely be disappointed. Craddock not only detaches the biographical details from the composition of the history but also deliberately avoids the intellectual content. There is no doubt that she has read everything by and directly about Gibbon (and the reader will welcome her bibliography), but she seems to have made little use of anything else. The *Decline and Fall* is a "philosophical" history, but we hear little about the philosophes, except Montesquieu. Perhaps more important, we learn almost nothing about Gibbon's relations with the *érudits*, the philologists and antiquaries who did so much to furnish his historical education and contribute to that unique fusion between narrative and learning that is Gibbon's greatest accomplishment. (In a couple of pages we hear as much about the carpenters, painters, and upholsterers who worked on his house as we do about his reading of Muratori, Tillemont, Lardner, and so on.) As a result, we never really learn how Gibbon constructed his history, except as literature, and this seems to have misled Craddock into thinking that Gibbon wrote history rather the way that Fielding wrote *Tom Jones*. This is not what Gibbon claimed in the autobiography nor what many of his critics (usefully assembled in the last chapter of the book) have argued both for and against his scholarship.

After all, Gibbon was a historian and not much else. He lived an interior life almost without events except of the most ordinary kind, and, as a bachelor with generally retiring habits, even these were oddly restricted. To be sure, Craddock excels here, and, if one wants to know what Gibbon was doing when he was not writing history, then this book is certainly the place to go. Craddock hopes to dispose of some mistaken characterizations that have been made of Gibbon and present him as a more human, congenial person. In this she succeeds, although she takes no risks, and her portrait of a man who grew imperceptibly rigid with age still lacks depth.

If one prefers to learn about the man who was the historian, there is, of course, always Gibbon's own story, D. M. Low's biography, or perhaps G. M. Young's book. I like Craddock's characterization of Young's brilliant little work, now more than fifty years old. It was, she writes, "based on fresh sources and

incorporates wide-ranging knowledge of the period and of literary and historical materials valuable for an understanding of Gibbon's masterpiece" (pp. x–xi). I do not like to conclude on a peevish note or with an invidious comparison, but I cannot help thinking that that is what most of us still want. On the other hand, if one prefers Gibbon's experiences to his accomplishments, fully documented, then this is undoubtedly the biography to read.

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MAURICE A. FINOCCHIARO. *Gramsci and the History of Dialectical Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 313.

Maurice A. Finocchiaro begins by stating what this work is not: it is not a work of history (in spite of the title); historical studies of Antonio Gramsci, in his opinion, are already too numerous. He quite explicitly, consistently, and rather defensively eschews considerations of historical context in attempting to understand Gramsci's thought. And even his rare references to historical matters may seem a little curious to historians familiar with the period (the "so-called" New Economic Policy in Russia, he informs us, was "somewhat right-wing" [p. 95]).

If this book is not a work of history, what is it? It is mostly a philosopher's laborious effort to present in a systematic way Gramsci's often obscure *Prison Notebooks*. Historians who have struggled with them may find some solace and illumination here. But then, again, they may not.

This is not a work of engaging style or felicitous, clarifying concepts. The author writes throughout in the first person, at times in wordy constructions that beg for editorial intervention ("I shall begin with," "I feel," "I shall soon try to clarify"). The resulting tone is a disorienting mix of an almost chatty informality and heavy, academic jargon. Terms such as "hermeneutical" and "apodictic" abound. The author speaks of an "elucidatory systematization," or of an effort to interpret things "immanentistically" (p. 150). He observes that Gramsci's "Marxianizing [of science]" was "not a crass eliminative deduction" (p. 235). Without informing his readers what "Crocean" means, or, at least, implies in this instance, he writes that "Gramsci's criticism of Croce is itself Crocean in the sense that it uses some Crocean elements against other Crocean elements" (p. 8). Pondering that sentence is a little like trying to imagine the sound of one hand clapping. There are many such sentences in this volume. To be sure, their meaning often becomes clear later, but at first they are cryptic and irritating. Similarly, the pervasive informality of the tone adds little clarity to the product. The writing is mostly plodding, arid, and scholastic, the reasoning tortuous, laden with wooden conceptual divisions (four points here, seven steps there, fives types there).

The author informs us on the first page that reading Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* is like "deciphering a hieroglyphic." Croce's views of Marxism, central to understanding Gramsci, are "extremely obscure and excessively liable to misinterpretation." Further, the secondary literature on Gramsci is a "veritable labyrinth." At least he does not promise us a good read.

One is tempted to conclude simply that this is a book by a philosopher, for philosophers, using the approach and diction of philosophers. Thus, outsiders beware, or, at least, be forewarned. But perhaps such a conclusion would be unfair to philosophers. It may be more accurate to describe the book simply as too narrowly conceived and thus, in the author's unique phrasing, excessively liable to misinterpretation, or, more likely, excessively liable to forfeit the interest of its prospective readers.

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GERHARD A. RITTER. *Der Sozialstaat: Entstehung und Entwicklung im internationalen Vergleich*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1989. Pp. xii, 233. DM 78.

The "social state," as Gerhard A. Ritter understands it, came into being through much of the West with the conversion of subjects into citizens. Fully realized, it is a "special form of mass democracy" (p. 10) and thus distinct from its cousins among predemocratic, state-socialist, and fascist states. Its uncertain survival, according to Ritter, now depends on Western states' ability to reconcile the cost and complexity of welfare systems with political freedom. Vetting its victory in a new awareness of its possible defeat, he seeks the social state's essence in its history.

Ritter rejects the term "welfare state" as too broad for his purpose; that term, he thinks, properly includes the benevolent despotisms of absolutism and many authoritarian states of our own time. What he (following Lorenz von Stein) calls *der Sozialstaat* and others call the welfare state took responsibility for assuring the well-being of its population as a matter of citizens' rights. Ritter undertakes a broad chronological survey, chiefly descriptive in its aims and accomplishments, of the social state. After an introduction in the spirit of *Begriffsgeschichte* (which notes, among other things, the intimate historical relationship of labor law and various forms of social security), he takes up the treatment of the poor from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century, changes under industrialization, the creation of various forms of social security before World War I, the social state's completion and crisis between the wars (with separate treatments of Great Britain, Weimar Germany, the Third Reich, and the United States), and developments since World War II.

The book's core, however, is a comparison of Great Britain and (disproportionately) Germany from the later nineteenth century through the recent past; the

later sections' quick paragraphs on Japan, Australia, and other scattered states encumber the discussion without adding substantially to the analysis. Ritter's account excludes housing, city planning, and education to concentrate on pensions, poor allowances, unemployment benefits, social security, and related transfer payments as well as on national laws regulating the conditions of employment and work. Although he notes how social workers' original blending of bourgeois social reform and organized feminism disappeared with the professionalization and bureaucratization of World War I and thereafter, Ritter says almost nothing about the organizational structure of welfare states, the actual administration of welfare programs, or the part played by different kinds of officials in their creation. No doubt his freshest contribution—at least for nonspecialists in German history—is his account of the Nazis' turning of social welfare policy toward eugenics, propaganda, and political control.

Given the standard choice between a class-struggle and a functional account of public welfare, Ritter opts decisively and unreflectively for the functional: "The Social State is a response to the rising demand for the regulation of social and economic relations which industrialization and urbanization made more and more complex, to the inadequate development of traditional (especially familial) forms of life support, and to the sharpening of class contradictions" (pp. 19–20). Except to argue briefly that organized German workers opposed the state's preemption of welfare policy but lacked the power to prevent it, Ritter does not consider it worthwhile to counter the competing account of welfare and labor systems as ruling-class efforts to discipline, monitor, punish, and contain the victims and draft animals of capitalist expansion. In his account an ill-defined set of thinkers, leaders, and authorities recognize social problems, then solve them through state action.

Ritter's selection of sources reflects (or perhaps explains) that choice. He draws on a substantial literature in German and English but misses many of the most important sociological and social-historical analyses of state power, poverty, welfare, and control of the poor.

His rosy view of labor law and social welfare allows Ritter to portray nineteenth-century Great Britain as a pioneer of protective legislation; to neglect entirely (except for mentioning the care of soldiers' families and the militarily disabled in wartime) the place of war in the establishment of veterans' pensions, labor regulation, redistributive fiscal policies, and other forms of state intervention; to pay no attention to municipal socialism; to make no connections between major social conflicts and the creation of new welfare policies, despite seeing very clearly how struggles such as those immediately following World War I affected the regulation of labor; in short, to tell his story almost entirely as one of enlightened reform from above. Within that shrunken frame, however, Ritter manages to display many of the changes in state policies for labor and welfare, to specify a number of connections among

those policies, and to identify characteristic national differences in the paths they have followed in various Western countries over the last century.

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MARTIN JAY. *"Fin-de-Siècle Socialism" and Other Essays*. New York: Routledge. 1988. Pp. vii, 216. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$13.95.

The title of Martin Jay's latest collection of essays may prove somewhat disorienting, for these essays are not, as one might expect, studies of the trajectories of socialist thought in the decades immediately following Karl Marx's death in 1883. It is our own era that is under scrutiny, as we approach "a new millennium, in which the millennial hopes of the last are finally laid to rest" (p. 13). The intellectual disorganization of our own *fin-de-siècle* has occasioned these engagements with the socialist legacy today.

The papers that constitute the volume are arranged under two categories. First is a group of studies that chart Jay's movement "from intellectual history to cultural criticism" in the context of recent debates within the scholarly community: With what sorts of reservations should intellectual historians participate in the "linguistic turn" that is so striking a characteristic of the last decades? To what extent can the traditional "synoptic method" of intellectual history be defended against the charge that it reduces difference and complexity to a legislative norm? Jay notes that he has been urged to take a more active stance toward the positions that intellectual historians have traditionally been content to chronicle, and the essays are to varying degrees polemical. But although there are winners and losers in the controversies he examines, he nonetheless exhibits a refreshingly undogmatic willingness to derive useful insights from all parties involved. Jay has not in every case arrived at a clearly defined, independent position, but his writings may for that very reason continue to serve a conciliatory function in a period of intense academic polarization.

The second section represents an attempt, as the twentieth century draws to a close, at "reading the legacy of socialism." The theorists whose work is examined in this group of essays include the "outlaw Marxist" of American sociology, Alvin Gouldner; refugee intellectuals Max Horkheimer and Siegfried Kracauer; and especially Jürgen Habermas, who is presented as the thinker in whom the rationalist heritage of Western Marxism retains some vitality. Many of the most important themes in Jay's writing come together in his reflections on "Habermas and Postmodernism," in which he explores the limits of "the still uncompleted project of modernity" (p. 137)—a grand, synthesizing, universalizing rationalism—along with the dangers of abandoning it prematurely. Against the decentering movement of poststructuralist criticism, Jay defends Habermas for his cautious effort "to avoid abandoning

the modern project before its emancipatory potential is fully realized" (p. 148).

In this book Jay thus brings together a dozen intellectual engagements, most of them published independently over the last two decades. Although the coherence of the volume may at times seem a trifle forced—it is not immediately clear why Hans Blumenberg, for instance, is included in a volume on late twentieth-century socialism—that element of discontinuity may ultimately be a function not of the author but of his subject matter. "The abandonment of totalistic modes of thought," which was the theme of Jay's earlier historical reconstruction of Western Marxism, "has meant a refusal to counterpose capitalism as a package with all of its contents equally tainted, to an alleged socialist alternative understood as its radical negation" (p. 10). Whereas individually the pieces range widely across the movements of political, philosophical, and historiographical thought that have flourished in the decline of Marxian orthodoxy, collectively they have the character of an intellectual post-mortem for a tradition of radical thought that was once unsurpassed in vitality but that has been overtaken by events and ideas to which it is no longer adequate.

Jay anticipates that perception in his "Concluding Unhistorical Postscript" in which he recalls Søren Kierkegaard's famous critique of the totalizing rationalism of Hegelian thought—an ironic gesture, since a principal motif of the book is Jay's reluctance, in the face of the movement of deconstructive criticism, "to abandon entirely the impulse toward at least some larger, synoptic coherence" (p. 166). At the height of the modernist moment Ezra Pound affirmed that "it coheres alright, even if my notes do not cohere." The suspicion haunting these pages, however, is that it may not.

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J. MORDAUNT CROOK. *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1987. Pp. 348. \$45.00.

J. Mordaunt Crook, the eminent architectural historian, here tells the tale of what went wrong (and right) with architecture during the past two centuries. Although he makes clear from the opening pages that he has not set out to write a history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture in Britain, his study of architectural style in fact provides an excellent, if wonderfully irreverent, history of its subject.

Ever since the Renaissance introduced conceptions of individual architectural style, architects have experienced the tension between building as service and building as art. According to Crook, it was only during the eighteenth century, however, that conceptions of picturesque architecture made this tension a full-fledged "dilemma by multiplying the range of stylistic options" (p. 11). Pugin, Ruskin, and Viollet-le-Duc

added to this dilemma by making architecture a matter of morality. "During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the problems created by the need to choose a style—Gothic, Renaissance, or some sort of vernacular—accelerated two complementary trends: the cult of eclecticism and the concept of modernity. The Modern Movement tried—and failed—to abolish style by abolishing choice. Post-Modernism—or rather Post-Functionalism—has recreated the dilemma by resuscitating choice" (p. 11). Crook, who writes with great energy and wit, holds that "eclecticism is the vernacular of sophisticated societies" (p. 11) and does not find the problem of style an occasion for worry or despair. Instead, he finds it reason to celebrate a culture of richness and diversity.

After a first chapter entitled "The Consequences of the Picturesque," which sets forth the historical origins of the stylistic dilemma that provides the center of his study, Crook moves to a chapter on Pugin and ecclesiology and another on Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc. A fourth chapter, "The Architect's Dilemma," which sees Victorian uncertainty over architectural style paralleling contemporary doubts about religion, literature, and philosophy, sets forth the range of possibilities open to architects. Crook argues that "Victorian architects had failed, on their own terms, in the object they had set themselves. But the object they had set themselves [finding the one, true style] was, in a sense, unnecessary" (p. 126). The fifth chapter, "Modern Gothic," wittily surveys the Rogue Gothic of the 1860s that smashed the barriers of historicism, and the following two chapters survey Progressive Eclecticism and the Neoclassical strain in British architecture from the eighteenth century through the Imperial Baroque of Edwardian Britain and its empire.

An eighth and final chapter, entitled "From Modern to Post-Modern," races somewhat too quickly through the architecture of this century. Crook maintains that the architects of the Modern movement were the first since the followers of Palladianism to base a theory of architecture on intrinsic, objective qualities, "in this case the authority of function" (p. 226). Crook argues that their dream of objective form, like the supposed constructive logic of their buildings, was largely mythical. Working with a semiotic theory of architecture as representation, he savages much modern building for embodying a comical range of aesthetic and political bad faith while also being incompetently constructed and "semiotically dumb" (p. 249). His portrayal of the death throes of architectural modernism in Britain (pp. 260–64) masterfully combines scholarship and satire, savagery and sympathy.

Crook concludes that Post-Modernism represents a return to plurality, populism, symbolism, color, and subjectivity after decades of paternalism and its functionalist mythology. The old dilemma, in other words, has returned, and he finds that fact more comforting than troubling because he sees it as the sign of a pluralistic society. Crook's fine work, which will make many historians of art and architecture gnash their

teeth, immediately brings to mind Tom Wolfe's *From Bauhaus to Our House*, another work that similarly extends the line of Ruskinian architectural criticism not only because it also uses heavy doses of wit and satire but also because it roots architecture within the culture that produces it. Whereas Wolfe's tome, entertaining as it is, often strikes one as the unconvincing grump of an antimodernist pure and simple, Crook's work, which clearly derives from a fine knowledge of its subject, convinces. This book will make a lot of trouble.

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PETER SMITH. *The Babi and Baha'i Religions: From Messianic Shi'ism to a World Religion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xiv, 243. \$39.50.

The Babi and Baha'i religions have attracted considerable attention and have been analyzed in studies written in Western languages, but until this book there has not been a historical survey of the period from the rise of Babism until today. This work fills an important gap and does so in a thoroughly competent fashion.

Peter Smith manages to move with considerable dexterity between the conflicting views of the origins of Babism and Baha'ism held by those who followed the original dispensations. The small group that continues to follow original Babi ideas regards the Baha'is as usurpers if not worse, and, if hostility is milder on the Baha'i side, this is not only because they regard the Bab as the ultimate founder of their movement but also because the original Babis are such a small group that they do not pose the Baha'is any threat.

Smith tells the basic story of the rise of Babism in mid-nineteenth-century Iran as an outgrowth of the spiritual and philosophical Shaikhi school of Twelver Shi'ism. The Bab first claimed to be the *bab*, or gate, to the Hidden Imam and then to be that Imam himself, returned as the messianic Mahdi. He also said that he was one of a progressive line of prophets, each of whose revelations superseded the last and whose own revelation would similarly be superseded by a later prophet. It was this later superseding figure whom the Baha'ullah claimed to be when he founded the more pacifist and universalist Baha'i religion—a claim rejected by the original Babis. Western scholars were early fascinated by the appearance of a new prophet and religion in the full light of history and noted parallels with other movements, including early Christianity. Smith, however, does not present such comparative reflections but rather a fairly straight history of the Baha'is, with the original Babis almost lost from view after the rise of the much larger Baha'i movement. His explanations of the spread of Baha'ism outside Iran and of its changing organization and internal splits are particularly interesting.

Smith occasionally tries to explain the Iranian Shi'is' continuing hostility to Baha'is, mentioning, though underestimating, hostility to Baha'i acceptance of ex-

isting governments, which has made the Baha'is non-participants in movements to overthrow unpopular governments. Smith particularly stresses the higher position of women among Baha'is as a cause of Shi'i hostility, but this is exaggerated, because before the Iranian revolution even liberals and radicals, including women, often shared the general hostility to Baha'is, whom the Iranians saw as antinationalist.

Although the book could have profited from use of Persian sources and a livelier evocation of personalities, it well fills an important need for an overall historical survey.

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T. J. SAXBY. *The Quest for the New Jerusalem: Jean de Labadie and the Labadists, 1610–1744*. (International Archives of the History of Ideas, number 115.) Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff of Kluwer Academic. 1987. Pp. xiii, 490. \$108.50.

Jean de Labadie and his followers, the Labadists, are among the most elusive of the numerous charismatic religious leaders and sects that arose in early modern Europe. They made contact with many of the great figures in seventeenth-century religion, migrated from town to town and to several states, founded colonies, and often aggravated authorities, yet not since the mid-nineteenth century have they been the subject of a full-length study. T. J. Saxby's book is exhaustive; Saxby has combed archives in eight nations to write this narrative of the peregrinations, both intellectual and geographical, of Labadie and his adherents.

Labadie began his religious odyssey in France as a Jesuit but left the order in 1639 because he could not bear the obedience to authority that was demanded. Already his religiosity centered on the belief in a personal relationship with Jesus. He flirted with the Oratory before being drawn to Jansenism and accepting its position on grace and predestination. His association with Jansenism did not prevent him from espousing the illuminist idea of losing one's identity in union with God. Indeed, Saxby notes that Labadie articulated the doctrine of *pur amour* before Fénelon and the Quietists. With respect to Scripture, Labadie was a fundamentalist. He finally broke with the Catholic church, objecting not so much to its doctrine as to its structure. In 1652 Labadie became a Calvinist minister.

Labadie was stubborn, self-confident, capable of inspiring intense devotion in others, and, perhaps because of those qualities, prone to attract criticism and opposition. In Montauban he became involved in a burial dispute and had to leave. He was, in short, overzealous, believing himself a divine agent of moral reformation. This conviction won him support in Geneva, where he preached and campaigned against sexual sin, Sunday labor, and billiards. His preaching

ability and his work to reform abuses resulted in an invitation to go to the United Provinces. There he attracted dissenters of various social backgrounds—his conventicles were emotional, with dancing, singing, hugging, and jumping. Labadie and his followers believed in a church of the regenerate, the elect, because it was for them alone that Jesus had died. That church had to be separate from the world, a position Labadie could more righteously adhere to after his group had been forced to leave Zeeland, then Herford in Westphalia, and, finally, Altona.

The movement grew after Labadie's death and soon had cells in eleven cities in addition to its main community in Friesland. That community was organized into three classes of people, the highest being the "elect." It punished disciplinary lapses severely and shunned contact with the outside world. Labadie had exalted the church in Jerusalem after Pentecost as the model for Christian society, and the Labadist community sought to emulate its conception of the early church. Work was hard, clothing modest, and childhood a fearful time.

The Labadists set up colonies in Surinam and in Maryland. The Surinam colony, La Providence, failed owing to disease and an inability to adjust to tropical conditions. The colony in Maryland was more successful, but an authoritarian leader, who prohibited even fire as a mortification of the flesh, contributed to the colony's demise by 1722. The home community in the United Provinces disbanded by 1729, a victim of authoritarian rule, unequal treatment of members, and financial mismanagement.

Saxby's sleuthing in detailing the Labadist story is very impressive, but he never explains well the significance of Labadism. He believes its legacy to have been "wide but nebulous" (p. 332), affecting Pietism specifically. Quakers and Philadelphians read Labadist tracts, but any influence is difficult to determine. The importance of Labadism lies in what its history reveals about seventeenth-century splinter religious movements, which cut across social and national boundaries and often became focal points of civic pride. This is a book that specialists will take note of.

RICHARD M. GOLDEN
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PAUL GORDON LAUREN. *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1988. Pp. xv, 388. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$19.95.

Here is a pioneering study of the disturbing way in which prejudice about race has deeply influenced international relations over the last five hundred years. One might expect to find libraries full of books written on such a subject, but the unfortunate fact is that race and racism are usually examined apart from nation-state encounters. Paul Gordon Lauren's volume demonstrates why they should not be. Historically, racial

prejudice and bigotry have been central factors not only in facilitating the original expansion of European states into the Asian, African, and American worlds but also in rationalizing the self-interested decisions of white governments regarding slavery, colonialism, imperialism, postimperial economic and political relationships, and the global maldistribution of wealth. European nations have combined power and bigotry into a formula that spelled Western domination and exploitation to the rest of humanity. It should therefore come as no surprise that antiracism is at the very heart of the resistance that has finally been provoked in the non-European world. The counterattack has been gathering momentum with every African and Asian state that has gained independence since World War II, and it manifests itself particularly in the resolutions and actions of the United Nations since the Third World attained a majority there in 1961. Still, the mental and institutional bastions of racist thinking are difficult to assail internationally.

The author tells the painful story well, basing his views on both a comprehensive mastery of the relevant literature and an appropriate use of primary materials, especially those of the League of Nations and the United Nations. He emphasizes just how heavy a burden for the twentieth century the legacy of racism has been. Moving carefully in his analysis from the apogee of Western power a century ago through two world wars, decolonization, and cold war, he shows with countless examples how the emotional tensions caused by prejudice and discrimination complicate and inflame every international issue. He also points to the crucial role that wars have played in changing the very nature of the process. World War I not only shattered European power and brought millions of non-Europeans into a Western civil conflict but, by introducing a nonwhite victor to the Paris Peace Conference, allowed the Japanese to bring the problem of race to global attention. World War II, by forcing the Allies to struggle desperately against Adolf Hitler and his Final Solution, provided a mirror for the West that led it to examine its own racial attitudes as never before. Finally, the cold war, by subjecting the United States to unrelenting international criticism regarding its own racism and by creating a polarizing rivalry that colonial peoples felt compelled to escape, created an unprecedented opportunity for change and for the "colored races" to affirm their own rights and needs independently. Along the way, of course, there were some terrible lessons for American diplomacy and democracy. Woodrow Wilson's mistake in humiliating the Japanese at Paris strikes one as especially egregious, so great that it was significantly responsible for the train of events that produced World War II.

In sum, then, this work succeeds in enlightening the reader and in producing an empathetic reaction. It is not in any real sense social history. It does not so much explain as describe, and it keeps the focus on politics. But one does come away with a much clearer notion of the centrality of racism as a global problem and its

relation to the policies that our country and other countries continue to pursue. Given the record of the Western world, our grudging acquiescence in efforts to achieve racial equality, and the blatantly racial distribution of wealth and power both within our countries and along the North-South axis, one can see that Third World representatives have a right to be sensitive and suspicious. One is inspired to understand and assist them, not to fight them, in their desire to purge the global community of racist ideas.

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MARCUS REDIKER. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xv, 322. Cloth \$24.95.

Marcus Rediker's award-winning study of Anglo-American deep sea mariners and pirates rests firmly on three important theoretical foundations. First is the "industrial capitalist world-system" developed by Immanuel Wallerstein. This theory undergirds a richly detailed, informed tour of the Atlantic seaman's world. Ranging from the home base of London, through provincial ports of Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow, abroad to the slave coasts of Africa and the staple colonies of the West Indies, to the smaller entrepôts of colonial North America, Rediker expertly presents the emerging capitalist system through the eyes and experiences of the common sailor. In so doing, Rediker combines the dangers of the sea, classically described by Samuel Eliot Morison, with the perils of capitalism, represented in London by the Customs House, insurance companies, the Admiralty Office, and merchant headquarters and at sea by the ship captains. Application of Wallerstein's theory to the preindustrial world would be overly deterministic by itself. Combined with the two other theoretical pillars, it becomes a significant and challenging interpretation.

The second method of analysis adopts the methodology of the "new" labor history, which seeks to place the worker "in the history of society . . . studied in a totality that includes their cultural background and social relationship . . . their institutional membership and economic and political behavior" (p. 6). Rediker ably defines the constant duties and skills of the twelve-man crews from cargo to bowsprit to setting sails. The sailors' expert knowledge of their tasks sustained a collective dignity. Such occupational character enabled mariner response to poorly defined or arbitrary authority. Seamen employed desertion as a primary tactic to counteract brutal masters, to avoid disease-ridden ports, or to take advantage of better labor markets in wartime. Through integration of skills and collective resistance such as desertion or, less commonly, mutiny, mariners forged a collective experience "uncommon in the first half of the eighteenth century" (p. 111).

The third analytic construct is E. P. Thompson's influential cultural Marxism, used here in two ways. The first surveys the gradual, halting transition to wage labor aboard ship. Using, as throughout the book, well-researched and revealing primary sources, Rediker contrasts the "social wages" of privilege with evolving methods of cash payment, ingeniously demonstrating that conflicting economic forms could exist within a single occupation. Furthermore, each method of payment, customary or "free wage," was a battleground among mariners and captains and shipowners. The second part of this Thompsonian analysis concerns the vast maritime culture, shaped by "the realities of work and authority aboard ship" (p. 155). In the most convincing section of the book, Rediker masterfully surveys mariner language, an argot "grafted onto a wide array of plebeian forms, featuring rough talk, cursing and anticlericalism" (p. 165). The important question of religion is convincingly handled, emphasizing irreligion cast from isolation from home, dangers of the sea, and republican skepticism. Mariner religion became an amalgam of official creeds barely disguising premodern reliance on omens and magic, shadowed by the constant dangers of sudden death.

This plebeian culture was the bedrock of resistance. As new realities of wage labor eroded older customary expectations, and harsh, plantation-like despotism became common at sea, sailors confronted such changes with staunch resistance. Borrowing from the insights of Thompson and, significantly, from Eugene Genovese's studies of the slave experience, Rediker contrasts the omnipotence of the captain's authority with the mutinous psychology of the crew. Incidents of counter-intimidation were common as sailors used tools of the trade, including harpoons, spikes, cutlasses, and hooks, to fend off brutal captains.

All of these interpretations and Rediker's thorough understanding of Anglo-American mariners coalesce in the final chapter, an instructive study of the golden age of piracy in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Rediker uses the pirate as symbol of seaborne "plain-dealing," primitive communism, resistance to state and capitalism, and the origins of a maritime class consciousness. As capitalists sought to undermine the dignity of maritime labor, pirates and jack-tars alike responded with a unity of culture and resistance.

Rediker's tight control over his theoretical strategies, his vast library of sources, and his powerful literary skills have created a tour de force. The book, however, is not without flaws. His model of industrial capitalism has already been criticized as inapplicable for preindustrial seamen, who were perhaps more akin to indentured servants. Another disputable area is the near-absence of race as a variable. Ira Dye's study of late eighteenth-century Atlantic mariners indicates that as many as 20 percent were black. Although race is a strong undercurrent throughout the book, it is insufficiently acknowledged. Even with these caveats, Rediker's work is deeply invigorating and will remain a focus

of discussion about eighteenth-century labor history for some time to come.

GRAHAM HODGES
Colgate University

PATRICE HIGONNET. *Sister Republics: The Origins of French and American Republicanism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1988. Pp. 317. \$25.00.

In theory, a compelling case can be made for comparative history, just as a case can be made for the study of cultures other than one's own. The advantages of both forms of inquiry are the same and have to do with enriched perspective. Comparative investigation of the French and American revolutions, for example, can enable one to see and understand things about each that might be invisible when the two are studied separately. But there are pitfalls as well: for comparative studies to be meaningful, one must acquire a considerable expertise in both subjects under review. Often that expertise can be obtained by reading no more than a couple of dozen books, but the catch is that one has to know a great deal before knowing just which books to read.

In Patrice Higonnet's new study, it is the pitfalls rather than the advantages that are most striking. His treatment of the French side of the story seems sound enough, at least to me, a historian who has preserved his amateur status in that field. Higonnet maintains that French society had historically been anti-individualist, organized around an interlocking network of corporate institutions that were in an advanced state of collapse in 1789. In response to the crisis, France embraced a universalized kind of possessively individualistic republicanism that was alien to it. The chaos of 1789–99 (orderly, logical chaos of the sort conceptualized in the new science of that name) was the more or less inevitable result. There is nothing here that is incompatible with what I was taught in graduate school many years ago. Admittedly, I am uncomfortable upon encountering such factual errors as the statement that the Battle of Valmy took place on September 22 (p. 244), but generally speaking I am prepared to believe what Higonnet tells me about France because that is his home turf.

When he turns to eighteenth-century America, however, he describes a society that never was. Pivotal to his understanding of America is his belief, derived mainly from the outmoded interpretation in Louis Hartz's *Liberal Tradition in America* (1955), that acquisitive individualism was the dominant feature of American society throughout the century. The fact is that such individualism did not fully triumph over communitarian values for more than a century after the revolution, and even then it prevailed for little more than two decades before coming under successful attack.

Similarly, Higonnet seems to believe that the Constitution established in 1787 a monolithic central government that did not in fact come into existence until after

World War II. In his discussion of American constitutional arrangements, he shows no awareness of federalism, no ken that the whole range of police powers—those concerned with regulating the health, welfare, safety, morals, and manners of the people—were left in the hands of state and local governments. To fail to understand federalism is to fail to understand anything about the American revolutionary epoch. Indeed, perhaps the most striking difference between the political arrangements in France and those in America—before, during, and after their revolutions—was the centralized quality of the one and the decentralized nature of the other. Moreover, his failure to recognize that power was local in America made it certain that Higonnet would misunderstand economic individualism, for it was at the state and local levels that the voice of the community regularly took precedence over the desires of the individual.

But the account of the United States in Higonnet's book is even more flawed than what one would expect from such oversights: it is so uninformed and misinformed as to be embarrassing. To say, for example, that "even Hamilton had a more positive view of the role of government" than did Jefferson (p. 215) is approximately as learned an observation as it would be to say that even Napoleon was more decisive than Lafayette. Finally, let it be noted that Higonnet writes in so ponderous and murky a style as to make his analysis tedious, despite the inherent drama of his subject.

FORREST MCDONALD
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DONNA GABACCIA. *Militants and Migrants: Rural Sicilians Become American Workers*. (Class and Culture.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 239. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$20.00.

Donna Gabaccia's study is an important book, both for its methodology and for the questions it addresses. It will force a number of immigration and labor historians to reexamine some basic assumptions about the responses of European peasants and industrial workers to the process of modernization. Gabaccia's methodology is a "village outward approach," to use Samuel Bailey's phrase. The village is Sambuca, Sicily. Gabaccia analyzes both labor organization among inhabitants of Sambuca from the end of the nineteenth century to the present and the inhabitants' emigration to Louisiana, Chicago, Tampa, and Brooklyn. Incidentally, a number of Sambuchesi kept recrossing the Atlantic between the United States and Sicily for a number of years. Unlike most historians of immigration, Gabaccia deals extensively with the European background for mass emigration. And, unlike the work of most labor historians, her research is not intended to offer a portrait of the communities formed by the Sambuchesi in the United States. The emphasis is on the connection, not

the juxtaposition, between Sambuca and the American settlements and on the analysis of the intricacies created by the fact that many Sambuchesi were equally familiar with the Sicilian and the American environments.

Gabaccia addresses the much-debated question of the link between emigration and labor organization. The traditional interpretation has been that emigration and labor organization were alternate and mutually exclusive responses that Europeans chose when confronted with the dynamics of modernization. Emigration was an individualistic adjustment stemming from an uncritical acceptance of capitalism. Labor organizations were collective challenges to capitalism by individuals determined not to be victimized by the process of modernization. In reality—and here is the key to Gabaccia's argument—that dichotomy is artificial. At least in the case of the Sambuchesi, the same people were militants and migrants. "Sicilian labor organizations," Gabaccia argues, "closely resembled, and somehow grew out of, migration chains" (p. 3). Undoubtedly, that linkage is so new that many readers will look carefully at the evidence provided. I am not totally convinced that Sicilian peasants of the late nineteenth century were as class-conscious and well organized as Gabaccia makes them out to be. But that doubt might well be the result of a personal bias, which has been seriously shaken by Gabaccia's erudition and impressive use of the sources.

The scholarship displayed in the book is impressive. Gabaccia is equally at home with European social and political history from the end of the nineteenth century to the present and with American labor and immigration history. She wants to discover connections, but she is also aware that emigration was a major break in the lives of individuals and that "the rural political traditions did not so easily take root in American soil. Perhaps historians ought not to abandon completely the concept of uprooting, for some immigrants from western Sicily do seem to have been readily uprooted from familiar political practices—and depoliticized in the process" (p. 170). That remark qualifies Gabaccia's main argument and should be explored further. Undoubtedly, Sambuca presents an interesting case: despite mass emigration and return migration, the town developed labor organizations and militancy, and today Sambuca is known as the Little Moscow of the Sicilian hinterland.

This impressive and important book raises questions of representativeness and ambivalence. To what extent does Sambuca represent the Italian south or even Sicily? In Sicily, certainly before World War I, each town was so isolated from other towns that, as Gabaccia is aware, it is hard to generalize from one case. And how are we to interpret the experience of the Sambuchesi, who were at the same time militants and migrants? Gabaccia demonstrates that the behavior of those individuals cannot be neatly placed in a single category. She argues instead that human behavior is infinitely complex and ambivalent. Militants and mi-

grants simply magnify the ambivalence of most individuals struggling to respond to modern values. For that reason, every educated person will find this book most illuminating.

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GEORGES-HENRI SOUTOU. *L'Or et le sang: Les Buts de guerre économiques de la Première Guerre mondiale*. Foreword by JEAN-BAPTISTE DUROSELLE. (Nouvelles études historiques.) Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. v, 963.

In his preface to this work, Jean-Baptiste Duroselle terms "majestic" Georges-Henri Soutou's book about economic war aims during World War I. Other scholars, however, perhaps less partisan than a thesis director, cannot fail to be impressed by the scope and research of this book.

Adopting a "multilateral" approach, Soutou examines the economic war aims of Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States. He maintains that the belligerent camps did not operate in isolation but made decisions on the expected behavior of their opponents. Based on extensive research in government, business, and private archives, this book outlines the wartime formulation of economic war aims and their connection to political goals and treaty discussions.

In his discussion of Germany, Soutou takes issue with Fritz Fischer's interpretation of the war as a stage in the pursuit of world domination. Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg's "Program of September" 1914 is described as circumstantial, reflecting current military and political preoccupations, not Fischer's statement of long-term goals. Bethmann's fundamental war aim was *Mitteuropa*, an economic union of Central Europe dominated by Germany to insure German security. Although Bethmann played a key role up to 1917, economic war aims provoked opposition from economic groups, particularly heavy industry.

From the start, the Allies, Soutou argues, shared a basic objective, namely, to diminish drastically Germany's position in Europe after the war. A profound sense of inferiority vis-à-vis German commercial and industrial methods led France's leaders to propose customs agreements with neighboring Belgium, Luxembourg, and Italy. Britain, also anxious to punish Germany for prewar economic practices, investigated an Allied customs union and imperial preferences. Soutou elevates the Allied Economic Conference of 1916 in Paris to a new level of significance, arguing that its anti-German postwar economic resolutions, however nonbinding and provisional, were later ratified in such economic clauses of the Versailles Treaty as Germany's exclusion from "most favored nation" status.

With Russia's collapse and American belligerency in 1917, the military situation and the economic expectations of the warring powers were transformed. Obsessed with Allied economic plans, German leaders

were still divided about *Mittleuropa*, particularly the key ingredient of a customs union with Austria. To Soutou, the Brest-Litovsk Treaty has been portrayed too harshly because it allowed Russia to remain a great power and sought to restore the prewar commercial situation. In fact, he sees the Treaty of Berlin of August 1918 as a significant precursor to the Rapallo treaty and interwar German-Russian relations.

Although the dominant theme of German war aims was *Mittleuropa*, a return to the international market, not autarky, had priority amid mounting fears of Allied exclusion. France's desire to guarantee its security through continued Allied cooperation reflected the anti-German orientation of its war aims. Although Britain relinquished extreme Manchester liberalism by protecting key industries against German competition, it did not adopt controversial imperial preferences or comprehensive tariff barriers. The United States flirted with giving the Monroe Doctrine an economic dimension but after 1917 accepted the Allied anti-German economic program. To Soutou, the Versailles Treaty, with its discrimination against Germany, implemented more Allied economic war aims than has often been recognized. Indeed, a concern for security was a common factor guiding the formulation of war aims by both sides.

Soutou's massive book is based on an impressive wealth of documentation. His detailed investigation of the development of war aims by these four great powers is a tour de force. Although some reduction of detail might have allowed his fundamental themes to emerge more clearly, the book is a major work offering new information and interpretations on a subject only partially covered heretofore. It is a significant contribution to the scholarship on World War I that is unlikely to be superseded.

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WILLIAM C. MCNEIL. *American Money and the Weimar Republic: Economics and Politics on the Eve of the Great Depression*. (The Political Economy of International Change.) Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 352. \$15.00.

If a single question can be said to have dominated and poisoned European domestic and international relationships during the 1920s, surely it was the matter of allocating the costs of the First World War. This was both a political question (who would pay?) and a technical economic question (how could any transfer of values be accomplished?). After losing the war and suffering the devastation of hyperinflation in an effort to avoid paying, Germany accepted the Dawes Plan in 1924 and seemingly could no longer postpone facing the problem of distributing the cost of war. Yet, as William C. McNeil has ably demonstrated, between 1925 and 1929 Germany continued to evade the issue,

now with the assistance of massive American loans amounting to an estimated \$3 billion.

In a work of impressive scope, clarity, and insight, McNeil convincingly argues his well-documented thesis that, while American money temporarily "stabilized" the German economy, the loans themselves fueled bitter conflicts over the use to which these funds should be put. Thanks to American bankers, the question of allocating the costs of war was transformed into a conflict over the allocation of the windfall from America. Conservative German industrial and agrarian interests sought to channel the funds into "productive" investments in the private sector, while "socialists" favored public investment in municipal gas and electric works, public housing, state-owned manufacturing and mining operations, and an infrastructure suffering from ten years of neglect. The Allies, represented in Germany by reparations agent Seymour Parker Gilbert (an American), demanded that the Germans cease their foreign borrowing altogether, work hard and save, balance their budgets, reduce their standard of living if necessary, and pay their reparations obligations. How could Germany satisfy the competing demands of domestic interest groups and simultaneously meet its foreign reparations obligations? For a time, American loans provided a means of avoiding the distributional conflict by making the pie larger.

McNeil's treatment of the German depression of 1925–26 demonstrates the power and utility of his analysis of German business cycles and reparations transfers, as well as his understanding of the complexities of Weimar politics. He views this relatively short crisis as a turning point in Weimar history that determined the future pattern of the Weimar government's fiscal policy, reparations policy, and foreign policy in general. Weimar Germany's fate became totally dependent on American money, because the depression clearly demonstrated that any other policy carried a politically and socially unacceptable price tag. The stabilization of 1924 rested on fiscal responsibility that produced budget surpluses at the local, state, and federal levels. With the onset of depression in 1925, those surpluses quickly translated into deficits, which, in the absence of procyclical increases in taxation and drastic budget trimming, could only be covered by increasing reliance on foreign loans. The work-creation program of June 1926 merely increased Germany's appetite for money borrowed abroad, as Germany's capital market was incapable of meeting the demand for credits.

At the same time, Germany was expected to meet its reparations obligations. Those who have argued that the Germans could have paid had they possessed the will to do so are technically correct. The required balance of trade surplus was available; the 1925–26 recession reduced both German income and imports and produced the nation's only significant export surplus of the 1920s. But, as McNeil argues, the 15 to 20 percent unemployment rate required to support such

an export surplus would have produced a political and social revolution against the Weimar system.

After 1926, no Weimar government could hope to stabilize Germany's internal social system without deficit spending supported by American loans. Yet Allied advocates of German fiscal and monetary responsibility believed that American loans simply fed Germany's appetite for imports and thereby endangered its ability to pay reparations. The two policies of domestic stabilization through deficit spending and fulfilment of the reparations obligation were, in McNeil's view, inherently contradictory and incompatible.

Government deficit spending supported by foreign money stimulated the German economy from 1926 to 1928; the cessation of American loans after the 1929 crash set off a drastic contraction of public investment that McNeil holds largely responsible for exaggerating the impact of the downward business cycle. Without American money, Germany was forced to make some hard choices. The Brüning government pursued a vigorous deflationary policy, which gives substance to McNeil's thesis that the social costs of a deflationary policy of fiscal responsibility and fulfilment were intolerable. In 1926 the cabinet led by Wilhelm Marx made what appeared to be a wiser decision to finance public works programs with foreign borrowing. McNeil has provided additional support for Knut Borchardt's suggestion that Brüning may have had no alternatives. Deficit spending financed by America was no longer available, and Weimar parties could not impose the reduction in the German standard of living required by the withdrawal of American funds.

This book represents an important contribution to our understanding of how the Weimar system functioned and failed. It deserves a wide audience, especially among Americans, who might gain some insights into the perils of living on borrowed money.

DAN P. SILVERMAN
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STEVEN MERRITT MINER. *Between Churchill and Stalin: The Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the Origins of the Grand Alliance*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. 319. \$36.00.

Most of the recent literature on the relationship between the Allies of World War II and the dissolution of their alliance in its aftermath has concentrated on the last years of the great conflict. The focus of emphasis has been on the conferences at Tehran and Yalta, the dispute over Poland's government and frontiers, and the controversies over the future of Germany. In this book, attention is shifted both chronologically and geographically. Steven Merritt Miner concentrates on the early years of the war, concluding with the signing of the Anglo-Soviet alliance on May 26, 1942, and he moves the issue of British recognition of the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states center stage.

In a detailed review of Anglo-Soviet relations in the

latter part of 1939 and during 1940, Miner shows how Soviet preference for an alignment with Germany derailed all efforts by the British to entice the Soviets away from the Germans and, in particular, to reduce Soviet economic assistance to Germany. The possibility of war between Britain and the Soviet Union as a result of the Soviet invasion of Finland is exaggerated, while the effective restraining by London of the French, who could hardly wait to go to war with the USSR, is greatly underestimated. Perhaps the most useful aspect of Miner's book is his detailed recounting of the total failure of the efforts of Sir Stafford Cripps, one in a long series of individuals who thought that they could work well with Joseph Stalin. Miner's book may therefore serve as a corrective to Gabriel Gorodetsky's most unsatisfactory work, *Stafford Cripps' Mission to Moscow, 1940-42* (1984).

Miner shows how the British offer to the Soviet Union of October 1940 failed in the face of Stalin's effort to join the Tripartite Pact with Germany, Italy, and Japan and how the Soviet Union hoped against hope until the very last minute that Germany could be appeased. Thereafter, Cripps, Lord Beaverbrook, and Anthony Eden all hoped that various ways of appeasing the Soviet Union would bring that country into a closer and more effective alignment with Great Britain, and Miner stresses the centrality in the thinking of Cripps and Eden of the Baltic states in accomplishing their purpose. It was their belief that British recognition of Soviet annexation would lead to a dramatic improvement in Anglo-Soviet relations, but their success in overcoming the resistance of Winston Churchill and their disregard of the objections of the United States ended up serving no constructive purpose. There are aspects of this controversy within the British government on which Miner has, I believe, overdrawn the lines, but his basic perception of Churchill looking toward a primary relationship with the United States while Eden looked more to a new relationship with the Soviet Union has much to recommend it and should form the starting point for some lively debates.

The book is based on extensive research in British archives, some work in American records, and careful work with Western and Soviet published materials. The account of British diplomacy in 1939 and the handling of the Baltic states in that year is superficial. It would also have been advantageous to point out the enormous dangers the Soviet Union correctly believed itself to be in during 1941-42 as well as the basic weakness of the position of the Western powers until 1944, when they could no longer affect the situation in Eastern Europe a great deal anyway. But these are small caveats. Here is a book with a refreshing set of new perspectives and interpretations on issues of great importance, not only in the years actually dealt with but at a time when the peoples of the Baltic states are reminding their rulers in Moscow as well as the rest of us that their aspirations

are not entirely and permanently at the mercy of the preferences of self-proclaimed great powers.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG
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Chapel Hill

T. RYLE DWYER. *Strained Relations: Ireland at Peace and the USA at War, 1941–45*. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble or Gill and Macmillan, Dublin. 1988. Pp. 193. \$29.95.

The story of Ireland's neutrality during World War II is well known. Prime Minister Eamon de Valera opted to keep Ireland out of the war for a number of reasons. Having sought in vain to put some backbone into the League of Nations during the crises in Manchuria, Abyssinia, and Spain, De Valera was not about to see Ireland sucked into the maelstrom of great-power warfare in 1939. Moreover, a declaration of Irish neutrality was first and foremost a declaration of Irish sovereignty and independence. Yet, as John Bowman argues in his masterly work *De Valera and the Ulster Question, 1917–1973* (1982), by so asserting the sovereignty of the twenty-six counties, De Valera made the prospect of Irish unification more remote than ever.

The vast majority of Irish people, even the thousands who enlisted in the British army, navy, and air force during the war, enthusiastically supported De Valera's policy of neutrality. Had Ireland become a belligerent, domestic discord could well have erupted into civil strife. That point alone weighed heavily in De Valera's decision to maintain Irish neutrality at all costs.

At the same time, as T. Ryle Dwyer points out, De Valera bent over backward to accommodate the Allies, especially after the United States entered the war. Allied airmen who strayed into Ireland were quickly whisked across the border, while their German counterparts languished in internment camps. Irish police and military intelligence kept a close eye on members of the German legation. Irish diplomats in Europe even helped the Office of Strategic Services.

Such surreptitious assistance did little to mollify Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt, who pressured De Valera to let the Allies use the strategically important southern Irish ports. David Gray, the American minister in Ireland, devoted most of his time to fueling Roosevelt's dislike of De Valera. Toward the end of the war, when the issue of American access to Irish ports was no longer pressing, Gray engineered a crisis in relations between both countries over the presence of German and Japanese representatives in Ireland. The "American note" incident, which began with an American request for the recall of Axis officials in Ireland and escalated into reports in the American press of an infestation of Axis spies in the Emerald Isle, brought relations between Dublin and Washington to their lowest point during the war.

Dwyer tells the story well but contributes little that is new to our knowledge. The book does not live up to

Dwyer's claim in the preface that his research extracted "a considerable amount of information that throws new light on Irish neutrality," apart from confirming conclusions already reached and adding color to the events of the period. This is all the more surprising and disappointing because Dwyer enjoyed special access to the closed diplomatic files of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs. It is customary for diplomatic historians to lament the inaccessibility of Irish official records. On the basis of Dwyer's book, perhaps the lament is unwarranted.

DESMOND DINAN
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ROBERT H. KEYSERLINGK. *Austria in World War II: An Anglo-American Dilemma*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 305. \$29.95.

Throughout World War II American and British officials were uncertain how best to deal with Austria. The "occupationists" argued that it was a friendly state that had been brutally conquered by Nazi Germany and that should be liberated by the Allies. The "annexationists," although aware that pressure had been exerted on the electorate, insisted that the *Anschluss* had been sanctioned by an overwhelming majority of Austrians in a referendum. Other states had accepted the *Anschluss*; Austria had ceased to exist; and there was not even a government in exile with which to treat.

The annexationists had the better argument. Before the war it was generally agreed that Austria had no chance of surviving on its own, and, because the British and American governments were bent on appeasing Adolf Hitler, they were not prepared to object too loudly to the *Anschluss*. The endless bickering among Austrian exiles did nothing to strengthen the case of those who argued for an independent Austria. Neither Britain nor the United States made any distinction between Austrians and Germans and treated both as enemy aliens at the outbreak of hostilities. Similarly, German and Austrian Jews were regarded as enemy aliens, for it was argued that to do otherwise would be to recognize the legality of the Nuremberg decree, which had stripped them of their citizenship.

Whereas both Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt entertained absurdly romantic notions of restoring the Habsburgs—Churchill argued that the end of the Central European monarchies had been the direct cause of the rise of Hitler—those academics who had been outspokenly nationalist in 1918 now argued in favor of a Danubian or East European federation. Although the Soviets denounced such ideas as an attempt by the Western powers to create a *cordon sanitaire*, the British and Americans refused to believe that Austria could or should exist as an independent state. Economically an independent Austria would be far too weak, and strategically it would create a power vacuum that could well be filled by a revived Germany. But in November 1943 the Foreign Ministers' declara-

tion in Moscow proclaimed that when the war was over Austria would be independent and its guilt could be easily expunged by its wartime resistance to the Nazis.

The Moscow declaration was simply propaganda, and its intent was military rather than political. Although no one felt that an independent Austria was either desirable or feasible, it was widely believed that the declaration would have a profound effect on German morale, which in 1943 the Allies deemed to be weak. The Allies believed the Austrians were much more charming than the awful, militaristic Germans and assumed they would respond to the declaration by freeing themselves from their Nazi rulers. Because the campaign failed to have any effect, the Austrians were then perceived to be totally lacking in national spirit. The Allies then saw the Moscow declaration as a serious mistake. Politically it was embarrassing; militarily it was useless. As the war drew to a close, the Allies believed German morale to be strong to the point of fanaticism, and there was some profoundly silly talk of a suicidal defense of a "national redoubt," which would include Austria. Only with the end of the war and the beginning of the cold war was Austria proclaimed to be a friendly state that had been occupied by the Nazis and liberated by the Allies. It was a convenient fiction for both the Western Allies and the Austrians.

The Austrian question was a minor episode in wartime diplomacy, but it had wider ramifications. Robert H. Keyserlingk gives a sound and detailed, if somewhat repetitive, account of the attitude of the American and British authorities toward Austria and admirably explodes the myth that they maintained a principled opposition to the *Anschluss* throughout the war. This study would have been greatly improved had Keyserlingk discussed such topics as the part played by Austria in Anglo-American thinking about postwar relations with the Soviet Union, the discussions over the future of Germany, and the Bretton Woods agreements on regional arrangements. Keyserlingk is not served well by his publisher. From a chamber of horrors of typographical errors emerges the alarming figure of "Count Caligieri-Koudenhouve." With a name like that, it is perhaps no wonder that the Pan-Europe movement never got off the ground and that Austria ended up as an independent state with its fair share of skeletons in the cupboard.

MARTIN KITCHEN
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STEVE YUI-SANG TSANG. *Democracy Shelved: Great Britain, China, and Attempts at Constitutional Reform in Hong Kong, 1945-1952*. Foreword by DAVID M. MACDOUGALL. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xxxiv, 254. \$36.00.

That Hong Kong should remain a colony until 1997, then be returned to the People's Republic of China, and become a "special administrative region" must certainly count as an anachronism twice over in the

history of colonies and colonization. In this studious volume, Steve Yui-sang Tsang would have us believe that this course of events might have been averted in 1945, if certain elements of the Labour cabinet in England and the governor of Hong Kong had had their way.

We must begin toward the end of the Second World War. To contend with the possibility that the Nationalist government of China might want to recover its sovereign rights in Hong Kong, the British home government was under some pressure to formulate a policy on the colony. Its policy called for a partially elected legislature. Difficulties arose immediately, of course. What counted as Hong Kong's electorate, at a time when more than half of the population had departed to escape from Japanese rule? And could viable government be maintained if an elective legislature was implemented? Nonetheless, a move in this direction would have been in line with the prevalent thinking that the colonies should be granted self-government.

Against this background, one must add the initiatives and reactions of the officials on the spot, the interests and emotions of British and Chinese merchants in Hong Kong, and the interest, diplomacy, and capability of the Nationalist government and, very soon, of the government of the People's Republic of China. Unfortunately, just about the only strand of this complicated web that the author elucidates is the mess of memoranda that flew back and forth between the governor of Hong Kong and Whitehall. Sir Mark Young, governor of Hong Kong immediately after the war, supported a more representative legislature. Sir Alexander Grantham, who succeeded him in 1947, and the merchants in Hong Kong were more reserved in their approach. Neither the Nationalist nor the Communist government of China succeeded in harnessing much public opinion in Hong Kong. Moreover, as the author makes quite clear, Britain's recognition of the People's Republic in 1950 must have helped maintain some stability. There was no elective democracy in Hong Kong in the 1950s, because, as a member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council explained to the Colonial Office in 1948, there was no demand for reform.

There probably, indeed, was no demand for elective democracy in Hong Kong in the postwar decade. Politics of a sort, however, was being created. This book discusses two political clubs that supported the Hong Kong Urban Council's elections, numerous trade unions leaning variously to the Left or the Right and one remaining in the center, newspapers funded by the Nationalist government and the People's Republic, and even an abortive attempt by the Chinese Communist party to organize a training school in Hong Kong. Yet, drawing primarily from archival records in England, the author does not capture the mood behind these events. Characters who seem to have come from nowhere appear every now and then to express a policy opinion and then return to oblivion. Surely, whether Hong Kong was to remain a colony depended as much

on the inner thoughts of the people who made politics as on the thoughts of the English civil servants who drafted policies.

This good account of a petty squabble that lasted two years in a corner of the Colonial Office is a subject for a journal article; readers could have been spared the tedious detail needed to make up the book.

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ANCIENT

H. W. F. SAGGS. *Civilization before Greece and Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. 322. \$29.95.

Scholarly works that encapsule all of civilization before Greece and Rome are exceedingly rare. In this book H. W. F. Saggs sets out to do that in approximately three hundred pages of text supplemented by sixteen pages of photographs, by brief notes, and by selected topical bibliographies. Saggs gives a succinct introduction to ancient Near Eastern civilization in a topical format reminiscent of his *The Greatness That Was Babylon* (1962), which was published in revised edition in 1988 and of which the present work is clearly an outgrowth. Written in the same forceful and generally lucid style, this book also contains its share of debatable theories presented as established facts. Of course, in a work that treats not only the ancient Near East but also the Indus Valley and Crete, space devoted to "gray areas" is, understandably, at a premium.

Saggs presents the material in thirteen chapters that reflect his background, interests, and points of view: source material tends to be written rather than archaeological, and Babylonia, Egypt, and Israel tend to be better represented than other areas. After an introduction in which he discusses how knowledge of the ancient Near East was lost in antiquity and rediscovered in modern times, Saggs moves rapidly through an interpretation of political history, which will not be shared by all specialists, in a chapter entitled "City-States and Kingdoms" and a somewhat anecdotal account of monumental architecture entitled "Pyramids and Ziggurats." In the chapter "Writing" he provides a brief but valuable survey of ancient Near Eastern and Aegean writing systems up to and including the alphabet. Saggs does not, however, understand I. J. Gelb's elemental distinction between pictures that represent words and pictographic writing, and that failure leads him to some prolix arguments and poorly founded judgments about the origins of writing. In "Education" he presents a fairly rounded picture of scribal education but never even asks what portion of the population was educated. In the chapters "Living in Cities," "Trade," "Law," "The Brotherhood of Nations," and "Natural Resources," Saggs provides good thumbnail sketches of the material. His treatment of those topics, however, is not always accurate, in spite of the conviction with which he accepts some conclusions and rejects

others. I found the chapter "Mathematics and Astronomy" disappointing, particularly because the long-winded discussion of a Babylonian procedure for extracting cube roots demonstrates that Saggs has not grasped the essence of the procedure. On the other hand, the concluding chapters, "Medicine" and "Ancient Religion," are among the best of their type that I have encountered.

From many years of teaching the subject matter treated by Saggs in this study, I believe that this book's understandable terseness, which rubs shoulders with a not-so-readily comprehensible prolixity, and its soundly reasoned conclusions, which walk hand in hand with equally apodictic judgments, make it a less-than-ideal introduction for students. If one accepts the work for what it is—a seasoned scholar's impressions about pre-Greek civilization—then it can be read with pleasure and profit by specialists, general readers, and students alike.

MARVIN A. POWELL
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BARRY CUNLIFFE. *Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction*. New York: Methuen. 1988. Pp. xii, 243. \$25.00.

The aim of this book, firmly expressed in its preface and in its opening and closing chapters, is to remove the barrier that Barry Cunliffe perceives as having arisen between "prehistoric" and "classical" archaeology. In his view, "barbarian Europe and the Mediterranean world must be studied together, since for much of the time their development was interdependent" (p. 201). To prove his case, and to achieve his end, Cunliffe takes the history of Western Europe from the seventh century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. and seeks to explain it by reference to a single socioeconomic model, namely the "core-periphery" relationship.

In the intervening eight chapters, therefore, Cunliffe argues that developments from the Gulf of Lions to the Baltic and from the Irish Sea to the Elbe may be interpreted as the reaction of the peoples of the interior to the relentless search by Greco-Roman entrepreneurs for raw materials and markets for their finished goods. He suggests, for example, that the core-periphery model may be used to explain both the collapse of western Hallstatt D chiefdoms in the fifth century B.C. and the Marcomannic invasions of the late second century A.D.

It is easy to find fault with this work. Cunliffe cuts corners: one can see where he switches from one secondary authority to the next, sometimes acknowledging the authors, sometimes not. More irritating is that his mission to reunite prehistoric and classical archaeology already appears passé in light of the work of scholars whom Cunliffe himself either cites or ignores. (The strangest omission from his bibliography is John Collis's *The European Iron Age* [1984].) As for

Cunliffe's basic thesis, any single-answer solution to the complex problems of Greco-Roman penetration of Western Europe must be questionable, and one that is founded on the role of commerce must be treated with particular caution. Above all, Cunliffe's constant references to the ambitions and influence of "Roman entrepreneurs" are highly misleading in their equating of Republican Rome with nineteenth-century Manchester. (There is no mention of William V. Harris's *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome* [1979].) With regard to Cunliffe's methodology, there is an alarming inconsistency between his eager employment of purely archaeological data to reconstruct the western Hallstatt economy (for example, p. 31) and his easy rejection of these in favor of the observations of Latin authors in respect of the late La Tène and early Germanic societies (for example, pp. 92, 174).

Yet, for all its weaknesses, Cunliffe's book is still to be welcomed. It is well produced and well written; it conveniently summarizes much recent research; and it makes many valid points (I especially welcome his underlining of the artificiality of "Gaul," Caesar's creation [p. 117]). The book will provoke much useful debate. I pray, however, that, in the current parlous state of British humanities, Cunliffe's glib approbation of a remark by Glyn Daniel ("After all, why does one write and lecture except to amuse oneself?" [p. xii]) does not come to the attention of our secretary of state for higher education.

JOHN F. DRINKWATER
University of Sheffield

WALTER GOFFART. *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xv, 491. \$39.50.

This is a very good book. Even if one does not agree with it, it is still a very good book, full of freshness, imagination, and learning. In some ways iconoclastic and often adventurous in interpretation, Walter Goffart takes the authors that he discusses seriously and makes us take them seriously, too.

The title is deliberate: "narrators," because history writing takes narrative form. Goffart is interested in the literary-critical idea of narrative and the sense in which history can be said (if it can) to differ from or resemble fiction. Thus, he points to "happy endings," "plots," and "love-stories" in his four authors, who are, in turn, Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon. On three of them he performs a rescue operation from modern misunderstanding or relegation to the world of the trivial. For Bede (since Bede's authority is hardly questioned) a different approach was necessary, and Goffart concentrates instead on providing a thick Northumbrian context for the *Chronicle*. This chapter is also shorter, because there is less for Goffart to recover ("no one has called Bede bad" [p. 238]). One of the concerns for which Goffart de-

serves most respect is his insistence on taking early medieval history writing on its own rather than on our terms, which up to now have been all too often arrogantly ethnocentric or classicizing.

Another of the threads running through this dense and complex book is the undermining of the pervasive nationalistic reading of early barbarian history and historians (see also his chapter on the invasions in his earlier book, *Barbarians and Romans: Techniques of Accommodation, A.D. 418–584* [1980]). When these works are read with more care, there turns out to be little in them to justify such a view and even at times much that points to a contrary conclusion. What Goffart terms the "romantic" reading of barbarian history—that simplicity and directness diagnosed by Eric Auerbach, for instance (p. 146)—is shown equally to be a construct of the modern imagination. That every historian creates his or her own past is a view with which Goffart would agree, and it is the barbarian past that we, too, have created that he tries here to dispel.

It is possible that this agenda has led him to overrate his authors a little. Jordanes emerges as a master of irony (for example, p. 79), the writer of "a subtle and complex book" (p. 81). Gregory of Tours, too, is praised for irony and satire (p. 177, 197), as a creator of "a mad but permanent world" (p. 199) and a writer of "prescriptive satire" (p. 200). Even Paul the Deacon's *Roman History* has a more determined purpose and "inner structure" than we had previously imagined (p. 333). All four end up as "deliberate creators" of stories with relevance (p. 436). But, although a tendency to overargue may be built into any work with so pronounced a program, Goffart has also produced a wealth of original arguments and insights that will succeed in permanently disturbing the old complacency.

His analysis of Gregory of Tours seems to me particularly good. It will not do to collude with modern preconceptions and privilege the *Histories* over the *Miracula*; Gregory is revealed as a writer with a coherent moral purpose who exalts deeds over words but presents his subject matter in terms of high emotion and relief ("the interweaving of light and dark," "miracles and slaughter," rather than "the gray middle ground" [p. 174]), not the familiar credulous soul but a writer "confident in the God-given world he inhabited, in the validity of his personal experiences, in the power of his non-style" (p. 151). On Jordanes there are still some loose ends. Claiming Jordanes's work as important historiographically and rejecting the role often assigned to him of slavish copyist of Cassiodorus, Goffart nevertheless leaves both Jordanes and Cassiodorus suspended in Constantinople in the early 550s with Jordanes taking the trouble to refute Procopius's *Wars* (I–VII, A.D. 550/51) on Thule (a "quiet polemic," [p. 101]), but with Cassiodorus left in apparent isolation. Procopius was no longer praising Belisarius by then, and the possible connections between him and Jordanes, or for that matter John the Lydian, another writer of these years, remain tantalizingly opaque.

Goffart makes an interesting case for composition by Jordanes for a Roman and Gothic audience in the context not of A.D. 551 but of the ending of the Gothic war by Narses in A.D. 554 (p. 98, although Jordanes does not in fact mention Narses); on this reading, the work becomes a "love-story with a happy ending" (p. 109), telling the tale of Romano-Gothic relations in a "gentle, sympathetic and positive fashion" (p. 102) and thus producing a serious rethinking of Cassiodorus's *Gothic History* to inculcate a "comprehensive, up-to-date initiation [of Italy] into universal, Roman and contemporary history" (p. 107) and focusing on the Goths in order to do so (Goffart is interesting on the purposes that could be served for a writer by origins stories; on Amal genealogies, see also Peter Heather, "Cassiodorus and the Rise of the Amals," *Journal of Roman Studies* 79 [1989]: 103–28). Jordanes was "neither isolated nor a hack" (p. 107)—"the barbarians were here to stay, and had to be dealt with on that basis" (p. 107). All the same, even for Goffart, he remains just an "anonymous Constantinopolitan whom we know as Jordanes" (p. 106). I still wish we could fill in some of these gaps.

It is obvious that I enjoyed reading Goffart's book, even if I cannot always assent to its conclusions. It is warm, thoughtful, and full of interest, and I feel better for reading it.

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London

KARL CHRIST. *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit: Von Augustus bis zu Konstantin*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1988. Pp. ix, 869. DM 86.

After lavish quotations from Burckhardt and Ranke, which will amuse those who savored their demolition by Moses Finley, the publisher's blurb of this book claims that it is the first such German digest "seit Jahrzehnten." If so (what about Hermann Bengtson's *Grundriss der Römischen Geschichte* [1967], covering everything to A.D. 284?), why? It could hardly be intimidation by Theodor Mommsen, whose history of the empire is one of the greatest books never written.

The introduction comports methodology and historiographical survey, also (p. 2) one of few palpable errors. The year A.D. 476 is a possible terminus for the Western empire, indeed was singled out as such by Marcellinus (*Chron.* 14), which Karl Christ might have adduced but not because of "die Absetzung des letzten legalen Herrschers"—Romulus Augustulus was himself a usurper! The exordium also reflects on the role of biography, sensibly ignoring recent denunciations of this genre, and diverts the "grosse Publikum" (the professed audience) by adumbration of views of Rome from Tillemont onward. Christ's inclusion of Marxist (per)versions seems half-hearted, neglecting such English practitioners as Perry Anderson and Geoffrey de

Ste Croix (see Padelis Lekas, *Marx On Classical Antiquity* [1988]).

Unexceptional sketches of the Republic and the civil wars prelude nine solid chapters ranging from Augustus to Constantine. Contents and organization are traditional. Christ's prose is pedestrian but clear, and there are some light moments, for example, Marguerite Yourcenar's novel on Hadrian (p. 318). Christ has a strong narrative line and is especially good on provinces (shades of Mommsen!), where epigraphic and papyrological evidence is well used. Marcus Aurelius is given disproportionately short shrift, and things after the year 235 are badly pushed, rather like Gibbon's notorious last chapter on Byzantium. Literature is the weakest element, for example, two perfunctory pages (135–36) on Virgil, half being German snippets. (Christ was right to translate his sources, though references are not always complete. For example, which book of Claudian's *Stilicho* at page 798?) Writers are run down a treadmill of jejune generalization. Aulus Gellius is a good bad example (p. 543): "Die Prosa ist schlicht, dem Zeitgeschmack entsprechend leicht archaisierend." Given the fatal need to use it so much, the *Historia Augusta* never gets the clear statement of problems that the reader needs, and Christ's best remarks (pp. 629–30) are undone by confusion over Julian's view of Alexander Severus. And, although no synthesizer could get everyone in, one misses such authors as Athenaeus, sometimes an important source for Commodus.

There are no notes. Some will carp, but I am not very indignant, given the intended audience, the extensive bibliography, and the mitigation of frequent parenthetical citing of primary sources, although the scheme is arbitrary (for example, on page 300, Eutropius comes with reference, John Lydus without. For the record, it is *De Mag.* 2. 28).

The bibliography, restricted to books, is up-to-date (items to 1987) and alert to non-German contributions. One can naturally find omissions, and there is capriciousness (why books on some ancient authors but not others?). But, on this showing and that of his other works, nobody could accuse Christ of not knowing the field.

Sixty-one illustrations range from a poignant map of the Jewish diaspora (p. 579) to a pointless and obscure "plan" of Ostian "Hauserblocke" (I would like to hear Prince Charles on this one). A list of abbreviations is itself very abbreviated—only six items. More *Abkürzung* would have saved space. Next, there are three imperial *stemmata*, though none for the complex Antonines; Anthony Birley's *Marcus Aurelius* required six. The substantial index is sometimes inaccurate (for example, the lone reference to page 549 for Habicht should be page 550) and inconsistent on peripheral names (T. S. Eliot and a host of others on page 146 are left out, whereas the equivalent Yourcenar on page 310 is in) and has an odd two-tier policy on Roman names, with, for example, one instance of Petronius and one of *Petron*.

Market forces will ensure that this handsome volume, academically and physically solid in the best German manner, finds little sale over here, except in an English translation. Monoglots cannot use it, and those who read German have abundant English rivals from which to choose. That is a pity; Christ is a first-class scholar and as adept a digester of Roman history as Max Cary and Howard Scullard. But *habent sua fata libelli!*

BARRY BALDWIN
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HERWIG WOLFRAM. *History of the Goths*. Translated by THOMAS J. DUNLAP. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 613. \$39.95.

This excellent, scholarly book is a "must read" for anyone dealing with the transformation of the Roman empire in late antiquity and the development of Europe during the early Middle Ages. Herwig Wolfram and his translator are to be commended for their clarity of language and economy of style. This detailed history of the Goths establishes itself as the definitive treatment of the subject in a mere 365 pages of text. The appendixes complement the text with a list of emperors, a dateline of Gothic history, valuable genealogical charts, 157 pages of exemplary notes, an up-to-date bibliography, an adequate number of maps, and an extremely detailed, cross-referenced, and accurate index. The text contains a myriad of historical details placed in explanatory contexts that include lengthy discussions of disputed theories.

Wolfram presents the complex history of the Goths in five chapters. In the first four he discusses the etymological and legendary derivations of the tribal names as well as biblical and classical considerations on the origin of the Goths, the formation of the Gothic tribes before their encounter with the Huns, the migration and formation of the Visigoths from their entry into the eastern Roman empire until the establishment of their kingdom in southwestern Gaul, and the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse through its dislocation by the Franks and its final flourish in Visigothic Spain. In the fifth chapter Wolfram presents a complete history of the Ostrogoths from their formation after the Battle of Adrianople to their disappearance as a tribe following their wars against the Byzantine empire during Justinian's reign. The chapters are composed of topical sections dealing with the sequence of events and with such topics as politics and institutions, the kingship, the community of descent, the community of the law, the tribal army, the social world of the Gothic freeman, cult and religion, daily life, and the royal estates and finances.

Wolfram insists that a history of the Goths must be written as historical ethnography that deals "descriptively with peoples" (p. 6) living outside of and largely unaffected by the civilized world. Wolfram believes the historical treatment of the Goths to be different as a

result of the work of Cassiodorus, in which Gothic traditions became Roman history and the pagan origins of the Goths were absorbed into the Christian view of history as God's plan for humankind's redemption, that is, providential history. For Wolfram the history of the Goths, however, is also a historical ethnogenesis in which the Goths, whether Visigoths or Ostrogoths, were polyethnic communities, continually fragmenting and recrystallizing around families and clans of Goths who could claim descent from or at least the select favor of the gods. Membership in the tribe could be by common descent or by political decision to join the community by acknowledging the tribal tradition. At all times the Goths could count numerous Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, Hunnic, and Iranian peoples as well as representatives of all classes of Roman provincials in their numbers. The people were the army, and the army was open to all regardless of origin. Although the Visigothic kingdom was able to establish the community of the law, the Ostrogothic kingdom reverted to the form of the military kingship. The warrior kings were not representatives of the splendid tribal tradition. For Wolfram the marriage of Theoderic's granddaughter to the nephew of Justinian represents a blending of Gothic and Roman traditions into the *historia Romana*.

Wolfram has presented a successful and balanced analysis without the glorifications or sentimentality that this topic can attract.

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MEDIEVAL

PETER SPUFFORD. *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 467. \$79.50.

Peter Spufford's title is apt; he has in fact produced a remarkably comprehensive history of money and its use that spans virtually the entire Middle Ages. Numismatic expertise is happily reinforced by knowledge of and respect for history in its broader context—qualities sometimes sadly absent from monetary studies. The level of erudition and the control of the appropriate literature are enviable; the bibliography alone makes the book an invaluable point of origin for any subsequent study of monetary affairs in Western Europe during the Middle Ages.

No one author, however, can attempt so much without provoking some dissent or raising questions of omission or interpretation. It is somewhat surprising, for example, to find that Spufford discusses the Carolingian metric reforms as if there were no dispute concerning the 1.7-gram weight for the penny proffered here. The estimates of K. Morrison (*Speculum* [1963]) have been disputed by H. Miskimin (*Economic History Review* [1967]), defended by Jörg Müller (*Revue numismatique* [1977]), and again challenged by P. Nightingale (*Economic History Review* [1985]). The lack of

reference to that literature is particularly unfortunate because it suggests that numismatic science has departed from history at that juncture. To ignore alternative interpretations is at best a limited form of argument.

Reading between the lines, one suspects that Spufford believes more strongly than he dares to admit in the power of shifts in the gold-silver ratio to generate international bullion movements. He is usually careful to limit his claim for the influence of the gold-silver ratio to the merchant's choice of precious metals in trade, thus acknowledging the substantial literature questioning the meaning of mint ratios, the convertibility of metals at mints or elsewhere, the impact of transport costs, the role of institutional blockages, the level of seigniorage charges, and the capability of medieval kings to force the circulation of the coinage at par and to impose a legal tender standard for the money. Occasionally, however, caution deserts Spufford, and a mechanical and unconvincing exposition ensues (for example, p. 370). Perhaps under the influence of that predilection, in writing of debasement the author makes the curious assertion that a king in the high Middle Ages "had an exclusive right to do what he liked with the coinage" (p. 301). In point of fact, the glossators, the *Digest*, and the writings of Innocent III and Gregory IX opposed that notion, and the rulings of the Parlement of Paris customarily specified the settlement of contracts in money equivalent in intrinsic value to that employed at the initiation of the contract. That practice was consistently enforced throughout the fourteenth century, well before the *De moneta* of Nicholas d'Oresme reasserted the supposedly new doctrine. It was only in the very late Middle Ages that fiat money deriving its value solely from the will of the prince appears to have become a reality. One last minor cavil is in order: Spufford gives the impression that, during the 1440s and 1450s, London was the only active mint in northwestern Europe (p. 357). It is worth noting that the French coinage, though small, was in fact continuous during those years. Such coinage was insufficient to alleviate the bullion shortage of the period, but it is better to recognize its existence than to appear to have overlooked it.

Spufford makes an important contribution to monetary history in documenting the scale of coin hoarding during the late fourteenth century, though one wishes that he had pressed further and tied the decline in hoarding to the surge in mint output associated with the new phase of the Hundred Years' War introduced by Henry V. Also welcome is Spufford's documentation of the continuous use of money in Western Europe from Roman times. All in all, this is an enormously well-researched and worthy book that should find a warm and lively reception among specialists in monetary and economic history.

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RUTH MAZO KARRAS. *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*. (Yale Historical Publications, number 135.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 309. \$32.50.

It is of the utmost importance that so well-informed an American historian as Ruth Mazo Karras has written a comprehensive survey of medieval slavery in all Scandinavian countries. Nordic historians are inclined to deal only with their own country.

Karras divides her book into two sections: a shorter one in which she draws the distinction between Nordic and non-Nordic slavery and a longer one in which she describes Scandinavian servitude systematically. Each chapter of the longer section treats fundamental issues in the four countries from which source material is available: Iceland, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden.

The first section covers the history of servitude from Roman times until the central Middle Ages. Karras's discussion of the development from ancient slavery to medieval serfdom underlines the legal difference between the master's full power over his slaves and the reduction of that power to the point where serfs had some right over their own persons—they could marry, inherit, and even make a fortune. Slaves were bound to their masters, serfs to the land (but together with the land even serfs could be sold or given away). Another problem is the position of freed slaves or serfs: in most cases, the first generation after manumission did not fully belong to the society.

Many details are squeezed into this first section, but an important issue is neglected: the philological explanation of the word "slave." That subject may seem to have been exhausted by Charles Verlinden's studies, but it must be reiterated in this connection: when the Latin *servus* became the French *serf*, a name was needed for the many captives taken by the Vikings in Eastern Europe. So *Sclavi*, the ethnic name of the Slavs, was transferred to a group on whom no legal rights were bestowed. That is the historical situation into which the beginning of medieval slavery fits. When Karras avoids discussion of the issue, both the dating and the importance of the slave trade are put aside. That is deplorable because Scandinavian merchants took a vital part in the slave trade, which was necessary for the supply of new slaves. The subject is well established in the source material. Apparently Karras has chosen not to discuss the slave trade because she wants to examine only the conditions of slaves inside Scandinavia.

A special feature of Nordic slavery was its name: thralldom. Karras is well aware of that fact and gives a thorough definition of the word. She notes that *træl* (thrall) was used as an equivalent for *servus* in all medieval texts and therefore developed the same meaning. Because we have no chance to look behind the texts and find out the real implication of thralldom, Karras uses "slave" for convenience. That attitude, however, has some complications.

Other parts of the book deal with the slave in

Scandinavian economies. Only household slaves existed, as there appear to have been no demesnes. As for the legal position of the slaves, Karras discusses many interesting legal traits and notes great differences between the positions of slaves in the different countries. Of special interest are wills. A single, but famous, Danish will and twenty-nine Swedish wills that include the manumission of slaves are known to exist. Here the end of Scandinavian slavery is in view. The latest manumissions took place in Sweden in the fourteenth century, although slavery seems to have been obsolete more than a hundred years earlier in the other countries.

Karras asks why no serfs in the juridical sense are to be found in Scandinavia. Her answer is that, although peasants and land laborers could be economically dependent, they were juridically free. That statement applies only to tenants, who under some laws could participate in local assemblies. The laws give no other group of slaves such juridical standing.

The book ends with a special appendix on the use of the sources. In itself, it is sound. But it centers on the theory of slavery, and when one compares that theory with the ways in which the sources are used throughout the book, much is amiss. Although the family sagas that date back to the thirteenth century but deal with the eleventh century are dismissed as poor sources for the eleventh century, material drawn from them appears again and again in the text. Karras seems to find the sagas to be more trustworthy as sources than the laws that were written down during the thirteenth century. The key to that paradox is Karras's belief that all medieval Scandinavian texts describe only a later concept of slavery, not the real thing. If so, a large margin must be left for a real understanding of Scandinavian thralldom.

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MAIRE HERBERT. *Iona, Kells, and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 327. \$72.00.

Lives of the saints form a rich and underexploited body of material for the historian of early Christian Ireland. Although a few texts, most notably Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*, have been accorded considerable respect, many have been dismissed as relatively worthless. Máire Herbert convincingly demonstrates what a valuable source hagiography can be, skillfully using Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*, an Irish life of Adomnán himself, and a vernacular life of Colum Cille to build a compelling history of the Columban *familia*.

The book is divided into three parts, the first of which considers the *familia* from a historical point of view. This section includes a brief discussion of Colum Cille's life as well as a series of short studies of each of

his successors, laying particular stress on genealogy and politics. With the foundation of Kells in 804, the focus of the *paruchia* shifted from Iona to Ireland, although Herbert is careful to emphasize the continuation of monastic life at Iona. She also points out that it took some time for Kells to attain the wealth and status that it clearly enjoyed in the tenth century. The historical section concludes with an interesting chapter on the monastery of Derry, which assumed control of the *familia* under the dynamic leadership of Flaithbertach Ua Brolcháin (1150–74). Three phases of Columban history are thus identified, each relating to one of the lives examined in the second part of the book.

The various texts on the lives of Colum Cille and Adomnán are subjected to textual and linguistic analysis with considerable attention paid to the motives of the authors. The life of Adomnán, a work attributed to circa 956–64, is shown to be concerned not so much with Adomnán as a historical person as with threats to the Columban federation in the tenth century. The vernacular life of Colum Cille is assigned to the decade or so after 1150 and associated with Derry's claims to leadership of the *paruchia*. An edition (with translation) of this twelfth-century text forms the final part of the book.

Underlying many of Herbert's arguments is the conviction that hagiography can reveal much about the concerns of monastic communities at the time the hagiographies were written and that those writings contain encoded messages. The difficulty with this sort of shadow history is in knowing when to stop, because there are no obvious controls. Herbert suggests some very precise correlations, arguing that "figures conjured from the records of the period of Adomnán's lifetime stand as ciphers for the hagiographer's contemporaries" (p. 167).

Whatever the dangers of this approach, Herbert's book is nonetheless a tour de force, an ingenious interweaving of historical and literary evidence. It is full of valuable insights and observations for scholars in allied disciplines. To take just one example, Herbert clarifies the background to the carving of the "tower" cross at Kells, one of the great (undated) monuments of early Christian Ireland. This cross has a puzzling inscription that mentions both Colum Cille and Patrick, founders of the two rival *familia*. But, between 891 and 927, the *comarba* of Columcille, Máel Brigte mac Tornáin, was also abbot of Armagh, providing one of the few occasions when such an inscription would make sense. Although archaeology and art history lie outside the scope of Herbert's study, it is important to note that the Book of Kells, "the great gospel book of Colum Cille," was itself a product of the hagiographical processes that she so meticulously analyzes.

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BARBARA H. ROSENWEIN. *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1989. Pp. xviii, 258. \$32.50.

Some three thousand charters of the abbey of Cluny survive from the 140 years between its foundation in 909 and the death of its fifth abbot, Odilo. The printed edition of the charters by Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel has been used to good effect by numerous historians. But for many years historians have eagerly awaited an index to the charters, which is being prepared in Dijon; more recently, the prospect of computerized data bases such as those being created by Joachim Wollasch and his associates in Münster has promised still fuller access to the wealth of information that the charters contain. Few monastic sources promise such scope for systems of statistical analysis as the charters do. Barbara H. Rosenwein has studied the nature of Cluny's ownership of land, the character of its claims to its property, and its tutelage of the lands of its subject houses, with the benefit of direct access to and familiarity with the resources in Dijon and Münster. She also seeks to bring to bear the methods and findings of social history and anthropology. Her book thus offers a fascinating and inviting *aperçu* of what modern methods and resources may make possible when applied to large bodies of charter material in general and especially to the charters of Cluny.

Rosenwein states that her initial intention in using a system of statistical analysis was simply to produce better maps of Cluny's property but that her reorganization of Cluniac data in terms of location led to the study not only of groups of properties in particular places but also of the social groups involved, sometimes over several generations, in the transactions that the charters recorded. Perhaps the most valuable conclusion to emerge from her book is the need, in Marc Bloch's first feudal age, to balance the dynamics of social groups against the concrete details of land transactions. She warns against modern assumptions such as that the transfer of property necessarily results in a clear transfer of dominion or that, when property is given, it is alienated. With the realism of contemporary views of a patron saint, property transactions of many kinds presupposed, in the case of Cluniac charters, a relationship with St. Peter—hence, the realistic terms of Rosenwein's title. The pattern of donations, sales, quitclaims, and gifts served to define and order human relationships and to establish social cohesion in an age when public authority was at a low ebb. Not that the period under discussion was unchanging in its patterns of life. Rosenwein's data processing confirms and documents the critical changes that were at their most pronounced in the decades on either side of the year 1000. The charters abundantly reveal the effects both on Cluny and on those whose lives its charters illustrate, for example, the emergence of patrilinear families and larger seigneuries.

Cluny's seignury is closely studied. The abbey was concerned to use exchanges and sales to consolidate its

holdings at appropriately situated locations for which Rosenwein coins the term "vendopolis"—"a place dismembered (by its inhabitants) and consolidated (by Cluny) through exchanges and above all through sales" (p. 89). Economic and political considerations seem to have been well to the fore; Rosenwein notices that, whereas charters of donation began piously and named St. Peter as recipient, exchanges and sales normally named only the human agents. Rosenwein makes many such illuminating observations.

Historians will, moreover, be grateful for the maps and abundant data about Cluniac sources and topography that are here made available. Their appetites will be whetted for extended investigations up to the time of Peter the Venerable.

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ALFONS BECKER. *Papst Urban II (1088–1099)*. Part 2, *Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*. (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, number 19.) Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1988. Pp. xlii, 457. DM 196.

Historians have been waiting for the completion of Alfons Becker's study of Urban II since 1964 when the first volume of his work appeared. That book, which was half as long as this one, treated Urban's ecclesiastical career and his dealings with the West. The present volume describes in luxuriant detail Urban's relations with Byzantium and his role in the First Crusade. Inevitably, a few subjects, such as dealings with Germany, the papal schism, and the question of the Normans in southern Italy, appear in both volumes. On the whole the long wait appears to have been worth it, although this book is highly self-indulgent in that it is too long and too detailed. Becker makes a number of original and important points, and he gives plausible solutions to some old historical riddles. But he could have done all of this just as well in half the space.

According to Becker, two fundamental and interrelated ideas governed Urban's concerns with Byzantium and the crusades. Regarding Byzantium, Urban was motivated by an almost mystical conception of the unity of the church under papal headship. Urban was not particularly interested in the events and developments that had damaged papal relations with Constantinople since 1054. Matters of jurisdiction, language, and worship, for example, were not crucial. Urban wanted recognition from the East that his was the only legitimate way to view the universal church. Details could be left for local settlement. The Compromise of Melfi was thus indicative of the possibilities of the age and revealing of its tragedies. The emperor and the patriarch conceded many points concerning the Greek population of southern Italy, and Urban gladly accepted the compromise. It simply could not effect genuine reconciliation because the compromise only regulated details

while leaving essential ecclesiological problems unresolved.

Regarding the crusade, Becker argues that Urban proceeded from a particular view of history according to which God revealed himself from time to time in patterns of reward and punishment. For a long time God had been justly punishing the transgressions of Christians by pummeling them with Arab armies, but now, all over the western Mediterranean, God was rewarding sincere Christians by giving them victories that Urban viewed as recuperations. In all of this, Urban saw himself as the unique identifier and proclaimer of God's will, and, to the pope, it appeared that God had willed that new rewards, that is, new recuperations, would be found in the East. Becker thus divorces the onset of the crusade from any one event, or even from any combination of events, and attributes the inception of the fateful movement to Urban's atemporal view of things. Becker does review the major theories about why the First Crusade happened, and he looks to previous explanations for Urban's role. In fact, he does not deny that the appeal for aid from the Byzantines, the successful reconquests in the West, the warrior ethos of the European nobility, or a host of other factors did not play contingent and possibly even motivating roles. It is just that the centerpiece of Becker's argument is Urban himself.

Becker states at one point that it is appropriate to study these issues from Urban's perspective because, in the Middle Ages, individuals counted for more than they do today. That is a deeply questionable proposition, but there can be no doubt that, by looking closely at Urban II, Becker has opened up interesting possibilities for thinking about the momentous years at the close of the eleventh century. I am not confident that scholars are going to accept Becker's interpretation that it was not a host of specific circumstances but the curious religious vision of one man who saw his leadership as a fitting expression of God's will that explains papal relations with Byzantium and the crusade. But I am certain that any scholar who does not confront directly Becker's beautifully crafted account will misunderstand much about a decisive historical period.

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE
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ALAIN BOUREAU. *La Papesse Jeanne*. (Collection historique.) Paris: Aubier. 1988. Pp. 412. 150 fr.

Alain Boureau examines the historical anthropology of the story of Pope Joan. He shows how the tale of this woman who never existed was understood and used in a number of different ways for a variety of reasons.

The earliest discussion of Joan occurred in the middle of the twelfth century in Rome but was not recorded until Jean de Mailly incorporated the story into his chronicle a century later. The details varied, but the general outline remained the same: circa 850 a woman who came from Mainz but was of English

extraction donned men's clothing to accompany her lover in his studies. She became a superior student, and her rapid advancement in the church culminated in her election to the papacy. For two years she carried out her papal duties, but she then blew her cover dramatically when she went into labor while processing from the Vatican to the Lateran and died in childbirth.

Although the story is apocryphal, it had a lively existence in literature. For instance, two chairs with pierced seats were first used in 1099 at the elevation of Pope Pascal II to symbolize the extended jurisdiction of the papacy. They entered into myth, however, as the chairs in which the pope-elect sat so that a deacon could feel from underneath and assure the multitude that the pontiff was equipped with male genitals. That bizarre rite never existed, but many authors not only described it but often claimed to have been eyewitnesses. The story at first reaffirmed the pope's virility at a time when the imposition of celibacy on priests had created an uneasy ecclesiastic climate. It later became a malicious tale with which enemies of the church could ridicule its leader. Other rites, such as the fasts for Ember Days and the route of the papal coronation procession, also were ingeniously explained by reference to Pope Joan.

Boureau tracks the legend of Joan from descriptions of papal investiture to popular literature: in Dominican preaching as an exemplum, in Giovanni Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* as one of the famous women, on tarot cards as a figure of power and trouble, and in the antipapal polemics of William of Ockham, John Hus, and Martin Luther. By the seventeenth century, belief in Joan's existence had waned, but she continued to be used in literature, cropping up, for example, in the eighteenth century as a figure of anti-Christian pleasure and in modern writing as a metaphor, a burlesque, or a romantic figure.

This work is an ambitious one that looks for belief systems by deconstructing the legend of Pope Joan. Boureau describes seven centuries of complex literature, the intentions of the authors, and the beliefs that shaped the tale. The book is provocative and meaty but difficult to read because it is poorly organized. In attempting to follow somewhat arbitrary headings, Boureau often discards chronology. Because the cross-fertilization of ideas is key to Boureau's analysis, his decision, for example, to discuss Marie Robine (late fourteenth century), Hildegard of Bingen (twelfth century), and Robert Arbrissel (early twelfth century) in that order obscures some of the connections Boureau seeks to show. He ends the book with a list of all the works about Pope Joan from the thirteenth century until today, which unfortunately is not complete. Nonetheless, the scholarship is solid, the interpretations convincing, and the scope impressive. Boureau succeeds in showing Joan as "a convenient device in ancient systems of belief" (p. 332).

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RONA GOFFEN. *Spirituality in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 142. \$42.50.

This book is seriously flawed from start to finish. The title suggests that it is a study of Giotto di Bondone's frescoes in the Bardi Chapel of Santa Croce in Florence. The cover photograph, however, is of Bonaventura Berlinghieri's painting of Francis of Assisi in Pescia, a work discussed in two pages, and Giotto's frescoes are the subject of only one of the book's four chapters. Despite the title, this book is essentially an attempt to compare two cycles of the saint's life, the Bardi dossal of 1245–50 and the Giotto frescoes. Such a study could be fruitful, even though the dossal was not originally in the Bardi Chapel. Rona Goffen's argument, however, is not based on a close enough analysis of either the paintings or their written sources, and the author makes some significant errors in her interpretation of Franciscan history.

Goffen argues that the sources of the Bardi dossal are the two lives of Francis by Thomas of Celano plus the same author's treatise on miracles. Her argument is not convincing and is largely based on a common but untenable reading of the dossal's eighteenth and nineteenth scenes, although she tries hard to explain why those two scenes are somewhat different from the other representations (pp. 33, 46). Her discussion of the Bardi dossal contains a number of errors and omissions. Goffen fails to read the sources carefully. There is no "doll" in Celano's description of the Christmas crib at Greccio (pp. 24, 38). Goffen suggests that Francis was identified as the angel of the sixth seal as early as 1235 (p. 31), but such an identification is not found in Celano. She says that the altarpiece in the Tesoro in Assisi shows Francis with his side wound (p. 31), but that is not so. Her descriptions of the ninth through the twelfth scenes of the Bardi dossal omit important details. For example, Francis is not being dragged in the representation of him doing penance, although that is a central part of Celano's narrative; Goffen fails to mention that difference between the verbal and visual accounts. Her comments linking the story of Francis with lepers to the saint's *Testament* are insightful, however.

The most problematic aspect of her analysis of the Bardi dossal is her insistence that both the dossal and the writings of Celano represent a spiritual view of Francis. She clearly believes that the "Spiritual" and "Conventual" parties were formed quite early, because she refers to Elias of Cortona, who left office in 1237, as a "Conventual Minister General" (p. 48). To base her analysis of texts and paintings on the assumption that those parties were formally defined and organized is perhaps the most serious conceptual flaw in the book.

The chapter on Giotto's Bardi Chapel frescoes is much better. Goffen sees the frescoes as a successful attempt to transcend the bitter divisions in the Franciscan order between the Spirituals and Conventuals, who certainly were well-defined entities at the time the

frescoes were executed. Even here there are some problems in her reading of this cycle's source, the *Legenda Maior* of Bonaventure. Goffen misses Bonaventure's point about the falcon's presence at La Verna being a prophecy of the stigmatization. She thinks that there was a fire when Francis was before the sultan, although Bonaventure makes clear that Francis only asked that a fire be built. Her discussion of patronage of the chapel and the political ties between the Bardi family and the Angevin dynasty is a significant scholarly contribution.

In general, Goffen knows a great deal more about art than about Franciscan history, and she has much greater knowledge of the Giotto frescoes than of the early panel paintings. In addition to her misunderstanding of Spirituals and Conventuals and her imperfect reading of the texts, she displays her lack of historical insight by not knowing that Dominicans are also referred to as friars (p. 5). She states that Francis encouraged the cult of his own personality (p. 6). If, as she claims, the representation of Francis with the stigmata made the cross and book redundant as iconographic devices (p. 16), why were the cross and book so prevalent in images of the saint throughout the thirteenth century? She also believes that, because the stigmata were Francis's iconographic device, the image of Francis was "essentially unchanging in Italian art during about four centuries" (p. 21). In fact, there was extraordinary variety in the ways of representing the saint during that period. Goffen claims that Francis replaced Mary Magdalene at the foot of the cross in thirteenth-century depictions of crucifixion (p. 22), but she cites not a single example of a crucifixion scene with Mary Magdalene that predates the image of Francis at Christ's feet.

The photographs and color plates in this book are excellent, and so is the bibliography. The notes are copious but consistently frustrating. Often one looks at a note to find a reference to a primary source, or some specific evidence for a point Goffen makes, only to be disappointed. For example, she claims that the story of Francis tracing his habit is depicted in the Bardi dossal in such a way as to satisfy the legal means for the adoption of a habit by ecclesiastical officials. One expects to find a reference to that legislation or at least to a modern discussion of it. Instead, the note refers the reader to a discussion of variations of the habit during the fourteenth century.

Although Goffen provides occasional insights, her book is flawed in both conception and execution. The chapter on the Giotto frescoes would have made a useful journal article. Goffen's historical vision is so flawed and her knowledge of the earliest Franciscan art so limited, however, that the book as a whole fails to shed much light on the development of early Franciscan painting.

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ELEANOR SEARLE. *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 356. \$38.00.

In this challenging new book, Eleanor Searle contests conventional interpretations of early Norman history and replaces them with a new model of Norman state building. Dropping the conventional empiricist pretense that Norman history can be constructed solely from well-documented historical facts, she acknowledges that she, like any historian, has constructed a model that she finds useful in "thinking about the past" (p. 2). She thereby transforms irresolvable squabbles about the minutiae of Norman history into a more productive debate about how Norman rulers gained coercive power and established political cohesion within their realm.

Searle develops a substantively original position when arguing that Norman political power and cohesion were based neither on Carolingian traditions nor on clientage but rather on a malleable form of Germanic kinship. "Political," or "predatory," kinship is the main element in her model of Norman state building (pp. 159–78) because, in her view, such kinship not only provided the main idioms for claiming political support and material resources but also promoted the political cohesion of the duchy and allowed an unparalleled capacity for political expansion. In giving analytical primacy to the "politics of kinship" (pp. 105–06), not to feudalism or to Carolingian-style government, Searle successfully reconceptualizes early Norman history, even though her treatment of kinship as a means of political recruitment requires clarification. Focusing on politics, rather than on legal institutions, she replaces the familiar images of an older historiography with terms favored both by anthropologists and by medievalists influenced by anthropology. What historians once represented as lawful assertions of rights or powers, for example, appear in Searle's model as political acts of predation or as feuding. She treats women as important political actors and abandons the feudal hierarchy in favor of another metaphor, namely, the social network, or "web," of kinship connections (pp. 98–107). People we once believed to be legitimate rulers who exercised institutionalized power by making feoffments and becoming parties of feudal contracts now assume the guise of plundering political entrepreneurs who participated in various forms of gift exchange. When specifying the norms of Norman political kinship, Searle stresses their malleability and carefully refrains from treating them as elements in a feudal code that strictly governed political practice.

Given Searle's focus on the dynamic process of "power formation" (p. 4), there is something puzzling about her tendency to represent peasants throughout the entire period as passive victims rather than as political entrepreneurs in their own right. But, because it is not meant to be a comprehensive model of Norman society, her model of Norman state building could be

embellished by historians who find it generally plausible but who wish to look more closely at such topics as class formation. On the other hand, even determined critics of her innovative model will make no headway in attacking it unless, answering her challenge to reassess conventional assumptions, they first abandon the familiar empiricist tactic of simply caviling about inessential details in her impressive argument and then propose, if they can, a more cogent and better-documented model of state building in Normandy.

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J. S. HAMILTON. *Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, 1307–1312: Politics and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II*. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press or Harvester-Wheatsheaf, London. 1988. Pp. 192. \$32.50.

Any scholar writing about the reign of Edward II has to come to terms with the problem of Edward's relationships with his favorites. The earliest and most controversial favorite was the young Gascon knight Piers Gaveston, Edward's boon companion before he became king, Earl of Cornwall from 1307, and the victim of judicial murder by his enemies in 1312. J. S. Hamilton's book is not the first work to be devoted to Gaveston. The contemporary chronicles were full of him and his supposed crimes; Christopher Marlowe and Bertold Brecht inevitably included Gaveston in their plays on Edward II; two indifferent books were published at the end of the last century; and in 1938 Aileen Taylor completed an important but unpublished study of Gaveston for her master's degree at the University of London. Now we have Hamilton's thoroughly researched and well-written study of Gaveston, in which Hamilton takes fully into account the large amount of research on the reign of Edward II published since 1970.

The short public career of Gaveston was preceded by the connection with England of his father, Arnaud de Gabaston, who came from Béarn bordering on English Gascony but who also held lands in Gascony itself. Gaveston probably first came to England with his father in 1296–97 and certainly served in the Flanders campaign of 1297, during which he apparently came to royal notice. It is ironic that his membership in the household of the future Edward II, which he had joined before the end of 1300, was occasioned by Edward I himself, who probably considered the young Gascon as a suitable model for his own son. The close friendship that soon developed between the two young men, despite several years' difference in their ages, can be illustrated by the very revealing episode (which is not noted in Hamilton's book) recorded by Walter Whittlesey, the Peterborough chronicler, who related that in 1301 Prince Edward refused the gift of a valuable cup while visiting the abbey unless a similar one were given to Gaveston. There is no doubt that a sexual relationship existed between the two, but, as

Hamilton points out, the contemporary definition of sodomy was so vague that it is difficult to be more precise. Both men also married and produced children, and Edward at least fathered one illegitimate child as well. The best conclusion would seem to be that Edward II and Gaveston were bisexual.

The significance of the career of Gaveston, however, lay in the antagonism that he engendered among the leaders of the English nobility while he was alive and the bitter enmity that the manner of his death engendered between Edward II and Thomas of Lancaster. Those facts, whether they are explained on the basis of sexual orientation or on the control of royal patronage or as the result of supreme tactlessness and arrogance on the part of Gaveston, go far to justify a further study of Gaveston. Profound as were the constitutional issues and problems inherited by Edward II from the reign of Edward I, it is little exaggeration to say that Gaveston was the central issue of Edward II's reign from its inauspicious beginnings to its disastrous climax at Berkeley in 1327.

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ALESSANDRO BARBERO. *L'aristocrazia nella società francese del medioevo: Analisi delle fonti letterarie (secoli X–XIII)*. (Studi e testi della storia medioevale, number 12/13.) Bologna: Cappelli. 1987. Pp. 371. L. 35,000.

In the fifty years since Marc Bloch laid out the current set of problems for the history of the medieval nobility (the French nobility *par excellence*), the field has been worked more and more intensely, chiefly by French, but with significant contributions from German and English, scholars. Alessandro Barbero's book attaches itself firmly to this body of work but also constitutes an important revision: his Italian openness to a European range of scholarly literature (including, indeed, the Russian) is, to say the least, un-French, and his attractively corrosive Marxist critical position, unattenuated by the usual development into sociology, allows him to cut through the often-factitious distinctions and overblown constructions that have come to mark the field. And, although his subtitle arouses misgivings, it refers not just to "literature" (in this case the *chansons de geste* with a few romances and other poetical works thrown in) but also to chronicles, treatises, and legal texts. And the social, economic, and political realities of the subject are taken up through the works of modern scholars. In general, this book can be recommended as a point of departure for anyone wishing to read or work in the field: its substance is a series of tight, sustained arguments covering every current issue; the bibliographical footnotes are erudite; the twenty-six pages of bibliography leave out little of importance; and the entries are in perfect form.

The first part of the book discusses the problem, posed by Bloch's theses, of how and when the Euro-

pean aristocracy of lords and landowners became a "nobility"—a status defined by legal privileges and transmitted by inheritance (by blood). A related problem is when the knights, at first mere military servitors, rose to become noble in that sense. Barbero's argumentation, which cannot be covered in detail in a short review, agrees with those who find Bloch's implicit dichotomies unrealistic. "Noble" had a definite legal meaning in the later Middle Ages, that is, an estate within a territorial polity, a status of "gentility" deemed to be hereditary; in the period before the thirteenth century, however, the word more often meant something like excellence. On this basis, then, one need not strain for simplicity about the knights: some were servile, others not, but what they had in common with each other and with their noble lords was more important, namely, the military function and profession that brought all together in a certain camaraderie and provided all with an ideal self-image. Hence, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an idealized "knight-hood" (*chevalerie*, chivalry) emerged to represent the knights' aspiration to nobility and the nobles' self-exaltation as the bearers of previously royal roles. The formal ceremony of dubbing to knighthood developed as a public statement of who truly belonged to the new public nobility; it was thus at once a statement of exclusivity and a modality of recruitment from below. Although these and other theses of Barbero's argument can be found elsewhere, it is only here that they are knit together in a unified logical discourse generated by the Marxist—and today perhaps even commonsensical—insistence on class as a reality underlying status, to say nothing of blood.

In part 2, Barbero takes up the relationship between the aristocracy and the church. Without rejecting or ignoring the scholarship devoted to the church's development of a military ideology and the tri-functional model of society (praying, fighting, working), he engages these ideas in a dialectic emphasizing the nobles' hostility to the church, their lack of interest in ecclesiastical ideology, and the fundamental contradiction between the military, worldly life, and the central Christian ideal. Part 3, devoted to the aristocracy vis-à-vis the lower orders, draws on the abundant evidence of class hatred to attack the corporatist image of an integrated hierarchical society whose solidarities were more vertical than horizontal. Both these parts of the book are instructive, even if less decisive than the first. Shadowing the whole book, however, is the crucial question of how literary sources express or reflect "reality." Barbero is aware of the problem but in practice tends to ignore it. Those who cling to the principle that an image in, say, a poem is evidence only that the poet had the idea of the image and deemed it appropriate to the character expressing it can do justice to the exceptional value of Barbero's work only by doing much hermeneutical work of their own.

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ANTONINO MARRONE. *Bivona città feudale*. In two volumes. (Storia economica di Sicilia: Testi e ricerche.) Caltanissetta: Salvatore Sciascia. 1987. Pp. 282; 283–719. L. 55,000 the set.

Bivona is a small city in the mountainous interior of western Sicily. The sparse record of its medieval past—the first document to refer to it dates from 1160—reveals a seigneurial town of middling rank containing some two thousand inhabitants, many of whom were Muslim in origin. Despite the losses caused by violent rivalries among local aristocrats (whose disputes led to the sack of the town in 1516), Bivona reached a high point of sorts during the middle decades of the sixteenth century when its population swelled to eight thousand. Yet from then on the feudal city declined as it increasingly lost population and wealth to newer settlements in the vicinity.

Why Bivona's inhabitants decided to leave is not hard to grasp. In 1556 a local Jesuit wrote to his superiors in Rome, "There are so many poor persons in Bivona that of the two thousand households in the city, almost all of them (excepting some forty or fifty families) are impoverished, and he who has enough bread to eat is considered a rich man" (p. 233). That was but one of many testimonies to the existence of a highly skewed social structure that rested on the harsh contrast between the plenty of the few and the poverty of the many. While absentee grandees juggled the lordship of Bivona with a host of other titles, the continuity of their seigneurly disguised a more fundamental historical transformation: the consolidation of a small middle class of *gabelloti*. The *gabelloti* were the estate managers and contractors of taxes and feudal dues whose control over local government and the seigneurial administration enabled them to exploit and immiserate the vast majority of local inhabitants by subjecting them to high rents and a heavy burden of taxes and obligations. Hence, by the close of the "long Sicilian Middle Ages" (p. 84), which ended in 1812 with the formal abolition of feudal dues and tenures, a once-prosperous town had been reduced to eking out its existence from near-subsistence agriculture, insufficient commerce, and virtually no industry.

This book exemplifies the strengths and weaknesses of studies of local history. It is thoroughly researched and exhaustively documented; indeed, it would be hard to imagine a fact about the town's past left undiscovered (or unreported) by the author. The study also clearly benefits from Antonino Marrone's close personal familiarity with Bivona and its surroundings: this work is obviously a labor of love, and it derives strength from the author's affection for his subject. However, his disinterest in addressing any broader historical issues or posing questions that transcend the city's boundaries converts his study into a meticulous but narrowly focused chronicle of a single town from its medieval origins to the early nineteenth century. Few will wish to read such a book cover to cover. Most scholars would probably prefer to consult these two

volumes more selectively for their ample documentation of changing trends in local agriculture and stock raising and in municipal administration (especially taxation) and for the periodic censuses of persons and property. In the end, the sheer weight of detail and Marrone's caution in presenting an argument make a convincing case for the sympathetic depiction—and denunciation—of Bivona's past as an unrelieved tale of misery and oppression.

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EDWARD D. ENGLISH. *Enterprise and Liability in Sienese Banking, 1230–1350*. (Speculum Anniversary Monographs, number 12.) Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America. 1988. pp. xiv, 132. Cloth \$15.00, paper \$8.00.

In this book Edward D. English discusses the fall of two prominent merchant banking houses of medieval Siena. The Bonsignori, known as the *Gran Tavola*, and the Tolomei companies demonstrated great financial strength during the mid-thirteenth century by lending and transferring large sums of money for Sienese and other Italian merchants, for the papacy, for the French, and for the English monarchy. But the financial position of the Bonsignori company showed great strain, and the company collapsed between 1293 and 1309. The old company of Jacobo Tolomei fell apart between 1293 and 1309, reorganized in 1310, and collapsed in 1312–14. Meanwhile, the commune of Siena attempted to preserve the reputation of Sienese businessmen, abroad as well as at home, because all Sienese faced reprisals from foreign princes (Philippe IV of France, Edward I of England, and the papacy) and from the cities of Genoa, Florence, and Cortona. At home, creditors of the Bonsignori and Tolomei companies also demanded repayment. The Great Council of Siena debated various measures to defend the reputation of the city and enforce payment. Repayments dragged on for years. Ultimately, Pope Clement VI instituted proceedings against the Sienese in the papal courts and forced a partial restitution by 1356.

This book is hard to read. It is based on the author's Ph.D. thesis at the University of Toronto. The main theme is not clear. No outline covers the entire monograph, except what can be surmised by reading chapter titles. Because English reconsiders problems discussed by such eminent twentieth-century historians as Mario Ascheri, William M. Bowsky, Mario Chiaudano, and Armando Sapori, one asks for new data or conclusions. The answer appears in the first footnote on page 55 and the first footnote on page 101, where English states he will treat in detail "the events themselves and the accompanying ideas about merchant responsibility . . . [especially] the principle of joint and unlimited liability." He often quotes from the debates of the Great Council of Siena, which he has studied diligently.

He does not adequately discuss the probable reasons for the bankruptcies of these Sieneese firms. He does not grasp the underlying legal structure, economic theory, or monetary basis of these bankruptcies. English assumes that the reader understands the Sieneese constitution and European history between 1230 and 1350. He has not learned to subordinate details to maximize the general conclusion.

Although the author has immersed himself in the archival and printed sources, he has not quite reached the surface of the waters to interpret clearly all his details to his readers. The book needs further editing. It does not replace the masterful works of Bowsky and Saponi on the economic history of Siena during the Middle Ages.

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JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN. *The Cortes of Castile-Léon, 1188-1350*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1989. Pp. x, 265. \$39.95.

It is satisfying to have at last a sensible and well-organized survey of the early medieval Cortes. In this study, a clearly written introduction to the institution's first 160 years, Joseph F. O'Callaghan condenses much research and opinion and considerably broadens the documentary and historical context for discussing the origins and functioning of the early Castilian assembly.

The Cortes, "indisputably a creature of the crown" (p. 196) from its beginnings in the late twelfth century, was an assembly to which representatives of the towns were summoned by the king to join his noble and clerical advisers as royal counselors on matters of far-reaching importance to the kingdom. The Cortes enabled the king to consult with and communicate his wishes to representatives of the three estates, his most important and far-flung subjects, and it remained in its early years less an institution capable of setting policy than a periodic venue for formulating and disseminating decisions shaped by royal ambition, regnal health, and group interests. Kings, regents, and their rivals obtained moral, military, and financial support from the Cortes or, when advantageous, from its various parts. The Cortes and other assemblies were frequently employed as instruments for asserting and confirming the royal will, and they were promoted for similar ends by competing factions struggling to control the monarch and royal policy.

O'Callaghan surveys those developments chronologically in two chapters and devotes two more to the composition and interaction of the court and the three estates in the Cortes. In six chapters he summarizes topically the most important and recurring subjects of debate and legislation, with appropriate emphasis on government programs, the administration of justice, taxation, commerce, and the multitude of concerns, complaints, and proposals increasingly brought to the

king by petition in the Cortes. He furnishes a succinct and balanced summation in a final chapter.

It is noteworthy that O'Callaghan never loses sight of the wider European context. He concludes each chapter with a brief look at comparable developments in other countries. The book will be very useful to students of representative assemblies in weighing similarities and differences across national boundaries.

In harmony with current scholarship, O'Callaghan emphasizes the importance of Roman law in providing theoretical justifications for institutional developments not only through formal concepts of the state and such legal procedures as procuration but also in the substance of laws and law codes promulgated by the king in the Cortes. If he seems to slight, at times, details of constitutional history and controversies that have surrounded the subject since the early nineteenth century, the historiography and recent specialized studies of the Cortes and other medieval Castilian assemblies are available elsewhere in several languages, and all are included in the comprehensive notes and bibliography.

This book is a new starting point for further research on the Cortes in relation to numerous problems of political, economic, social, and ecclesiastical history in medieval Castile, where the assembly's agenda and its organizational evolution were consistently influenced less by theory than by circumstance. A careful reader can complain only about the somersaults required to follow text and notes simultaneously because lazy editors have clumsily dumped all of the notes at the back without running headings to indicate the chapters or pages of text to which they refer. That seems an egregious insult in the era of electronic typesetting.

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MIGUEL ANGEL LADERO QUESADA. *Castilla y la conquista del Reino de Granada*. (Biblioteca de Ensayo, number 14.) Maracena, Spain: Diputación Provincial de Granada. 1988. Pp. xiv, 331.

The conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella of the kingdom of Granada, the last Muslim bastion in Spain, has traditionally been recognized as bringing the medieval history of the peninsula to a close. Much of that history was taken up with the struggle between Christianity and Islam and the attempts by the Christians to reconquer lands that they believed the Muslims had unjustly usurped.

In 1967 Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, then just embarking on his scholarly career, published his doctoral thesis on the conquest of Granada. Since that time, his book has been acknowledged as the definitive study of the theme. Twenty years later the book has been reissued and made accessible to a new generation of historians. Ladero Quesada stresses that this is not a new edition, that he has not reworked the original. As he put it, "I prefer to remember my thesis and myself,

such as we were twenty years ago" (p. 4). But his original assessment of the conquest of Granada still possesses great utility and value.

In relating the progress of the war of conquest from its inception through its various stages until its conclusion, Ladero Quesada traversed familiar territory, but he elucidated many hitherto difficult or obscure problems of strategy and tactics. Aside from the usual casualties of war, the lives of many others were directly affected by its ebb and flow. Whenever a town was taken, large numbers of Christians were released from captivity, but, at the same time, thousands of Muslims who had refused to surrender were taken prisoner and held for ransom or sold into slavery. Many Moorish towns decided to surrender and to negotiate the best possible terms of their capitulation. Aside from the acceptance of Castilian sovereignty, the Moors were usually guaranteed religious liberty, the continuance of their juridical and fiscal regimens, and the right to remain in possession of their holdings or to emigrate to North Africa. Although emigration was encouraged, a vast number of Muslims were incorporated into the crown of Castile from 1484 to 1492. The task of assimilating these people, alien in terms of religion, culture, and law, proved extraordinarily difficult.

Turning from military operations, Ladero Quesada studied the many practical problems involved in putting armies into the field. Royal vassals, nobles, military orders, urban militias, and troops from Aragón and foreign countries constituted the military forces of Castile at various times; contemporary documentation providing the names of many of those who went to war adds reality to the description. Because artillery was employed on a larger scale than before, the different weapons and those who used them are described. The transport of troops, equipment, and supplies and the provisioning and payment of the armies were major undertakings requiring the services of many and the expenditure of huge sums of money. Much financial support for the war was derived from ecclesiastical revenues such as the concession of the bull of the crusade and the tithe; in addition, the crown borrowed money and obtained extraordinary taxes from the Jewish and Mudejar communities.

In addition to many tables interspersed throughout the text that refer to military personnel, revenues, and expenses, there are nearly eighty pages of statistical tables that further illustrate these matters. This information, drawn from national, local, and regional archives and especially from unpublished documentation in the Archivo General de Simancas, gives this book exceptional value, setting it apart from the work of earlier scholars. An extensive bibliography is also a helpful guide to students of the conquest.

Even though this book has not been revised, it is still a mine of information that is clearly and precisely presented. One cannot understand the conquest of Granada without it.

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN
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MODERN EUROPE

RICHARD A. LEBRUN. *Joseph de Maistre: An Intellectual Militant*. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 366. \$37.95.

This book is an intellectual biography of the influential Savoyard thinker Joseph de Maistre. It is "intellectual" because Richard A. Lebrun treats the development of de Maistre's thought, "biographical" in that he coordinates this development with the various phases of his subject's life. He does so, especially in the early chapters, by analyzing the readings that de Maistre cited in his notebooks on the reasonable assumption that the problems and questions that concerned de Maistre reflected the patterns of his reading. Lebrun could follow this procedure because he is among the first scholars to have had ready access to the de Maistre papers. The chapters take us through the prerevolutionary period of de Maistre's intellectual life, when he still indulged, if tepidly, in an Enlightenment penchant to reform society, through growing concerns that the French revolution had gone awry, to a period of staunch intellectual conservatism when he lent mind and pen to the service of throne and altar. The book is well done, for the painstaking scholarship is evident throughout. Lebrun knows his sources and his subject. Yet, if the development of de Maistre's ideas is described well, the analysis of their significance is less satisfactory, for Lebrun does not evaluate de Maistre's work within a carefully articulated critical framework. Perhaps he does not believe such an exposition necessary, because de Maistre's place as a dissenter from mainline liberal, socialist, and positivist thought is well known. But this mainline thought has itself suffered critical reevaluation in recent times, so much so that an appreciation of it affects our estimate of de Maistre's dissent.

Motivation is the most obvious place where critical reevaluation has taken place. De Maistre's pessimistic view about the human condition sums up the experience of our century much better than the optimistic pronouncements about human nature and moral progress characteristic of the liberal democrats of his time. Not much can be expected of de Maistre's analysis of motivation. His work is pre-Freudian and lacks the elaborate psychoanalytic framework necessary for a discussion of the subject today. But Lebrun could have done more to show how de Maistre's pessimism was not misplaced. Moreover, it might have helped had Lebrun engaged in a more elaborate psychoanalysis of de Maistre himself, being that he was trying to see the connections between de Maistre's life and his thought.

More important, it would have been useful for de Maistre's work to have been discussed in terms of scientific and technological modernity. The standard view is that the development of liberal individualism proceeded hand in hand with the advancement of science and technology and that, accordingly, de Maistre was hopelessly antimodern. There is reason to believe that this assessment is not true. Lebrun himself,

on occasion, suggests this idea. On page 164, he notes de Maistre's view that "modern philosophy, in completely materializing everything, has prodigiously constricted the circle of knowledge." On page 261, he talks of de Maistre's indictment of Francis Bacon for "trying to reduce all knowledge and science to physics . . . , promoting the methods of physics as the only true method of discovering truth." These are tantalizing comments, for, with Japanese antiliberalism before us, they indicate that de Maistre's attack on the narrowness of science in his own time might be more justifiable considering how that narrowness might actually thwart technological achievement today.

De Maistre's thought, therefore, needs a much more critical assessment than Lebrun has attempted in this volume. Perhaps Lebrun will undertake this task himself one day, since he concludes the book with the comment that, with full access to the de Maistre papers, "we can now look forward to better informed and more judicious studies of the thought and influence of this powerful and seminal writer" (p. 273).

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LEONHARD BAUER and HERBERT MATIS. *Geburt der Neuzeit: Vom Feudalsystem zur Marktgemeinschaft*. Munich: Deutsches Taschenbuch. 1988. Pp. 554. DM 19.80.

The specification of historical turning points is risky business, especially when the process at hand is no less than the birth of modern times. Leonhard Bauer, an economist, and Herbert Matis, an economic and social historian, place the critical change of European society from "feudal system" to "market society" in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. In a densely written book of more than five hundred pages, the two Austrian scholars trace alterations in the state and the economy and their interaction during the crucial centuries. Seeking self-consciously to provide a theoretically informed, synthesizing, interdisciplinary account of the great transformation, they simplify their task by focusing on the great states of Western and Central Europe, by almost ignoring variation among regions, and by blinding themselves to the significance of changing trade relations between Europe and Asia. Those exclusions make it possible for Bauer and Matis to occult the great importance of Flanders and northern Italy not only as precocious sources of ideas but also as commercial and political bases of the transformations they are trying to explain and to treat the absolutist (more specifically, the French) state as the culmination of general European trends rather than as simply one of several alternative forms of power.

Even so, their ambitions place Bauer and Matis on the same vast playing field as Immanuel Wallerstein, William McNeill, Peter Kriedte, David Landes, Norbert Elias, Karl Polanyi, Max Weber, and Karl Marx. More than anything else, Bauer and Matis attempt to join a

refurbished Marxist view of economic change with Elias's approach to the state and "civilizing processes." In their analysis the growth of state power, the rise of a market economy, the consolidation of bourgeois property, the flourishing of political economy, the imposition of uniform moral standards, and the secularization of world views become not only concomitant but also highly interdependent processes. The authors never resolve the flagrant contradiction between a strong emphasis on increasing social control and a clear assertion that "the freeing of people from traditional ties permitted the establishment of the Individual" (p. 368), but in that thicket they have plenty of company.

Like many of their predecessors, Bauer and Matis implicitly adopt a three-stage model in which a stable traditional society gives way to a turbulent transitional phase that then issues in a relatively coherent modern society organized around continuous change and mobility. Along their predictable way, they fall into the usual errors: they deduce from order-seeking medieval discourse that medieval life had a built-in resistance to change; they speak as if a unified feudal system, complete with infeudation from king downward, actually existed between 1000 and 1200; they assume that monetization in itself dissolved social ties; they take modifications in elite discourse as evidence of general social changes; they notice the deskilling of many occupations under mechanization but fail to note the skilling of others; and so on.

Not all the generalizations made by Bauer and Matis, however, follow well-trodden lanes. The authors spend considerable energy, for example, on the debatable but stimulating argument that, as class hierarchies hardened, a traditional and general ideal of virtue gave way to an ideal of morality, the latter depending much less on individual virtuosity and much more on socially enforced conformity. In the process, they claim, sloth became a greater evil than pusillanimity. Such arguments rest entirely on elite texts; the recurrent citations come from St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Sir Thomas More, Machiavelli, Jeremy Bentham, and the like—the book's leisurely pace allows four full pages for the description of Bentham's panopticon—rather than from studies of *Alltagsleben* or Inquisition efforts to root out village heresies.

In details Bauer and Matis are usually well informed and up to date. They assign, for example, a significant place in the great transition to the expansion of merchant-linked cottage industry and recognize the major rhythms of population growth and decline. In their specific discussions, they show great awareness of the distinction between changes in the urban regions of Italy and Flanders, on the one hand, and those in the more rural areas of Central and Western Europe, on the other. Although they fail to analyze the workaday mechanisms that actually linked one to the other, they recognize the importance of the creation and financing of large national armies in the expansion of state control over everyday life. They provide a rich and

helpful review of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century economic ideas. They make a significant effort to ground their analyses of ideological transformation in concrete changes of social structure instead of introducing them as *dei ex machina*. In all those regards, this work constitutes a valuable source book. Like many fellow historians of the large scale, Bauer and Matis resort to the "grand old falsehoods" chiefly when constructing their broadest summaries and syntheses.

CHARLES TILLY

New School for Social Research

HANS-JÜRGEN GOERTZ. *Pfaffenhass und gross Geschrei: Die reformatorischen Bewegungen in Deutschland 1517–1519*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1987. Pp. 300. DM 38.

This volume on the early Reformation is a rich synthesis of modern research, but, for all of its power of summation, it is new and daring in conception. Still, Hans-Jürgen Goertz writes in such a simple, even graceful, manner that this work is useful for beginners and a challenge for professional historians. Goertz mediates between historical and theological viewpoints, assumes a heterogeneous model (thus countering purely theological and Marxist interpretations), and absorbs hard evidence from any direction. He then boldly and persuasively integrates from a different perspective what others have claimed.

Goertz asserts that the Reformation renewed theology and the church; accelerated secularization in science, the arts, and politics; and reformulated the concepts of the individual's calling, of work, and of economics. He dismisses modern fragmentation as anachronistic, for, in the sixteenth century, church and state were not separate. Thus, Goertz avoids a strictly ecclesiastical, intellectual, or social history, and, like Peter Berger, he stresses interrelations and the fact that ideas not only are conditioned but also have their own conditioning impact.

Religion can legitimize what is, or it can be progressive and sanction and abet needed changes. Applied to the Reformation, a moralistic lay anticlericalism bore fruit only under the more incisively religious impact of Martin Luther. Luther's battles were never purely religious. Even the controversy over indulgences politically abetted Frederick of Saxony because it threatened the financial strength of his archenemies, the Hohenzollern.

I accept Goertz's treatment of Luther as a "giant," provided that he is seen as a rather lonely giant, for the people's appropriation of Lutheranism has always been and still is basically Karlstadtianism. Luther was less effective than Goertz believes. In 1522 when Luther, in defiance of the elector, seemed to turn Wittenberg around to his position, he was attuned to the position of the new town council.

Goertz's broad approach to the Reformation allows him to integrate it with the Peasant Revolt. He pays continual attention to the Reformation as it involved

the people of various towns and the countryside. He considers Luther but also takes seriously Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, Thomas Müntzer, Huldrych Zwingli, and the early Baptist movements. He sees the Reformation moving on two planes: "On the one hand in the life of the 'common man,' of clerics and scholars, of citizens and councillors, among artists and literati, and in a spectacular way among the knights; on the other hand at the courts of the princes and through the decisions and gatherings of the Imperial Diet" (p. 230–31). Goertz thinks in terms of infrastructure and superstructure, and, like the Marxists, he sees the infrastructure as decisive and the superstructure as its reflection. By Marxist standards, however, Goertz has radically redefined the infrastructure. Thus, although he borrows almost everywhere, Goertz believes the political history of the era of the Reformation provides no real key to what happened.

It would have been better had Goertz omitted one extended debate with Heiko Oberman because, unfortunately, Oberman was right. Also, Goertz should have included a chapter on the role of women, for there is now enough material that should be integrated. But on the whole Goertz's approach is sound and unusually well balanced.

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RAINER BABEL. *Zwischen Habsburg und Bourbon: Aussenpolitik und europäische Stellung Herzog Karls IV. von Lothringen und Bar vom Regierungsantritt bis zum Exil (1624–1634)*. (Beihefte der Francia, volume 18.) Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke. 1989. Pp. 218. DM 74.

In this clear and carefully documented monograph, Rainer Babel makes a welcome contribution to our knowledge of the German-French borderlands during the Thirty Years' War. The combined duchies of Lorraine and Bar (or Upper Lorraine) have been the subject of numerous earlier studies, but the dominant tone of that older literature fully justifies taking a fresh look. In French works such as Christian Pfister's *Histoire de Nancy* (1901) and Robert Parisot's *Histoire de Lorraine* (1922), the authors discuss the more remote past with the modern "lost province" of 1870–1918 very much in mind. At the opposite extreme, Hermann Derichsweiler, writing, like Pfister, at the turn of the century, was not unrepresentative of German scholarly opinion in subtitled his own *Geschichte Lothringens* "The Thousand-Year Battle for the Westmark."

Babel, in contrast, offers an admirably balanced treatment. Relying on archives in Paris, Vienna, Brussels, Munich, and, to a lesser extent, Nancy, he follows Charles IV through the first crucial decade of his long reign. Upon inheriting the ducal throne in 1624, young Charles embarked on a course of alternately conceding and defying the demands of Richelieu's and Louis XIII's France. Having signed no fewer than three neutrality pacts, only to tear them up one after an-

other, in 1634 he finally abandoned Nancy to French arms and, like Wallenstein before him, became a condottiere in the service of the Habsburgs.

Babel does not pursue in detail the duke's career beyond that first flight from Lorraine. He does, however, sketch numerous later efforts to recover the duchy, none of which could survive Charles's chronic inability to abide by an agreement once concluded. Charles died in 1675 at the age of seventy-one, still commanding troops against those of Louis XIV in western Germany. French history knows him as a faithless intriguer, and, on that count at least, German judgments have been no kinder, for even in Vienna and Madrid his behavior eventually raised serious doubts about his loyalty. Again the parallel with Wallenstein.

Babel's interpretation is far from being revisionist in its characterization of Charles IV. Instead, the author has chosen to emphasize the all but hopeless odds that would have faced even the luckiest and most reliable of petty dynasts striving to maintain a degree of autonomy so near the vortex of French, Spanish, and German conflicts. In the case of someone neither lucky nor reliable, the interplay of temperament and geopolitics produced, to quote Voltaire, "a prince who passed his life in losing his estates."

In one of the book's most rewarding chapters, Babel deals with the duke's circle of advisers, for not even Charles's most idiosyncratic decisions were reached alone. These brief biographies reveal once again how slight was the influence of ethnicity, including language, on the political loyalties of early modern Europeans. Charles IV's secretaries of state, Jean Voillot and Nicolas Fournier, like his titled court officials, chief among them the marquis de Ville and the marquis de Bréval, were as "French" as a number of other well-known imperial and Spanish sympathizers in the Walloon Belgian provinces and in the free county of Burgundy. It was self-interest, little affected by national ideas, that led such men to embrace pro-Habsburg policies. By making that point, Babel helps correct the unhistorical, because premature, recourse to patriotism that informs many previous works devoted to Lorraine.

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WOLFGANG ELZ. *Die europäischen Grossmächte und der kretische Aufstand 1866–1867*. (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa, number 28.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1988. Pp. 374. DM 68.

W. D. WRIGLEY. *The Diplomatic Significance of Ionian Neutrality, 1821–31*. (American University Studies, Series 9, History, number 41.) New York: Peter Lang. 1988. Pp. xii, 335. \$41.95.

One of the international historian's trickier tasks is interweaving relatively minor or ancillary events and developments in international politics into the main picture without either ignoring their individual dynamics and significance or losing sight of the central story. These two books confront this problem. Wolfgang Elz describes an insurrection in Crete in 1866–67 that, starting with protests against Ottoman taxation and injustice, developed into widespread revolt and civil war and threatened to spark further risings and war in the Balkans and to trigger the collapse of the Ottoman empire. It therefore spurred a flurry of European diplomatic activity in the East precisely when the European system was being overturned by the Austro-Prussian War and rising Franco-Prussian antagonism. W. D. Wrigley deals with the efforts of the British government, particularly its high commissioner and vice high commissioner for the Ionian Isles, Sir Thomas Maitland and Sir Frederick Adam respectively, to preserve Ionian neutrality and protect trade during a decade in which Greek revolt, European intervention, and Russo-Turkish war led to the creation of a kingdom of Greece. Neither author entirely solves the problem of interweaving the ancillary and main stories satisfactorily, though Elz comes much closer to success. But both make a contribution, and the reasons that they fall short are instructive.

In Elz's case, even a verdict of partial failure may seem harsh; he does most of his task very well. His research in both archival and published sources is extensive and careful. He understands the international setting of the 1860s thoroughly. He judiciously sifts grains of fact about the revolt from bushels of exaggeration and fiction. Above all, he proceeds from the sound premise that international politics is a multilateral communications process to be viewed simultaneously from as many aspects as possible. His main conclusions are either quite sound or at least tenable: that Napoleon III emerged the clear loser from the diplomatic episode, but that the results for Russia and Austria were also mixed, and that only Bismarck and the British foreign secretary, Lord Stanley, with different but essentially negative goals, were successful. Elz also rightly sees this episode as revealing the deterioration of the European Concert, which was still capable of checkmate in the East but not of joint action for any constructive purpose. This book is obviously the one to read in order to know what happened in Crete, what the powers great and small tried to do about it, and how it affected the international system.

What then is wrong? Nothing, except that nothing much really happened. The revolt, although it caused great hardship for the inhabitants, died down without major consequences for Crete, Greece, or even Turkey. Ideas and proposals for European action were numerous, but the actual intervention of Europe and its results were very modest. Revolutionary schemes and hopes such as those of the Greek government or the Russian ambassador to Constantinople, Nikolai Ignatiev, came to even less. The general system was

neither revived nor overturned. Elz knows all of this. Yet the book is written as if something important did happen, as if every move and maneuver has to be recounted and every motive and calculation analyzed whether they led to any significant outcome or not. Not only is the reader's interest likely to flag (only my sense of duty got me through, and I am a devout diplomatic historian), but one also senses a certain unreality or lack of proportion about the enterprise. A useful rule is that normal actions in international politics usually do not need explanation, even though elaborate calculations often lie behind them. It is better to concentrate on the rules and understandings that limit and define normal practice, see how these serve to explain outcomes, and analyze how outcomes may change the prevailing understanding and practice of what is normal. For all of Elz's thoroughness (at times excessive), he does not fully do that here. To me, his story reveals how normal practice had changed since 1815. The aims of most powers in the Near East, namely, to keep the Ottoman empire alive, were still basically harmonious; even for Russia, partition was a *pis aller*. Yet it proved impossible to agree on doing anything positive, not so much because of the inevitable arguments over means and modalities but essentially because of the resurgence of eighteenth-century politics with its insistence on compensations, side payments, and a concrete payoff for any cooperation.

With Wrigley's book the problem is easier to diagnose. It, too, has clear virtues and uses: wide research, though not as extensive or as pertinent as Elz's; a valuable historical introduction to British rule over the isles after 1815; and a clear, if not elegant, account of the British struggles to insulate the isles and their trade from the warfare, atrocities, piracy, and diplomatic complications of the Greek revolt. Wrigley, moreover, clearly has a vital main story to which to connect his particular narrative, that is, the emergence of an independent Greece and with it the Near Eastern question in its nineteenth-century form.

The basic difficulty is that the author does not understand that main development well from either the general European or the British viewpoint. He approaches his subject with the assumption that Ionian affairs derive their diplomatic significance from their impact on Anglo-Ottoman and, to a lesser extent, Anglo-Hellenic relations, and therefore he relies mainly on official documents on British relations with the Porte and the Greek government to tell his story. Britain always pursued two major goals in the East in this decade: to preserve the Ottoman empire and prevent a European war. But British relations with the Porte and the Greeks were never central to these goals. For Castlereagh, containing and grouping Russia with Austrian help was the key. For Canning, all sorts of things were more important than the Turks and Greeks—curbing France, dishing Metternich, improving his political position at home, managing and leading Russia, winning in Spain and the New World. Not understanding this aspect of British policy, the author,

recounting British actions in the isles and toward Turkey and Greece, misses its diplomatic significance. For example, he attributes British hostility to the Greek president Ioannes Capodistrias, especially under the Duke of Wellington as prime minister and Lord Aberdeen as foreign secretary in 1828–1830, mainly to prejudice against him as a revolutionary. The real reason was that Capodistrias obstructed British policy, which was to limit the damage done and dangers created by Canning's policy by quickly terminating the Triple Alliance through the creation of as small an independent Greece as possible. It is unfortunate for the author that, without a sound understanding of the main game in international politics, one can conscientiously study numerous diplomatic documents and not see what is really going on.

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SUSAN DWYER AMUSSEN. *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England*. (Family, Sexuality, and Social Relations in Past Times.) New York: Basil Blackwell. 1988. Pp. xi, 203. \$39.95.

In her study of gender and class in England between 1560 and 1725, Susan Dwyer Amussen examines the village and family units through which elite groups enforced their power and status. In the first two of the six chapters of this book, which began as her dissertation, she briefly surveys the relevant ideological, social, and economic changes. Political theorists, she points out, customarily viewed the family as the model for the state, the monarch being said to function as the father of his kingdom. By the end of the seventeenth century, other constructs, such as the social contract described in John Locke's writings, had gained credence.

Amussen points out that the disappearance of the family analogy in political works was occurring at about the same time that social elites were losing interest in enforcing domestic relationships and public morality, which had traditionally been evident in, for example, the punishment of scolds. Information taken from petitions to justices of the peace and presentments in church courts are proof of that decreasing legal involvement. Amussen believes that the earlier outburst of lawsuits was a reaction to economic and social changes, such as the population explosion, urban migration, and inflation, that ultimately led to the growth of a market economy. It was the stabilization of those forces that caused elites to abandon such social control. In adopting that causal pattern, Amussen supports, as she acknowledges, Margaret Spufford's thesis, although Amussen disagrees with her on the relevance of the religious debate. According to Amussen, "Puritan theology made the struggle against disorder part of a cosmic struggle against sin, and so gave it meaning" (p. 176). That approach leaves her readers with the troublesome questions of what role, if any, Anglicans

and Arminians had in combating hierarchical challenges and seems to associate the rise of Puritanism rather too narrowly with social and economic disruption.

In the major section of the book, comprised of three chapters, Amussen draws on her archival research on the inhabitants of five Norfolk parishes. She demonstrates a fine instinct for the use of historical evidence. In her investigation of defamation suits, she discovers that women were more likely than men to sue others if their sexual honor had been impugned. Readers familiar with Renaissance writings about the expected role of women in society will not find that discovery surprising. The discovery that is somewhat startling is that men, who surely had a compelling interest in establishing the paternity of their wives' children, placed a greater emphasis on the general concept of wifely obedience than on the more specific question of wifely chastity. In contrast, women were apparently not greatly troubled by accusations of disobedience until very late in the Stuart century.

Other issues Amussen raises are similarly illuminating. For example, she finds that the seating arrangement in churches, which reflected the village hierarchies by separating the sexes, seating the married closest to the chancel, and giving the gentry precedence over lower orders, was becoming more rigid in the Jacobean period and was increasingly the subject of lawsuits. Those disputes, she indicates, were most prevalent in villages with a minimal social distance between minor gentry and prosperous yeomen.

Amussen's detailed account of how English elites lost interest in social and moral enforcement after the Restoration is provocative. The evidence she cites, the legal disputes of early modern Norfolk parishioners, is fascinating stuff. It makes us agree with her that we must be grateful to them for going to court so willingly.

RETHA M. WARNICKE
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S. J. GUNN. *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, c. 1484–1545*. New York: Basil Blackwell. 1988. Pp. xv, 256. \$45.00.

If one surveys the careers of Tudor dukes dispassionately, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was the most successful of his kind. The dukes of Buckingham, Somerset, and Northumberland, Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, and the fourth duke of Norfolk were executed for crimes against the state, but Brandon rose from relative obscurity, developed and retained the favor of Henry VIII, and died of natural causes. S. J. Gunn traces the duke's political career from his first appearance at court in 1501 until his death forty-four years later, examines the growth of local influence in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, and describes Brandon's successful accumulation of estates and offices. Gunn's zeal for archival research is truly impressive; his bibliography

includes materials from at least ten local record offices in England and archives in Brussels, Lille, Paris, and Vienna.

The secret of Brandon's success, Gunn concludes, lay in an enduring friendship with the king. The duke emerges not as a man of limited ability but as a man of limited ambition who never sought to dominate the government. In religion he held the middle ground and always conformed to the king's religion—whatever that might be. Brandon was easygoing and affable but shrewd enough to leave his vast estates in a healthy condition at the end of his life. According to Gunn, Brandon's character was rooted in the chivalric traditions of the past, and his unstinting loyalty to the crown served him better than the bolder policies that led his fellow dukes to the executioner.

Although Gunn has written a richly detailed account and has considered all aspects of Brandon's life, he says little that is really new about the reign of Henry VIII. W. C. Richardson, in *Mary Tudor, The White Queen* (1970), offers a more readable study of Brandon's marriage to the king's sister, and Lacey Baldwin Smith is better on the last years of the reign. Readers expecting to find insights into the eras of Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell will be disappointed as will historians interested in the current controversy between G. R. Elton and David Starkey. Brandon, like other lay peers, had little interest in theological controversy and, therefore, had hardly any influence on the Henrician Reformation. During the period of most rapid religious change, from 1529 to 1536, Brandon's career was in eclipse. Although the duke achieved success as a courtier and a soldier, Gunn fails to add significantly to existing studies of the court and the military. Brandon maintained a close, personal relationship with Henry VIII longer than any other major political figure, but Gunn does not probe deeply into the role of a royal favorite in the Tudor political system. Perhaps a duke who achieved greatness through the force of his personality was not the best subject for a historian whose talents lie in archival research rather than in imaginative historical synthesis. Nevertheless, specialists will find Gunn's book a valuable source of information on every facet of Brandon's long and important career.

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GREG WALKER. *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xv, 228. \$39.50.

John Skelton was the greatest English master poet born in the fifteenth century. His work has drawn much attention from distinguished critics and literary historians—most recently from Arthur F. Kinney in his *John Skelton, Priest as Poet* (1987). Kinney claims to have overcome errors in earlier interpretations of Skelton's poems and their relevance to understanding both the

poet's life and his political milieu. Kinney militates against William Nelson's interpretations of Skelton as an early Tudor humanist. He is just as firm in rejecting the thesis of A. R. Heiserman that Skelton was a poet concerned chiefly with medieval strategies of satire. What Kinney, Heiserman, and Nelson hold in common is a view of Skelton's political satires of the 1520s as originating under the patronage of the Howards and as having as their target Cardinal Wolsey.

Now comes Greg Walker, who renders absolutely null and void the entire evidentiary basis of the Howard hypothesis and with it a naive view of the nature of faction in politics during the 1520s. His book is brilliant in its presentation of the archival and published evidence apart from the poems and subtle in its use of the poetic texts themselves.

In the first two carefully knit chapters, Walker moves from consideration of the Howards and the question of patronage through the intricacies of Skelton's court career as king's orator. He then provides, in the two central chapters, a minute examination of the evolution of Skelton's satiric stance, the circulation of his poems, and the conventional elements in their portrayal of Wolsey. In the final two chapters, Walker gathers all the threads of evidence together, examines the account given by Skelton of the cardinal's relations with king and court during his ascendancy, and concludes by showing that much of Skelton's work took place under Wolsey's patronage as the result of a bargain struck between poet and cardinal soon after the completion of *Why Come Ye Not?*

The occasion for the bargain was the renewal of war against Scotland at a time when the duke of Albany's efforts to take the Scots into the French camp struck at Henry VIII's honor and threatened England once again with a war on two fronts. To that prospect neither king nor cardinal nor any member of the Howard clan could be indifferent. They made common cause.

This is a historian's book. No one who reads it will again maintain the hoary myth of undying enmity between Howard and Wolsey in the years leading up to the divorce crisis. Walker shows how completely some literary scholars have mastered our own documentary techniques and put them to better use than most historians studying the nature of politics, feud, and faction under Henry VIII. That that is so should surprise no reader of Alistair Fox's work on humanism, reform, and politics between 1500 and 1540 or the contributions of the *Representations* school under the lead of Stephen Greenblatt. Those works exhibit the strength of literary historicism and contextualism as a method for historical study.

We must now eagerly await Walker's further effort in the shape of a book on the broad subject of drama and politics under Henry VIII.

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MARGARET ASTON. *England's Iconoclasts*. Volume 1, *Laws against Images*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 548. \$82.00.

John Preston blamed the "superstition and idolatry of the people" for the plague that was afflicting England in 1625, and in 1641 Edmund Calamy told the assembled members of the Long Parliament that Englishmen's heads should be "fountains of tears for the idolatry (that land-devouring sin of idolatry) . . . that reigns amongst us!" Examples of concern about "idolatry" in Stuart England could be multiplied endlessly. Yet the removal of such "idols" as painted and gilded statues from churches and monasteries had begun under Henry VIII, accelerated under Edward VI, and resumed under Elizabeth after Mary's reign. Although tour guides in England today often attribute defaced images to the work of Oliver Cromwell and his not-so-merry men, in fact much of the damage to medieval ecclesiastical artwork was done during the sixteenth century. Why, then, were Stuart Puritans such as Preston and Calamy still so exercised about "idolatry"?

Margaret Aston's book is the first of two volumes devoted to a problem of extraordinary complexity. How, she asks, was "a wedge of conscientious objection" driven "between the visual arts and religious experience" (p. vii) in early modern England? The volume under review is a deeply researched and impeccably scholarly study of the way in which English reformers assimilated images to idols during the sixteenth century and brought them under the ban imposed by their interpretation of the Decalogue. Although the second volume on iconoclasm in the seventeenth century is yet to come, Aston adumbrates the broad outlines of the sequel along the way. She also takes care to set her story firmly in the context of the history of Christendom as a whole.

Although Aston's main sources are polemical writings, laws, visitation articles, royal injunctions, homilies, primers, catechisms, and expositions of the Decalogue, she also makes effective use of churchwardens' accounts to sketch the nature of the changes at the parochial level. At base, the battle was between word and image, between those for whom true religion was best apprehended through seeing and those for whom hearing and reading formed the only route to salvation. In practice, however, there were numerous ambiguities and problems of definition. Moderate reformers initially focused their attack on sculpture while leaving many two-dimensional images that could be considered teaching devices ("laymen's books") alone. But satisfactory dividing lines between superstition and reverence proved elusive. The monarch's attitude, although important, was not the only factor. Henry VIII destroyed shrines, but he was by no means as hostile to images as Thomas Cranmer. Elizabeth scandalized many of her bishops by keeping a crucifix centrally displayed in her chapel, but they won numerous victories in their quest for "whitewash and bare walls" (p. 337).

In her concluding chapter Aston traces the progress of the aniconic outlook in England by analyzing the way the meaning of the "second commandment" was perceived. Before the Reformation its prohibition of images had not been a separate commandment but part of the first (and often omitted). Beginning in the 1530s, William Tyndale and George Joye advocated the revised Decalogue, and, by order of the Privy Council in 1561, it was to be painted on walls or boards in churches and placed above the site of the old altar. Thus "God's table and the tables of the law were joint replacements of the erstwhile monuments of idolatry" (p. 368). As physical "idols" were removed, the reformers shifted their attack to "mental idols," and so "religious learning and religious seeing had been most emphatically sundered" (p. 464).

Aston's book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of an important and neglected subject.

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ANTHONY FLETCHER. *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 386. \$35.00.

In his new book, Anthony Fletcher provides a useful summary of the results of almost three decades of scholarship on seventeenth-century English local government. Some of the conclusions that he draws, however, on the relationship between central and local government do not always do full justice to the material. Moreover, there is a troubling problem in Fletcher's attempted synthesis that leads me to conclude that the book was rather carelessly composed.

Although Fletcher does touch on the activities of officials whose responsibilities lay at the level of hundred and parish, his main focus is on county-wide offices such as justice of the peace and deputy lieutenant and on the gentlemen who held them. Fletcher surveys the main functions of local magistrates from administration of poor relief and control of the poor through campaigns for the reformation of manners to the organization of the militia. He also shows how the commissions of the peace were put together. Finally, Fletcher argues that the work of magistrates was rationalized and reformed in the course of the seventeenth century with the establishment of petty sessions and the general increase in administrative and judicial work outside of quarter sessions. This reform was the result of the initiatives of the unpaid gentlemen-magistrates. As a consequence, power, at the end of the seventeenth century, lay firmly in the hands of a gentry who were in real control of their localities.

Many of Fletcher's points are commonplaces to which no one would object. Given a governmental system in which magisterial posts were staffed by unpaid local notables, enforcement of laws and regulations emanating from the center depended largely on

voluntary cooperation. Given, too, the large number of obligations imposed on such officials and their own wide, sometimes divergent, range of interests and capacities, enforcement varied according to local circumstances. Relations between crown and local government in Stuart England were hardly such models of top-down bureaucratic efficiency that county-level magistrates immediately enforced conciliar directives to the last iota. Yet Fletcher's emphasis that initiative lay largely in the hands of local officials appears to be an argument against a French absolutist model (thus, the reference to intendency on page 52), which no one has ascribed to crown-county relations in seventeenth-century England. At the same time, his argument diminishes too much both the role of the crown and the considerable concordance of interest between crown and gentry. The flow of initiative and interest in Stuart government tended to go both ways, from the center to the localities as well as in the other direction.

Fletcher's treatment of the relationship between crown and provinces is occasionally inconsistent. His first discussion of the Caroline Book of Orders of 1631 (pp. 56–60) is intended to reduce its significance, but later (pp. 215–16) there is emphasis on the achievement of the book's provisions in the area of binding out poor children as apprentices. Chapter 2 mentions the concern of James I and his council for suppression of idleness, drunkenness, and vagrancy (the standard items in the reformation of manners or behavior), but the later chapter on behavior stresses local interests to the exclusion of the crown. Fletcher's consistent downplaying of monarchical initiative is somewhat misleading, for example, in his treatment of wage regulation. His dismissal of assize judges as important agents of royal authority in the localities ignores the evidence for sustained efforts of the judges on the Oxford circuit in the 1620s to deal with the effects of cloth-trade depression. Moreover, he makes no mention of the well-documented effort during the 1630s, undertaken by the justices of Essex and Suffolk at the direction of the privy council, to raise the wages of New Drapery workers.

Overall, Fletcher offers a conflictual view of the relationship between crown and local government. During the early decades of the seventeenth century, the crown lost control over county government: "The Stuarts had lost a critical battle in their relations with the people who did their governing for them before the Civil War loomed on their horizon" (p. 60). Yet the book creates the impression of cooperation, not conflict, between crown and local officials and of a shared outlook on social policy and the preservation of order. General policy statements—dearth regulations, Book of Orders, statutes, proclamations, council directives, judicial charges—came from the center, while enforcement was in local hands. Central supervision was clearly irregular and fitful and focused largely on social crises, thereby leaving a great deal of room for interpretation at the local level. Nonetheless, there were enough shared social and political assumptions be-

tween court and country that order was maintained and some items of social policy implemented. Fletcher points to the Wiltshire justices' enforcement of dearth regulations without any central directive, after the bad harvest of 1647, as an example of a local policy initiative. But it can also be regarded as an indication of the relevance to local situations of the dearth regulations that had been devised by the crown. The Wiltshire justices were not acting in opposition to directives from the center but in place of a central government disrupted by civil war.

After the Restoration, cooperation between crown and local government appears even more striking. A perceptive, if fundamentally lazy, king such as Charles II did not need to attempt the close supervision of local government fitfully essayed by his predecessors; he could count on the loyalty of the Anglican gentry. In the years immediately after 1660 the focus of local government was, above all, on rooting out political and religious subversion associated with republicanism and Puritanism. This focus did not merely originate with local officials in control of the newly revived militia but also reflected the interest of the restored monarchy concerned with its own continuance; the state papers and privy council register reveal the extent of that interest. The change in government priorities away from social policy reflected a changing economic situation—agricultural improvement, good harvests, stabilization of prices, leveling of population numbers—rather than the success of either local or central government in implementing policy or achieving reform in the provinces. In the late seventeenth century, it took all of the efforts of a politically obtuse king, James II, to disrupt, if only temporarily, the pattern of cooperation between crown and local governors.

One major criticism of the book is that it reads as if it were hastily written. Not only do some of the longer chapters ramble, but the material appears to have been inadequately synthesized, giving the book a scissors-and-paste quality, which is confirmed by the number of fragments—clauses, phrases, occasionally whole sentences with the alteration of only a few words—from the works of other historians imbedded in Fletcher's own prose. There are twenty-three separate examples of Fletcher's unattributed use of language drawn from Lionel Glassey's *Politics and the Appointment of Justices of the Peace, 1675–1720* (1979). There are four from Norma Landau's *The Justices of the Peace* (1984), three from T. G. Barnes's *Somerset, 1625–1640* (1961), two from *Somerset Assize Orders* (vol. 65, 1959), which was edited by Barnes, four from J. S. Morrill's *Cheshire, 1630–1660* (1974), and six from two essays by Keith Wrightson. After having identified a total of forty-two separate fragments of the prose of others in Fletcher's book, drawn from seven separate works, I stopped trying to find more. The problem was sufficiently identified. I can only assume that Fletcher was careless in taking notes; instead of fully paraphrasing secondary works, he reproduced some parts of them verba-

tim. There was no intention to deceive. The book represents itself as an attempt to synthesize the work of others. The sources for information are given in the footnotes, although often references provided are to a whole chapter or section rather than to an individual page. Nonetheless, such carelessness on the part of a historian of Fletcher's stature is troubling.

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W. A. SPECK. *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 267. \$39.95.

Throughout 1988 and 1989, numerous celebrations in Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States marked the tercentenary anniversary of the so-called Glorious Revolution in England. The most enduring result has been a number of articles and books, among them William Speck's fine study. Bravely entering the current controversy over the revolution, Speck aims to answer key questions that divide old Whig, revisionist, and neo-Whig historians: was there a change in kingship or just a change in the king? Was the revolution a major turning point or a non-event? In a useful introductory chapter, Speck canvasses the historiography of the revolution. In essence, the old Whigs (Lord Macaulay and G. M. Trevelyan) argued that England was delivered from absolutism, Catholicism, and French power by the selfless efforts of Prince William of Orange, acting in concert with the entire nation. The Declaration of Rights reaffirmed the nation's ancient rights and laid the foundation for the growth of parliamentary democracy. Revisionists (among them J. P. Kenyon and John Miller) have flatly rejected this reading, and, although agreeing that the Declaration of Rights did nothing but reassert ancient rights, they dismiss that document as unimportant. Neo-Whigs (such as Janelle Greenberg and this reviewer) have modified the old Whig interpretation while promoting the idea that the revolution marked a significant change. Speck emerges from this impressively researched, well-written, and persuasively argued book more or less on the side of neo-Whigs. Concluding that the results of 1688–89 were to place sovereignty in king-in-Parliament and to transform Parliament "from an event into an institution" (p. 246), Speck maintains that "reluctant revolutionaries" achieved a significant political revolution.

Speck develops this thesis by devoting four chapters in part 1 to a narrative account of James's reign, William's invasion, and the Convention and five chapters in part 2 to an analysis of James, the constitutional and religious issues, and the social implications. On the character and intentions of James II, Speck is especially perceptive. Contrary to old Whigs, he maintains that neither James nor Charles II actually violated the law, declaring that the idea that an ancient constitution

limited their authority was nothing more than "a Whig myth" (p. 242). Contrary to revisionists, Speck sees James as an absolutist, who wanted more than religious toleration for his Catholic subjects and who aimed to strengthen himself politically by appealing to Dissenters. For Speck, antipopery was central to James's downfall and to the settlement. Further, he shows that Privy Council factions fought each other in James's only Parliament for tactical as much as ideological reasons. Rightly stressing the influence of peers, Speck calls for a modern study of the House of Lords. These and other well-taken points modify understanding of James II and invite further research.

Speck also devotes attention to the Declaration of Rights. With respect to the politics that underlie the document, he takes issue with my study, insisting on a strong Tory role. Yet the fact remains that Whigs dominated the drafting committees and the Convention and rescued the declaration from a Tory scheme to sabotage it. Curiously, in analyzing charges and claims of the declaration, Speck ignores my work and fails to mention Corinne Weston and Janelle Greenberg's book on the suspending and dispensing power and Howard Nenner's *By Colour of Law* (1977). He adds nothing new and falls into error over Article 7 (guaranteeing Protestants the right to bear arms) because of failure to include the final clause, "Suitable to their Condition and as allowed by Law," language added by the lords to restrict arms to wealthy Protestants. His remark that many of the charges, including those about excessive fines and bail and cruel and unusual punishment, were "relatively trivial" (p. 147) is debatable. Still, neo-Whigs will applaud such statements as the "Declaration of Rights made new law in the guise of declaring the old" (p. 162).

The book ends with an valuable chapter on the interconnections between social classes and political developments. Speck rightly finds political awareness present in all classes, a point that consideration of the Anglo-Dutch propaganda campaign would have strengthened. Speck's conclusions may disappoint revisionists, but his book is likely to become the standard account of the Glorious Revolution.

LOIS G. SCHWOERER
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ROGER WELLS. *Wretched Faces: Famine in Wartime England, 1793–1801*. New York: St. Martin's or Alan Sutton, Gloucester. 1988. Pp. xii, 466. \$22.00.

This is an awkward, untidy, but thought-provoking book about an awkward, untidy, but crucial subject. For recent apologists of the *ancien régime*, famine, like rebellion, is just one of those things with which church and state have had to cope from time to time. Famine in England during the French wars was something else. I emerged from Roger Wells's tangled prose and knotty syntax feeling that I had been dragged through a hedge backward. Already scratched by typographical

burrs (the curse of on-line editing) and thorns such as the "quoracy" or "inquoracy" of the House of Commons (the state of its quorum), I was sent reeling by the Rabelaisian *coup de grâce* on the final page, where trade unionism, formerly merely "virile," becomes "tumescence." In coming to grips with a subject like this, however, which poses acutely the tension present in any serious writing between the short-term roughness of quotidian reality and the smoothed-out, long-term rationalizations that commonly pass for the lessons of history, a little dishevelment is no bad thing.

Current orthodoxy says that England avoided a revolution in the 1790s, not, as used to be thought, because of the efficacy of the younger Pitt's "Reign of Terror" but because the country's underlying fabric, though as yet little adapted to economic change, was equal to the challenges that it faced. Thus, "disordered cohesion" prevailed, or, in more familiar jargon, England "muddled through." Lit by the long-term conclusions of the historical demographers, the standard-of-living optimists, and, most recently, the contentions of high-political revisionists, this feat is in danger of acquiring a golden glow. Jonathan Clark, for example, informs us, courtesy of François-René de Chateaubriand, that the unrevolutionary "'England of 1688'" was then "'at the apogee of its glory.'" One wonders what would have happened to Chateaubriand's "way of visualizing and describing society" had he been able to read this book, because though it perforce accepts much of the "avoidance" thesis, it exposes a rather different view. Yes, the England of the 1790s was still hierarchical; yes, the continuing effectiveness of the attitudes, the institutions, and the processes associated with this fact was one of the two main reasons why there was no revolution. The logic of events, however, was not as simple as it may seem.

In the famines of 1795–96 and 1799–1801, the preservative effects of hierarchy were more often the result of actions contrary to the intentions of central government than of obedience to its instructions. This fact suggests a regime very different from the solemnly ordered "confessional" version of the late eighteenth-century state recently described by Clark; it suggests one in which localism, far from having dwindled into political insignificance once the earlier danger of dynastic subversion had faded, was still crucially important. The force of localism is most apparent in Wells's provocative suggestion (pp. 228–29) that, if there was at any stage a real threat to the state, it lay not in insurrection as such, or in a revolutionary "underground," but in exactly the same part of the fabric of authority itself where the collapse of the early Stuarts had begun in the late 1630s, that is, in the danger that those responsible for the localities would simply bring government there to a halt by opting out of an impossible position. This thesis needs to be more specifically verified. If, however, Wells seems to corroborate some features of the fashionable *ancien régime* thesis on English society, he thus also gives a very different

impression of the way the regime worked, of its solidity, and of the truth of its projected self-image.

There were more gaps between appearance and reality. The other main reason why famine did not precipitate general insurrection was England's commanding position in international grain markets. This position reflected the vigor of the economy and thus the sources of change rather than stability. The long-term nature and direction of these changes are familiar. Less appreciated are the complex and critical short-term contingencies of practical policy and its presentation. The hard positions of central government on distribution and prices were determined less by a thorough-going ideological conversion to the principles of *laissez-faire*, which was true only of the Portland Whigs, than by the vital practical need to defend the country's reputation in the international market by reassuring foreign suppliers and their English agents that normal flows of trade and profit would not be preempted by official fiat or disrupted by the crowd. It was this need, not the triumph of classical economics, that put central government at odds with local paternalism and the old dictates of the "moral economy." Indeed, the other main cause of friction between center and locality was the fact that government was becoming not less but more interventionist as it tried to impose itself on society by regulating patterns of individual diet and consumption. The result of the conflicting contingencies and perceptions thus produced was a serious failure of communication between government, its local agents, and society. This failure was what caused the potential breakdown of local authority that threatened the security of the state.

Elsewhere in his book Wells examines all of the other aspects of the famines in exhaustive and exhausting detail, but this examination of their political history is its kernel. Conducted with an awareness of the continuing localism and real traditionalism of English society, and of the imponderable roughness of short-term contingency, it ironically resonates with the precepts, though not with the express practice or conclusions, of Clarkeian revisionism. There is a rough justice in this. The *ancien régime* survived, but, if there was one lesson that its governors took away from those years, it was a political one. In the formation of policy on issues fundamental to the maintenance of society, the problem of procuring public consent to its execution and thus the relationship between policy and politics could no longer be taken for granted. In matters of war and peace, the importance of that relationship had been apparent since the 1770s at least. The wartime famines brought the lesson home to the kitchen table. In this lay the seeds of the future, not the perpetuation of the past.

JOHN MONEY
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ANTHONY BRUNDAGE. *England's "Prussian Minister": Edwin Chadwick and the Politics of Government Growth,*

1832–1854. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1988. Pp. 208. \$22.50.

Any treatment of Edwin Chadwick is bound to be judged against R. A. Lewis's and S. E. Finer's magisterial books on the nineteenth-century reformer, both published in 1952. These works have withstood remarkably the test of time and still must be regarded as essential reading for anyone seriously interested in Chadwick's life and the question of government growth in Victorian Britain. But in certain important respects these works may now be considered superseded by Anthony Brundage's new book. Careful, painstaking research and an imaginative use of his materials enable Brundage to correct the record on a number of issues central to Chadwick's career and to give us a more pointed view of his strengths and weaknesses as a reformer.

The picture is made that much sharper because Brundage, unlike Lewis and Finer, focuses almost exclusively on Chadwick's place in and progress through a political universe in which the landed aristocracy still predominated and still mistrusted the likes of Edwin Chadwick. Emphasizing these underlying political realities, Brundage insists that Chadwick's role in the major social reforms of the 1830s and 1840s has been greatly exaggerated. Such an interpretation, as Brundage himself points out, has wider implications for the debate on the relationship between the theory and practice of governmental reform, for Chadwick has long been considered the arch-Benthamite, acting with notable effect behind the scenes.

In addition to showing that Chadwick's Benthamism was problematic and often put aside in order to further his personal ambitions to rise in politics and government administration, Brundage finds it necessary to elevate the importance of the aristocratic politicians in the process of reform. The political leaders—both Whig and Tory but especially Whig—are portrayed as supremely confident, knowledgeable, decisive, and largely untouched by fears for social stability in an era of unprecedented change. Reform, then, is seen as essentially a matter of the politicians' use of "experts" such as Chadwick merely to prepare the ground for a collection of preconceived measures.

A good deal of the persuasiveness of this argument depends on Brundage convincing the reader that the politicians, despite their familiarity with classical economics and Benthamism, were at heart paternalists who shaped and carried paternalist legislation as an alternative to Chadwickian solutions. Yet, when Brundage's conception of paternalism is dissected, it consists almost wholly of a simple commitment to "the continuing dominance of local government by traditional elites" (p. 16). The lopsided, unidimensional nature of this conception is apparent in the fixation on relations within "the local regime of property" (p. 45). This serves to obliterate the significance of relations between rich and poor, the propertied and the dispossessed, relations that are key to the paternalist concept and the

whole issue of early nineteenth-century government growth. Most of the chief reforms of the period—poor laws, factory regulation, education, and police—were concerned first and foremost with relations between those at the top and the bottom of society.

Despite its shortcomings, Brundage's perspective allows him to add substantial new weight to what is fast becoming orthodoxy on the question of nineteenth-century social reform. Continuity, rather than change, is for most historians in the field the signal characteristic of the period's reform measures, in terms of both legislative intent and practical application. This view, however, has not gone unchallenged. Karel Williams, K. D. M. Snell, and some others have instead been struck by the degree of discontinuity in the principles, structures, functioning, and impact of government administration in the age of reform, especially when considered from the point of view of the humble. The work of these historians must now also contend with Brundage's important contribution.

PETER DUNKLEY
Georgetown University

ASA BRIGGS. *Victorian Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press or B. T. Batsford, London. 1988. Pp. 448. \$29.95.

This final volume of Asa Briggs's trilogy, to which *Victorian People* (1954) and *Victorian Cities* (1965) also belong, opens appropriately with a fresh account—selective inventory might be a better term—of what was on display in 1851 at the Crystal Palace, the very apotheosis of "thing-dom." It then develops into a series of chapters brimming with information on everyday Victorian artifacts—the spirit of the age in tangible form. We learn about styles in men's, women's, and children's headwear; household furniture and bric-a-brac; emblematic flowers; and "images of fame" (chap. 4), that is, the various means by which the faces and figures of celebrated persons were made familiar to the public, from Parian ware to *cartes de visite*. In chapter 8, entitled "Carboniferous Capitalism," Briggs devotes thirty pages to the roles that coal, iron, and paper played on the Victorian scene, and, in an even longer chapter (chap. 3) entitled "'The Philosophy of the Eye': Spectacles, Cameras and the New Vision," he provides a wealth of practical information for scholars theorizing about aspects of perception that influenced writers, artists, and ordinary people as they absorbed their environment through their eyes.

The book is not encyclopedic in the sense that it aspires to be exhaustive; a whole shelf of volumes the size of the official Crystal Palace catalog could not accommodate all the categories and subclasses of small, familiar objects that figured in Victorian life. But it is encyclopedic insofar as each broadly conceived chapter acts as a magnetic field, attracting all kinds of ancillary items to the central theme. Once in a while, Briggs carries inclusiveness to a fault. One learns more about

the history of stamps, envelopes, and postcards and about the history of philately than is vital to a working command of the Victorian milieu.

There is an old-fashioned flavor to the book, reminiscent of the many compilations that Victorian publishers commissioned in behalf of an audience with an insatiable appetite for interesting facts. Like the compilers of those books, Briggs makes no pretense of finding a significant pattern in the endless diversity of objects. His labor of love has not impelled him to adopt a fixed point of view or a sustained argument or to raise provocative questions; endlessly knowledgeable, he assembles and displays his stock of memorabilia; but he leaves the reader to decide what it all means. One must confess that the absence of an organizing ideology and the unapologetic miscellaneity that distinguish these four hundred pages are a welcome temporary diversion from the subject matter and the tone of high seriousness that characterizes most current academic studies of Victorian social history.

Appreciation, however, must be tempered with regret. In editorial matters the book is unworthy of its eminent author and of the American press of high repute whose imprint it bears. Typographical errors abound. The word "ophthalmic" is consistently misspelled, even in the author's preface (the result of a faulty computer program?). In both the text and the bibliographical notes appended to each chapter, a disturbing number of personal names and titles come out wrong—for example, A. H. Netherhurst for A. H. Nethercott (author of the standard biography of Annie Besant), P. Cunningham for Phillis Cunnington (the costume historian), James Wylie, geographer to the queen, for James Wyld (also proprietor of the Great Globe in mid-century Leicester Square). If John Stuart Mill wrote *The Subjugation of Women*, cited on page 220, a copy has yet to be found. Instances, as the cliché goes, could be multiplied. Indifferent attention to routine housekeeping details cannot but detract from the pleasure and instruction to be derived from Briggs's personally conducted tour of everyman's Victorian treasure house.

RICHARD D. ALTICK
Worthington, Ohio

DAVID IAN ALLSOBROOK. *Schools for the Shires: The Reform of Middle-Class Education in Mid-Victorian England*. Paperback edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1986. Pp. 302. \$19.95.

David Ian Allsobrook's primary intention is to analyze the ideas and the motives of the group of influential people who concerned themselves with the reform of middle-class education during the Victorian period. His focus is the Schools Inquiry Commission (SIC), or the Taunton Commission, which began its work in 1864. Allsobrook discusses educational reform in the years before the SIC, provides a detailed picture of the

SIC itself, and concludes with an examination of its immediate and long-term influence.

One of Allsobrook's central points is that much of the impetus for reform of middle-class education emanated from rural, rather than urban, England. As he points out, most observers have assumed that the impetus came exclusively from "the Radical-Utilitarian setting of the growing nineteenth-century towns and cities" (p. 2). That urban bias has caused historians to overlook the efforts of aristocrats and country gentlemen, working largely through organizations of the Church of England, to improve the education of the sons of farmers and artisans. Allsobrook discusses the flourishing of such educational reform activity in the west of England, where it was particularly well developed, and concludes that efforts to set up middle-class schools in the counties involved considerably more cohesion than parallel developments in towns and cities.

Allsobrook also offers important new insights into the relationship between social class and educational reform by pointing out that not all influential Victorian educational reformers believed that schooling should be used to reinforce a rigid social hierarchy. He demonstrates that a significant minority believed that education could and should be used to encourage social mobility.

Allsobrook's study is, in fact, concerned almost as much with the history of the middle class as it is with the history of education. As he demonstrates, much Victorian discourse about middle-class education and reform was designed to improve the education of lower-middle-class boys, and it was generated not by members of that social group itself but by aristocrats, country gentlemen, and professional men, none of whom, according to Allsobrook, were genuinely middle class. Although some might take issue with a schematization that places professionals outside of the middle class, Allsobrook's work certainly sheds light on divisions and differences within the middle class.

This book has one major weakness, and that is its treatment of gender. Allsobrook's comments about girls' education are sparse, and he seems unaware of the literature on girls' education or on education and gender. His book would have been stronger had he recognized the significance of the fact that the middle-class education he discusses is the education of middle-class males, rather than accepting without question the point of view of his Victorian actors and assuming that any discussion of secondary education would inevitably be concerned almost exclusively with boys. With the exception of that omission, however, this is a thoroughly researched, thoughtful book that makes an important contribution to the history of Victorian education.

DEBORAH GORHAM
Carleton University

W. J. FISHMAN. *East End, 1888: Life in a London Borough among the Laboring Poor*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 343. \$34.95.

The East End of the 1880s generated a fierce rhetoric as an "Empire of hunger" peopled by "armies of Despair," and middle-class fears of its eruption were quickened by the Ripper's murders of 1888. W. J. Fishman's concern is less with the murders than with the social and material realities of daily existence through that year, reconstructed from a wide range of sources that detail the exigencies of life among a chronically overcrowded, underserved, and impoverished proletariat. Well-organized and well-written, this study is an exercise in experiential and pointillist history (with an enthusiastic foreword by Richard Cobb), whose author is an amateur in the best sense, for, though a political scientist by profession, Fishman writes here as a child of the East End with an intimate firsthand knowledge of its topography and culture.

The book offers a densely packed account of life in and out of work, in the home and out of doors, and it records working-class experience in a range of institutions, from the too-familiar bastilles of the Poor Law to the settlement houses, music halls, and political clubs that sought variously to discipline, rescue, solace, or agitate. Fishman also records the endemic crime of the East End that heightened fears of the Ripper as symbol of a permanent threat to the social order. The book thus confirms the suffering and violence that generated the East End's image of menace—life was exhausting and dangerous—but Fishman also gives us a better understanding of its inner dynamics and the specific conditions of subgroups such as children, women, and Jewish immigrants within a culture whose considerable diversity has often gone unrecognized behind generalized representations of the East Ender as docker, sweeper, or cornerman.

Although less concerned with larger historical implications, Fishman reinforces Stedman Jones's emphasis on the significance of the East End in dramatizing destitution (the Match Girls' Strike of 1888 is revisited) and thus inducing the shift to collectivism. Fishman offers some rehabilitation of middle-class philanthropists—"charity with a human face"—but adds little to Jones's suggestive work on class relationships. (One would like to know much about the substantial pockets of indigenous bourgeois East Enders and their role in the daily politics of class.) There is no attempt at a general characterization of East End culture to put beside Jones's coinage of "a culture of consolation." There is, in fact, no interpretive engagement with other historians or current cultural debate, and in this regard Fishman is less stimulating than Jerry White in his localized studies of the London working class. We penetrate many institutions but not the board school, and there is little acknowledgment of street or neighborhood identities. Had they disintegrated, as Jones suggests? But on his own terms Fishman has provided a valuable piece of microhistory that makes for a

moving and absorbing book, if one can negotiate the overabundance of exclamation marks.

PETER BAILEY
University of Manitoba

OLIVE ANDERSON. *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1987. Pp. xiii, 475. \$84.00.

Olive Anderson has given us a major new study of suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England. In her deftly crafted and carefully researched book, she manages to penetrate the secrecy that obscured official statistics and coroners' reports, while providing us with a fascinating portrayal of the views and experiences of ordinary people concerning suicide.

Drawing on a wealth of historical sources and using various research techniques, Anderson focuses on four major "windows" into suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England. First, she navigates the swampy statistical waters of official publications. Although those statistics are usually regarded as too unreliable for scholarly use, Anderson cautiously employs them to uncover patterns of suicide behavior related to time, place, age, and gender. Because suicide was less common among factory workers than among professionals or artisans, she questions whether industrialization and urbanization really were associated with rising suicide rates.

In part 2, Anderson examines "suicide culture," the social context in which those who died by their own hand had once lived. Acknowledging that ordinary peoples' views of suicide were not the same as those of clergymen, famous writers, or intellectuals, she analyzes coroners' reports from various districts in London as well as Rape of Hastings in east Sussex. She uncovers geographic and temporal patterns in the ways Victorians and Edwardians understood suicide.

In part 3, Anderson explores the ideas and feelings, the emotions and moral responses of ordinary people. She examines ballads, plays, stories, and paintings to re-create the attitudes of the people toward suicide. Anderson shows that suicide was viewed as an escape from sexual dishonor for women and as an escape from worldly dishonor for men. Also, suicide was viewed as the last refuge for the poor.

In part 4, Anderson discusses the actions that people took to prevent suicide. Because suicide was seen as both a sin and a crime, physicians, police, and prison surgeons were involved in its control and prevention. Attempted suicide became a crime, and, in the interest of public order, there were sporadic crackdowns on suicide attempts in public places. Still, a few enlightened people saw suicide as the result of a defective environment. They believed that suicide could be prevented by fostering community ties and supportive relationships and by making suicide more difficult to accomplish.

The strengths of this book are also its weaknesses. Anderson's careful attention to detail, her sensitivity to

context, and her steadfast refusal to go beyond the data often deprive the readers of her informed judgment and wisdom. Although well written, the book is complicated and difficult to read. It is difficult because of the enormous amount of material Anderson covers and the extreme caution and sophistication she employs in its presentation.

Anderson has produced an important work. Although her book is not really for the general reader, as she claims in the introduction, scholars of Victorian and Edwardian England and of suicide will find it indispensable reading.

RICHARD MORAN
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F. B. SMITH. *The Retreat of Tuberculosis, 1850-1950*. New York: Croom Helm; distributed by Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, New York. 1988. Pp. 271. \$57.50.

The organization of this book immediately suggests a physician's view of the history of disease: the chapter headings are "Incidence," "Etiologies," "Responses," "Sanatoria," "Remedies," and so on. That first impression is misleading. F. B. Smith's examination of the history of tuberculosis in Britain is the vehicle for a biting social critique of the inefficiency of medicine and the general ineptitude of the medical profession in dealing with this major chronic disease of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His charges are based on extensive research and appear to be justified.

Tuberculosis killed and disabled at a steadily decreasing rate throughout the period from 1850 to 1950. Overwhelmingly a disease of the laboring poor, it flourished in damp and overcrowded dwellings whose poorly nourished inhabitants offered little resistance to the bacillus. Physicians seem largely to have ignored the environmental causes of the disease, which had been clearly described by Frederick Engels, and to have insisted it was the consequence of hereditary disposition and immoral behavior. Many resisted the implications of Robert Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus and continued to claim that the disease was noninfectious.

One major response to tuberculosis was the building of sanatoria. Smith provides a particularly vivid and grim picture of those institutions. Various insisting on rest or on exercise, they were often run with a frightening emphasis on strict discipline for their patients and with a firm eye on profitability for their owners. They gained a dubious and largely unexamined reputation for improving the health of their inmates. Whatever their efficacy, Smith notes that these institutions dealt with only 2 percent of those suffering from tuberculosis yet absorbed most of the resources devoted to combating the disease. He suggests the money might have been better spent on food and rent assistance for the majority of sufferers who remained at home to die.

When sanatoria gave up their general regimes of rest

and exercise to institute surgical treatments, the suffering of their patients only increased. The most popular operation was artificial pneumothorax (a method of collapsing the lungs by repeated injections of oxygen or nitrogen), which had a 50 percent fatality rate. Medical treatments were little better. One trial of injected gold salts was considered successful when only nine out of forty-two patients died. Fortunately, that treatment was too expensive to be used on a mass basis. Quack medicines, composed largely of alcohol and colored dyes, may have been more benign.

This account of tuberculosis properly emphasizes the lack of attention given to prevention. The British were reluctant to institute effective controls over the production and sale of tuberculous meat and milk; indeed, Koch had publicly (and foolishly) rejected the need for such controls. A special tenderness to the interests of dairy farmers held back the movement to pasteurize milk, and the hostility and disinterest of physicians—along with nationalist pride—prevented the early use of the *bacille Calmette et Guérin* (BCG) vaccine developed by the French.

Smith provides a sympathetic view of tuberculosis patients and a generally damning account of the British medical profession's response to this disease in the period before 1950.

ELIZABETH FEE
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SIDNEY POLLARD. *Britain's Prime and Britain's Decline: The British Economy, 1870–1914*. New York: Edward Arnold of Hodder and Stoughton; distributed by Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, New York. 1989. Pp. xii, 324. \$69.50.

For seventy-five years, policy makers, politicians, and scholars have attempted to explain the British "Climactic." How, they ask, could the world's acknowledged economic leader in 1870 been well on the way to becoming a second-class power by the 1920s. More recently, a score of technically trained cliometric historians have earned international reputations by arguing that the British economy failed or, alternatively, that, given the existing preconditions, the British economy performed better than anyone could have asked or believed possible. Sidney Pollard, although providing no new basic research, attempts to draw together an array of more narrowly focused economic studies to supply new insights into the general debate. In fact, even professional historians may be surprised by the volume of first-class work published in the past four decades, and Pollard's bibliography, by itself, goes a long way toward justifying the purchase price of the book.

Pollard begins by surveying the absolute and relative condition of the British economy in the forty-five years before World War I. Not surprisingly, he concludes that, although losing part of its margin over Germany and the U.S., Britain did not perform badly in the last

third of the nineteenth century and that any study of economic decline must center on the first decade of the twentieth. Moreover, Pollard admits that, given the recovery of the years 1910–14, it is not possible to disentangle the cyclic roots of that first decade's performance. Section 1 of the book makes a welcome addition to the reading list of any course in recent British economic history.

In the next three sections, Pollard examines three stylized explanations of the alleged decline: that British capital was exported rather than invested in the home economy; that the British educational system failed to provide the basis for competitive performance in science and technology; and that the British government failed to adopt an industrial policy that would have made the economy more competitive.

In the case of the capital-export argument, Pollard's own contributions are minimal, although he provides a well-researched synopsis of the debate. While admitting that there is no definitive evidence, he concludes that British financiers and businessmen may have been seduced by the lure of the immediate profits available in foreign investment and, as a result, shortchanged the British domestic economy. Pollard does not, however, investigate the implications of the implied counterfactual: what would have happened to the rate of growth (to say nothing of the long-run rate of return to British savers) had a greater proportion of British savings been invested at home?

Pollard makes his greatest direct contribution in the section on education, science, and technology. He provides fresh and important insights. He concludes that, although Britain certainly produced fewer scientists and technicians than Germany, only in chemistry was the lag serious. Moreover, he raises questions about the appropriate level of training, given nineteenth-century technology, and suggests that the German system may not have been as effective as generally believed. Finally, he shows how quickly the British were able to get back into the game, once the rewards to scientific education and research had been demonstrated.

Pollard's third act treats the failure of government to mobilize its forces behind the industrial sector of the economy. Pollard recognizes that no industrial policy provides a bond against failure. Moreover, he admits that we still are largely ignorant of the arguments that go into a politician's utility function—that is, the basis on which he or she makes decisions—and he would almost certainly agree that Eastern Europe has proved that the strength of national industrial policies is not necessarily correlated with economic success. Still, he concludes that the British government could have done more, and he attributes that failure to the structure of British political society—a structure that placed power in the hands of the agrarian, commercial, and financial elites and all but disenfranchised the industrial sector. Perhaps it was in the political arena that the failure of British education ultimately proved most costly.

Pollard's book provides an excellent survey of the

debate over the alleged failure of the British economy. It does not, however, prove conclusively that the British economy failed (that is, that any other set of private or public policies would have led to a different outcome), nor does it provide sufficient evidence to guarantee that the perpetrator of the alleged crime could be indicted, let alone convicted, at least not in a British court of law. It may, however, convince some scholars to look elsewhere for the explanation of mid-twentieth-century stagnation.

LANCE E. DAVIS
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JOHN ROBERT FERRIS. *Men, Money, and Diplomacy: The Evolution of British Strategic Policy, 1919–26*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 235. \$24.95.

John Robert Ferris has written an excellent book. It is aimed at the technical, rather than the general, reader. Ferris is concerned with the development of British strategic policy during the period 1919–26. In his stimulating conclusion he neatly sums up his various arguments and also carries his account into the 1930s. This book is based on a great deal of research in a large number of public and private archives. Ferris is not afraid to offer bold conclusions throughout. Indeed, he seems to delight in challenging accepted opinion, and many ideas and conclusions of established historians are thrown over in these pages. Everyone concerned with this period of British history will have to study this book because of the novelty of Ferris's analysis.

Ferris's writing style is not especially lively, and he does not often present character sketches of the various protagonists in his story. When he does so, however, he hits his target. His analysis of Lord Trenchard, the powerful Royal Air Force leader who played such an important role during these years, is on the mark. Ferris points out that Trenchard has often been described as an inspiring but incoherent prophet who won his several victories through perseverance and the help of more astute subordinates or superiors. Ferris comments, "This view is erroneous. Although Trenchard was anything but articulate, he was a cunning and ruthless bureaucratic infighter. His experiences with political intrigue . . . taught him . . . to strike for the jugular. Trenchard's nose for opportunity led the R.A.F. to grow at the 'older services' expense" (p. 7).

One of Ferris's basic arguments is that historians have divided the interwar years into two periods. Usually, they look on the 1920s as a time of arms limitation and on the 1930s as one of rearmament. Ferris challenges that basic view. He argues that during the years 1921–27 Britain's real peacetime military expenditure exceeded that of any other time in recent history except for the years 1904–14 and 1935–39. Between 1921 and 1927 the British built as much new naval and air equipment as any other country of the day.

Ferris explains that only after 1926 did the British cut their spending on the services in order to free resources for other purposes. It was in the period after 1926 that the attempt was made to increase British power by assisting economic growth while, at the same time, neglecting military development. According to Ferris, Ramsay MacDonald's second Labour government made the "single gravest strategic error of the interwar years" (p. 181) when it prevented or neglected naval rearmament after 1930. As he accurately points out, Britain's naval power was at that time still "the foundation of Imperial security" (p. 181).

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D. L. LEMAHIEU. *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain between the Wars*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 396. \$68.00.

In this book, D. L. LeMahieu undertakes an ambitious, controversial project and for the most part acquits himself well. This is true at least of his many excellent portraits of specific responses to the commercialization and industrialization of culture in Britain between the wars—detailed accounts of figures such as Frank Pick, advocate of a modernist commercial art for the London underground, or John Grierson, leader of the British documentary film movement, or J. B. Priestley, novelist and essayist. LeMahieu composes a complex, often-entertaining study from what British intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s wrote about the new mass media (popular journalism, film, the gramophone, radio, commercial art, and advertising). His main thesis is that, more or less despite what the intellectuals had to say, a "common culture" began to emerge in Britain in the 1930s.

But this thesis is less than its often-fascinating parts. LeMahieu does little to fortify his argument against those who, like Tom Nairn, believe in the imminent "break-up" of Britain as a result of renewed nationalist and class conflicts. How does the notion of a common culture emerging from the commercialized mass media in the 1930s square with the current state of siege in Northern Ireland, with racism and the revival of fascism, with the Sex Pistols and the conflictual style of punk rock, or with recent football hooliganism?

Although LeMahieu's analysis of left-wing responses in the 1930s to mass culture is apparently comprehensive, it misses several beats. He is better read in the *Left Review* than in the *New Left Review* and pays only glancing attention to recent trends in British scholarship about democracy and culture. He cites the late Raymond Williams approvingly (after all, no other British intellectual has put his or her stamp so decisively on the common culture theme). But (unless I missed it in the footnotes) he does not mention Stuart

Hall and only once names Richard Hoggart (p. 294). Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy* (1957), however, asked a number of questions that LeMahieu skims past. Hoggart's "left-Leavisite" theme was the erosion of an older "common" or working-class culture by the commercialized mass media. Hoggart partly stood the arguments of reactionary "cultural elites" upside down by contending that the communal ties being dissolved by commercialization were working-class ties.

Hoggart's line of argument has been extended by, among others, Gareth Stedman Jones, who in "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics, 1870–1900" (*Journal of Social History*, 7 [1973–74]: 460–508) was himself looking back to E. P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class* (1963). Whereas Thompson sought to demonstrate the emergence of a radical working-class culture in Britain between 1789 and the 1830s, Stedman Jones demonstrated the conversion of that radical culture into a "defensive" one for which capitalism was "an immovable horizon." In contrast, capitalism for LeMahieu seems to be a conveniently mobile horizon; its compatability with democracy is, he feels, perhaps problematic but apparently ultimately to be determined by the usual liberal (American?) slip-sliding between supply and demand: when supply wins, so do the producers; when demand wins, so do the consumers, although usually compromise is the order of the day. LeMahieu criticizes this economic model of culture when others offer it but relies on it himself while summarizing and largely rejecting theories of ideology (including Gramscian "hegemony" [pp. 15–17]). Thus, he partly evades the hard political judgments that his subject calls for.

Nevertheless, LeMahieu's portrait of two decades of British intellectual and cultural history is valuably provocative. He asks important questions and in limited but detailed ways answers them well. His weaving together of responses to various media is itself valuable. His recognition of the historical significance of developments in film, radio, and advertising matches the recent upsurge of interest in those topics. But finally, for me, he pays too little attention to arguments about the mass media in Britain after World War II. Not only does he not directly confront Williams, Hoggart, Hall, and the many other contemporary British intellectuals who deal with these very questions (although he cites many of them in his footnotes), but he also does not come to grips with what a common culture could or should be. What would it mean to be part of such a culture? The refusal to follow this question through to its logical conclusion (LeMahieu is hardly alone in this) helps make the horizon of capitalism immovable, although no one really believes, in the Europe or America of the 1980s, that the "laws" of supply and demand are leading us to the nirvana of a genuinely democratic culture. As Williams declared in *Culture and Society* (1958), "The institutions of cynicism, of denial and of division will perhaps only be thrown down when they

are recognized for what they are: the deposits of practical failures to live."

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WILLIAM MANCHESTER. *The Last Lion: Winston Spencer Churchill*. Volume 2, *Alone, 1932–1940*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1988. Pp. xxvi, 756. \$24.95.

The day following an argument between Winston Churchill and his manservant, Churchill remarked, "You were very rude to me, you know." The manservant replied with equal conviction, "Yes, but you were rude, too." Without hesitation, Churchill replied, "Yes, but I am a great man" (p. 36).

William Manchester is a great biographer. His ability and reputation helped him convince a publisher to produce a multivolume life of a man who has already been examined by such eminent writers as Virginia Cowles, Henry Pelling, Violet Bonham Carter, Robert Rhodes James, and Martin Gilbert, to name but a few. And then, of course, there are Churchill's writings about himself. Manchester's genius lies in his ability to persuade readers that, despite what they may have read before, his interpretation comes closest to the truth.

The thesis of this second volume, *Alone, 1932–1940*, is direct. Churchill was cast out of political power when he opposed his Conservative party's support of self-government for India. A National Government, formed in 1931, left Labour leader James Ramsay MacDonald as prime minister leading a government that included Conservatives Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain and Liberals Herbert Samuel (through 1932) and John Simon. Because Churchill was excluded, he was free to attack National Government policies for the balance of the 1930s. As critic, he took up the issue of Britain's military and naval unpreparedness in the face of German rearmament following the rise of Adolf Hitler in 1933. Prime ministers Baldwin (1935–37) and Chamberlain (1937–40) never heeded Churchill's warnings and their governments' own intelligence reports. Thus, they created a policy of appeasement that encouraged Hitler to become more aggressive and led Europe to war in 1939. The volume ends with Churchill's election as prime minister in 1940, when king and country turned to this Cassandra in their worst hour.

When Manchester analyzes Churchill, he is insightful, balanced, and generally tactful. Churchill's genius was his self-confidence and conviction; it was also his downfall. He saw people as wearing either white or black hats. The black hats were the aforementioned prime ministers and luckless souls, such as Samuel Hoare and especially Chamberlain's secretary, Sir Horace Wilson. Wilson, Manchester asserts, was sympathetic to the Third Reich and carried out "unscrupu-

lous intervention between the prime minister and other government officials" (p. 422).

But, when Manchester judges others, he is less balanced in his appraisals. His *ad hominem* attacks on the appeasers, for example, reveal why he is a better biographer than he is a historian. He never quite grasps the political scene of the 1930s, as indicated by the sources he chooses to guide him. He uses Churchill's papers extensively but does not sufficiently balance them with those of contemporary political figures. Consequently, Churchill's antagonists all don Manchester's black hats. Even though the author reveals many of Churchill's personal foibles and lost causes (India, support of Edward VIII), he encourages the reader to turn a blind eye to them. After all, Churchill was right about Hitler, and that is the important conclusion.

Quibbling aside, the book is a successful marriage of writer and subject. Churchill's exaggerations, invectives, and insight (or lack of it) become Manchester's. Somewhat oblivious of others' points of view, the two enter the same vehicle, with Churchill at the wheel, and career up the Chartwell to London road. Churchill believed he was a great man, and so does Manchester.

STEPHEN R. WARD
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JOHN DARWIN. *Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World*. (The Making of the Twentieth Century.) New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. xiii, 383. \$45.00.

John Darwin has written an excellent book on British decolonization. The ambition of St. Martin's series "The Making of the Twentieth Century" is "to provide sufficient narrative and explanation for the newcomer to the subject while offering, for more advanced study, detailed source-references . . . together with interpretation and reassessment in the light of recent scholarship." Success at such an undertaking is no mean feat. It requires that authors take on big questions in a way that does justice to the complexity of the issues raised with a pacing and clarity that does indeed encourage "the newcomer" to stay the course. In both of these respects, Darwin has succeeded admirably.

Darwin's account moves chronologically as he weaves his story out of three different strands: the international context, the official mind of British leaders, and the character of colonial nationalism. In many respects, the international context emerges as the most important theme of the book. Exhausted by war and confident of their special relationship with Washington in an American-run postwar world, the British examined their options with a flexibility born of long experience in international affairs. They decolonized with grace.

Yet, as Darwin's second level of interpretation reports, Britain was no "weary titan" and at least until the Suez crisis was anxious to preserve its role in the world. It was by no means reconciled to decline. Moreover, if

in retrospect the British appear to have gotten out of their imperial commitments with realistic dispatch, Darwin shows that on closer inspection events almost always moved much more quickly than the British anticipated and that the goals they sought from their withdrawal were seldom realized. In short, if Darwin's first level of analysis suggests a certain inevitability to the process of British decolonization, his second shows the ignorance, the frailty of human understanding, of many of those closely involved in these matters.

Darwin's third level of analysis takes the reader to the character of colonial nationalism that challenged British power. Although he suggests a certain inevitability to the process given the logic of colonial rule and economic development, Darwin is careful to stress the obstacles in the way of nationalist unity and to respect the wide diversity that the challenges to British rule took. In the process, he looks as well at the Middle East, where British interests in Iran, Egypt, and the Arabian peninsula were every bit as important in the decolonization process as developments in the empire.

Despite the real strengths of the book, I have three criticisms to make of it. First, it contains no discussion of domestic British politics in an era of enormous challenge. Perhaps to a British writer, domestic stability during this long ordeal calls for no special gloss. Yet surely such stability was a crucial part of the process of orderly withdrawal that should receive its due. My second regret is that there is no masterly summary pointing to what might be called the British "style" of decolonization. And yet the parallels among situations abound, as Darwin reports them. Consider, for example, the British preference to leave behind governments ruling over areas as large as could be arranged (from its hopes for a greater India to its backing for a West Indian federation) or their practice of accelerating their withdrawal when faced by local conflicts not only to spare themselves costly involvements but also to bring potential local opponents into a cooperative undertaking to determine the character of the soon-to-be independent country. Given Darwin's evident gifts of exposition, it is regrettable that he did not provide such a summation.

My final criticism is one that again suggests how a non-British reader might react to the extraordinary story that unfolds in these pages. Darwin is wary of giving too much credit to the British for the way in which they managed their imperial retreat. He sees London's ignorance and effort to secure its own interests much too clearly to defer to the virtues of the official mind. Yet by the same token he fails to give sufficient credit to Britain's monumental achievement. Here more is needed, in my opinion, on the structure of British imperial rule—on attitudes and practices facilitating colonial self-government, which acquired a force quite their own and which led to a limited range of policies whose happy consequence, from the British perspective, enabled an orderly retreat from empire.

TONY SMITH
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HENRY PELLING. *Britain and the Marshall Plan*. New York: St. Martin's. 1988. Pp. viii, 188. \$39.95.

More than forty years after its inception, the Marshall Plan is still regarded as one of the most successful foreign policies of the recent period. Within the framework of this plan, and with the American aid it provided, the participating countries of Europe were able to restore, even surpass, their prewar standard of living. They achieved a measure of political stability, brought West Germany within a larger community of non-Communist states, and made progress toward the goal of an integrated economic and defense system. These and other developments have been the subjects of much recent literature, a good deal of it by British historians. The British scholarship is generally excellent by any standard, although some of it rides the crest of a "revisionist" wave that reverses the emphasis on American hegemony found in many of the works produced by historians in the United States. In this scholarship, that is, a balanced analysis often gives way to one that exaggerates the degree to which British and European leaders maneuvered their American counterparts into postwar economic and security arrangements or defeated American initiatives that did not dovetail with their own interests.

Henry Pelling, the author of several notable books on recent British history, does not cast his study of the Marshall Plan against this historiographical background or add significantly to the current literature. Although his notes are rich in archival citations, British and American alike, this research has not produced new insights, even when it comes to recounting British policy. Pelling reaffirms the verdict stated above, labeling the Marshall Plan a great success, at least until it was cut short by the Korean War and the drive toward European and American rearmament. His narrative is brief (only 128 pages of text), is descriptive rather than analytical, and generally recapitulates many of the familiar aspects of postwar diplomacy. These include the origins of the Marshall Plan, the organizational mechanisms through which it worked, the failure of British leaders to reconcile their place in an integrated Western Europe with their ties to the Commonwealth and sterling area, their hopes for a special relationship with the United States, and their desire to shield domestic economic planning against market forces and supranational coordinators.

Pelling does not provide a proper setting for his discussion of British and American policy. For example, we learn virtually nothing about the strategic dimension of the Marshall Plan, the critical German problem, or the relationship between British policy toward European recovery and the grand design that guided Ernest Bevin's diplomacy. Although we need detailed studies of how American aid influenced agricultural and industrial policies in the participating countries, Pelling's account of British recovery also says little on this subject. These shortcomings, and others, diminish the book's utility considerably, making it a

sort of primer for readers seeking a skeletal summary of certain episodes in the history of postwar stabilization.

MICHAEL J. HOGAN
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M. ANNE CROWTHER and BRENDA WHITE. *On Soul and Conscience: The Medical Expert and Crime; 150 Years of Forensic Medicine in Glasgow*. Aberdeen, Scotland: Aberdeen University Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 169. Cloth £14.90, paper £7.95.

The Regius Chair of Forensic Medicine at Glasgow University was imposed in 1839 on an Establishment unwilling to entertain it. Its early incumbents were appointed as much on the basis of party political allegiance and patronage as on merit. If any of the early professors had ability, that was a bonus. From such inauspicious beginnings developed a department that won a world-wide reputation for its work in assisting the authorities in the investigation and prosecution of crime. This book records that development.

The crucial burgeoning of the department occurred between 1898 and 1962, years known as "the Glaister Dynasty," when famous father and famous son enhanced the prestige of forensic medicine and science in general and Glasgow University in particular. This period was the time of the omniscient expert, who dealt with pathology, psychiatry, serology, blood and stain analysis, comparison of hairs and fibers, ballistics, and even fingerprints. The Ruxton case of 1936 is highlighted as the beginning of the end of that era, which was replaced by the age of the multidisciplinary forensic science team. This development is narrated in the latter part of the book.

Glasgow now deals only with forensic pathology, histology, and toxicology. The other specialties are catered for, for example, in Strathclyde University and the Strathclyde police laboratory. Increasing specialization and technical sophistication have imposed limits on the physical and financial capabilities of the universities. As M. Anne Crowther and Brenda White point out, the funding of the department has never been easy or generous. Modern analytical equipment costs money. Time is not cheap. Glasgow (and probably also Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen) now relies greatly on funding from the Crown Office, the government department in Scotland responsible for criminal prosecution. The authors do well to point out the risks inherent in such a setup, bearing in mind the acknowledged human failing that one may be tempted to produce results that will please one's paymaster and the risk that the universities may in the public mind be identified with the prosecution side. They express the hope that the centering of forensic scientific services in the universities may safeguard impartiality so long as the universities remain independent of the state. But what are the implications for the defense and for justice being manifestly and obviously seen to be done?

With such centralization and funding, where will the defense find experts and material to test and cross-examine the crown's paid experts? How will they be funded?

I have one reservation. On page 70 in a discussion on the case of Robert Willox and on page 73 when dealing with the case of Peter Queen, there are references to the "weight of probabilities" and the "balance of probabilities." These may be accurate quotations, but it should be remembered and emphasized that in Scotland the standard of proof in criminal cases is not proof on balance of probabilities (this is the civil standard) but proof beyond reasonable doubt. Overall, however, I have enjoyed reading the book. I found it to be readable, informative, stimulating, and thought-provoking. I compliment the authors for providing a valuable historical survey of forensic medicine in its political, sociological, and economic context. I commend it to readers.

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TOM GALLAGHER. *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace; Religious Tension in Modern Scotland, 1819–1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 382. \$22.50.

Belfast, Liverpool, and Glasgow are the three cities of the United Kingdom that, since the middle decades of the nineteenth century, have been most noted for sectarian divisions between Protestants and Roman Catholics. In Belfast, sectarian murders remain common even in 1990. In Liverpool, whose religious history has been assessed in recent years by P. J. Waller and Frank Neal, the rivalry determined election results for more than half a century. But what of Glasgow, that "second city of the British Empire" during the Victorian era and the British metropolis that attracted more Irish immigrants than any other? Tom Gallagher is the first historian to chronicle comprehensively the story of how Glasgow's Irish immigrant minority adapted to its new and intermittently hostile environment and how succeeding generations became (up to a point) Britons and (up to a point) Scots.

The book's title suggests that it is concerned primarily with the nineteenth century, but only two of the seven substantive chapters focus on the century before World War I. Three are preoccupied with the interwar era and two more with the years since 1945. The early chapters rely on secondary works; the later chapters draw to an impressive degree on newspapers and periodicals and on sixty-two separate oral history interviews conducted by Gallagher. The result is a book with numerous virtues and some significant limitations.

Gallagher sensibly suggests that the Victorian Irish Roman Catholic minority maintained a "distinct enclave community" (p. 18) for reasons of religious self-preservation as much as fear. The hostility of native Scots was muted because the Great Disruption of 1843

had divided the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and because, at a time of general economic expansion, restless Scots found more of an outlet in empire building than in militant anti-Catholicism.

World War I proved to be a watershed. Most of the descendants of the Victorian Irish immigrants transferred their political allegiance from the Irish Home Rule party, which had been "more a sign of their alienation from the Scottish social system than of any positive identification with Ireland as such" (p. 349), to the Labour party. That party in turn benefited greatly from the Scottish Education Act of 1918, a Liberal legacy, which pledged the British state to underwrite Roman Catholic schools and left priests free for activities other than educational fund raising. During the depression years a Scottish Protestant League won temporary political successes at the municipal level, but World War II did much to integrate the largely working-class Catholic community with its Protestant neighbors. Upward social mobility for the group became obvious only in the 1960s and 1970s, however. By then a significant number of Roman Catholics had gained advancement in politics, the civil service, and education, though fewer in business and banking. To the relief of Protestants and Catholics alike, the conflict of 1969 and after in Northern Ireland did not spill over into western Scotland to any significant degree. Only on the soccer ground did the Catholic "Celtic" team remain the archfoe for the Protestant "Rangers," who recruited their first Roman Catholic player only in 1986. By then the Roman Catholic community in Glasgow—about a third of the population—was numerically as significant as ever, but only a minority of the faithful still attended mass each week or accepted church teachings about birth control, divorce, and mixed marriage.

Gallagher is a knowledgeable and generally dispassionate guide to the manner in which rival religions attained and maintained an "uneasy peace" in Glasgow, and at times he brings a helpful comparative perspective to bear. His bibliography is most valuable. At the same time, he finds it difficult to place his story within the broader context of British social and political history. He has little sense of chronology and rambles back and forth across the decades in an unpredictable and unsystematic manner. Readers seeking a more concise and direct introduction to many of the same topics may be better served by Steve Bruce's *No Pope of Rome! Anti-Catholicism in Modern Scotland* (1985).

WALTER L. ARNSTEIN
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JEAN-PIERRE BOIS. *Les Vieux de Montaigne aux premières retraites*. Foreword by GEORGES MINOIS. Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. iv, 448. 130 fr.

Breezily written, this book offers considerably more chaff than wheat in outlining the history of old age in

France (and occasionally in other places) from the late sixteenth century until about 1900. Jean-Pierre Bois's primary emphasis is on cultural history, and his method involves an Ariès-like approach that entails most of the faults and only a few of the virtues of its exemplar. Bois judges history of the elderly by the ways in which older people have been portrayed in art, literature, and, occasionally, politics and medicine, and he clucks reproachfully when he encounters periods during which the elderly were not portrayed at all. The resultant catalogue offers some engaging specifics—for example, in Bois's recurrent attempts to judge how old people were portrayed in art from the paintings of Antoine Le Nain to the works of nineteenth-century photographers and impressionists. Although literary references cited by Bois are on the whole fairly familiar, ranging from Michel Montaigne's bile to the interests in longevity developed by Enlightenment writers, there are a few important new entries, including a discussion of the marquis de Lambert's eighteenth-century treatise, and some nice judgments, such as a discussion of the flavor lent by romanticism to many portrayals of the elderly even amid a fascination with youth.

Bois supplements his analysis of formal culture with periodic forays into demography that focus on the percentages of the population living past sixty, percentages that are derived from the work of Peter Laslett and others. There are no surprises here, although at points there is a useful summary. Other supplements include recurrent references to medical opinion on the elderly (but no details on relevant medical practice), to the role of older people in politics (in the court of Louis XIV and during the revolution), and to scattered other points.

Theoretical structure is largely lacking. Bois judges centuries to be good or bad depending on whether or not the culture paid attention to the elderly and whether the cultural treatment was upbeat or pessimistic. Generally, by those criteria, things improved over time from a sardonic seventeenth century to a somewhat more hopeful nineteenth century. Bois supports that progressive view with his reading of the demographic data, in which higher percentages of old people are held to be encouraging.

The impressionistic tone of the book obtrudes almost constantly. Bois's central focus is on France, but he sporadically introduces data from other European countries. He offers judgments of the quality of life with virtually no attention to work experience, standard of living, social class, or gender distinctions.

This is a book that might have sparked interest in an important subject three decades ago but that, although occasionally interesting, offers little today. General readers may be misled into thinking that its author's judgments of the subject are up-to-date, whereas specialists may find their own aging process accelerated by the treatment offered.

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JAMES R. FARR. *Hands of Honor: Artisans and Their World in Dijon, 1550–1650*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 298. \$34.95.

In this excellent study of the artisans of late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century Dijon, James R. Farr fills a yawning gap in the history of the French working class. Thanks to studies by Steven L. Kaplan, Cynthia Truant, and Michael Sonnonscher, we know a great deal more than we used to about the workers of the eighteenth century, predecessors of the revolutionary sans-culottes. But until Farr's analysis, we had little knowledge of artisans who lived after the Middle Ages and before the Enlightenment.

Borrowing from "social theory" and "cultural anthropology" (p. 10), Farr emphasizes cohesion and consensus among members of different guilds and argues that there was "a cohesive culture . . . which though not capitalistic nonetheless took on the contours of a nascent class" (p. 8). In support of that assertion, Farr brings to bear a vast array of data. The book opens with chapters devoted to a reconstruction of the material world of the artisans based on municipal council archives and notarial records. In a fascinating chapter, Farr uses tax rolls to situate the artisans in urban geography and marriage contracts to analyze their material culture down to the tools they owned and the pewter they ate from. Analysis of marriage contracts allows him to make one of the important observations of the book: a declining number of masters and a higher rate of "class" and geographic endogamy indicate that journeymen found it increasingly difficult to enter the ranks of masters. The growing exclusivity of the masters explains the creation of *compagnonage*, or secret workers' associations, in Dijon. But such "horizontal" conflict was mitigated by "vertical" ties that were created through the designation of godparents and through the selection of social superiors as marriage witnesses.

In the second part of his book, Farr deals with the culture of the artisans. Criminal records constitute his major source, and he argues that all artisans, masters and journeymen, shared a value system that was grounded in honor and was most clearly expressed in a code of appropriate sexual behavior. Farr stresses the importance of neighborhood and analyzes the language (often ribald) used by Dijon artisans. He then describes the workers' stance vis-à-vis constituted authority and observes a "growing conformity to law and order among the artisans" (p. 212). The last chapter is devoted to a discussion of the artisans' religion in the light of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. Farr uses testaments, confraternity records, and accounts of workers' amusements and ritual activities to illuminate the spiritual world of the artisans.

Farr's study will be of great interest to specialists in labor history but will also appeal to cultural and social historians. Social historians in particular will appreciate Farr's adept handling of problematic data, and few will be able to think of a study that navigates more easily the

perilous waters of quantitative analysis. The chapters dealing with the "artisans' mentality" (p. 152) also provide interesting insights but are more problematic. Farr's use of criminal records to illuminate cultural structures hardly seems new after the work of Yves Castan, Arlette Farge, and others, and his observation that honor constituted the centerpiece of the artisans' mental world comes as no surprise. What one would like to know is the ways in which the artisans' values and their symbolic expression of those values differed from those of other Dijonnais, be they artisans' social inferiors or superiors. Farr may be correct in stressing neighborhood and consensus, but he does so to such a degree that we lose sight of occupation and identity, of what made the artisans different from their fellow citizens, and what values made journeymen and masters different from each other. To be sure, Farr does contrast the religious views of the artisans and the elite, but a consistent comparison of the workers with their neighbors would have contributed to our sense of their special identity.

Still, this study adds a great deal to our understanding of workingmen and workingwomen at a previously ignored stage in their history. Labor historians as well as economic, religious, and cultural historians will find food for thought in Farr's study, which can only be termed (no pun intended) "masterful."

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ARLETTE JOUANNA. *Le Devoir de révolte: La Noblesse française et la gestation de l'état moderne (1559–1661)*. (Nouvelles études historiques.) Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 504. 160 fr.

Arlette Jouanna's book is one of those works that provokes and at the same time enlightens. Jouanna argues that the numerous noble revolts against the crown between the death of Henry II and the personal rule of Louis XIV were motivated less by personal, private, and individual causes than by a structural discontent within the nobility as a whole. Because nobles considered themselves guardians and protectors of the body politic, she argues, "to revolt against manipulators of royal authority or whenever the *patrie* is endangered was not only a right, but a duty" (p. 8). According to Jouanna, the dangers to the state changed during the period. During the Wars of Religion, noble revolts such as the conspiracy of Amboise, the malcontent revolts of 1574–76, and the rebellions of the Catholic League were primarily the result of kings trying either to extend their power in an absolutist direction or to limit the rights and proper role of the nobility in the body politic. Reacting to royal attempts to control the nobility—kings claimed that only they could create nobles, whereas the nobles claimed to be the natural creation of God, just like kings themselves—discontented nobles of the sixteenth

century were merely trying to protect the body politic from absolutist monarchs, all in the name of the *bien public*. Thus, Jouanna notes, theories of resistance and mixed monarchy emerged during the civil wars as a direct result of noble action.

By the turn of the century, Jouanna argues, the chaotic social upheaval of the civil wars had convinced most nobles that an absolute monarchy might not be such a bad thing after all, because it would at least guarantee and protect their privileged status from attacks from below, which were deemed far more dangerous than the errant reach of an overly enthusiastic king. Noble revolts in the seventeenth century, therefore, were directed at weak kings rather than strong ones (during royal minorities, for example). Like their sixteenth-century predecessors, however, the Gastons, Condés, Cinq-Mars, and Frondeurs continued to couch their revolts in terms of protecting the people, which ultimately meant maintaining the nobility in its privileged position.

Jouanna has analyzed the dozens of manifestoes and declarations that emanated from the various rebellions, as well as numerous contemporary commentaries on them, and she cites that rich literature extensively to support her case. She tends to accept the arguments expressed in the documents at face value, however, implying that all the ideas and programs propagated therein—protection of the *bien public*, expulsion of foreigners from the government, and convocation of the Estates-General, for example—were designed specifically to meet the needs of the late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century crises. Such demands were all rhetoric from the late Middle Ages, and the only new dimension was the issue of religion, an issue that is conspicuous by its absence in much of Jouanna's argument. Was it really the structural discontent of the nobility that was behind the theories of resistance and mixed monarchy in the late sixteenth century? Or was it religious division that was primarily responsible for the writings of the "monarchomachs" during the 1570s and the members of the Catholic League during the 1580s and 1590s? Moreover, were not all the revolts she discusses, not just those of the seventeenth century, the result of weak monarchs?

Jouanna has made a major contribution to our understanding of the political culture of the nobility. That nobles felt themselves to be part of the body politic with an active role to play within it is self-evident, but nowhere else has that fact been spelled out so coherently and elegantly and with such an impressive command of the sources. After reading this book, one has a clearer sense of why nobles were so reluctant to be left out of politics at every level of government in early modern France and why they behaved as they did when they were.

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P. W. BAMFORD. *Privilege and Profit: A Business Family in Eighteenth-Century France*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1988. Pp. xxv, 347. \$45.95.

The primary subject of this book is the career of Pierre Babaud de la Chaussade (1706–1792). Following the path laid by his older brother and his father-in-law, Chaussade was one of the top producers of timber and iron in France from the 1730s through the 1770s. His chief client was the French navy, which had a particular need for the masts, planks, anchors, and sheet metal that Chaussade supplied from his own forges and woodlands and purchased from others.

Much of what P. W. Bamford describes will sound strikingly familiar to twentieth-century readers. Chaussade was a defense contractor, and his business affairs fluctuated in direct proportion to the number of orders that he received from the government. He maintained a cozy relationship with the naval ministers who were in power during his career. His special status as a naval supplier enabled him to obtain numerous privileges: tax reductions, a near monopoly of certain areas of trade and manufacture, exemption from militia service for many of his employees, and so on. Although Bamford disparages the complex web of economic regulations and privileges of the *ancien régime*, his book clearly demonstrates that entrepreneurs such as Chaussade largely supported the system. Chaussade favored the granting of privileges when they benefited him and decried them when they did not.

Specialists in various fields will find useful nuggets scattered throughout the book. Bamford gives a masterful explication of production methods and of the difficulties of water and land transport. Naval historians will appreciate his analysis of the material needs of the navy and his positive evaluation of naval ministers, particularly the comte de Maurepas and Gabriel de Sartine.

Bamford concludes that Chaussade was an "aristocratic entrepreneur." Like many prominent entrepreneurs in France and elsewhere during the eighteenth century, he was proud of his accomplishments. Yet he retained much of the aristocratic tradition. When he sat for a portrait, he posed with a gun and hunting dog. He purchased the venal office of *secrétaire du roi* to ensure the noble status of himself and his children. Most of his workers (who numbered well over one thousand) lived in what amounted to company towns on his estates. Chaussade controlled their lives not only as their employer but also as their paternalistic lord.

This book has been incubating for over thirty years, and one cannot fail to be impressed by its solid foundation of Parisian and departmental archival sources. Bamford commits only a few minor slips—for example, the references to Jacques Necker as controller-general of finances.

In an epilogue, Bamford compares Chaussade's metallurgical enterprise favorably with those of two other prominent European iron producers, the Crowleys of England and the Söderfors of Sweden. The perceptive-

ness of the epilogue makes one wish that Bamford had devoted more space to such comparisons throughout the book. Although the bibliography indicates that his reading in secondary works is wide, in the text Bamford never stops to discuss how Chaussade's case relates to similar topics covered in recent years by authors such as Guy Richard, Robert Forster, and J. R. Harris. This fine monograph would have been even more useful if Bamford had gone a bit further in putting Chaussade into the general context of French economic and business history.

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BERNARD LEPETIT. *Les Villes dans la France moderne (1740–1840)*. (L'Évolution de l'humanité.) Paris: Albin Michel. 1988. Pp. 490. 198 fr.

Bernard Lepetit is excellently qualified to write this book; he is a researcher at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and "secrétaire de rédaction" of the *Annales*. He endeavors here to show how towns at the end of the Old Regime and at the beginning of the new were places of conflict, of innovation, and especially of increasing administrative importance. He also describes the relations among the improving road system, the economic and administrative structures, the evolving urban geographic distribution, and the changing urban "hierarchies," while discussing the relative nonimportance of the role of industrialization in France during this period.

Considerable space is devoted in the opening chapters (pp. 19–171) to the problem of defining a town and to defining different types of towns according, essentially, to function, size, and equipment. Although some three hundred towns are mentioned, there is little information presented on any particular location: the author's major purpose is to expound a revised approach to urbanization, and he only mentions specific towns to support a proposition.

One feels on occasion that more explicit substantiating evidence could have been presented more regularly throughout the text, for often there may be a dozen or more pages without reference to any town. At times—no doubt in an endeavor to be as clear as possible—the author seems to elaborate on the obvious, with the result that the reader must skip lines or the mind begins to wander. On page 80, for example, we read that urban growth possesses "*une double connotation, spatiale et temporelle*," followed by several lines of explanation ("*des fossés sont comblés pour devenir boulevards*," and so forth), and we are told that "*le temps . . . se présentera comme l'enchaînement d'états successifs aux caractères différents*."

The book would have profited from condensation in style and, indeed, in its total presentation. The numerous tables and illustrations could also, on occasion, have benefited from more explicitness and from a greater independence from the text.

The reader may find little that is new here: in his conclusion, for example, Lepetit states that the "réseau routier," the "organisation des réseaux de commercialisation," and the growth of the "caisses d'épargne" were all more developed in the north of France than in the south (pp. 401–04). This clearly organized book, however, presents an important confirmation, based on an excellent wide range of source material, of what is known or at least, in the finer detail, suspected.

There is an extensive bibliography containing some three hundred and fifty titles, both *récents* (since 1920) and *anciens*.

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ELISABETH BADINTER AND ROBERT BADINTER. *Condorcet (1743–1794): Un Intellectuel en politique*. Paris: Fayard. 1988. Pp. 658. 140 fr.

The marquis de Condorcet is usually cited for his classic exposition of the idea of human progress, the *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, written in 1793 while he was on the run from the Jacobin Convention. In recent years, scholars have moved beyond a single focus on the *Esquisse* and the drama of Condorcet's final days to reexamine the whole of his life and work. No longer seen as a figure of the second rank, Condorcet is increasingly portrayed as the last of the great *philosophes* and the deserved inheritor of the rationalist tradition of the Enlightenment.

Elisabeth Badinter and Robert Badinter carry on that reassessment of Condorcet in their substantial new biography, which will doubtless become a standard work, complementing Keith Baker's more analytical *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (1975). Basing their study on an impressive sweep of sources, the Badinters narrate the complex career of this most radical of eighteenth-century rationalists. A protégé of Jean le Rond d'Alembert and A.-R.-J.-Turgot and the youngest associate of the elderly Voltaire, Condorcet made his way into Parisian intellectual and social circles as a mathematician, becoming permanent secretary of the Académie Royale des Sciences, inspector of the mint, and a member of the Académie Française. While continuing his scientific work (notably in the area of an applied social calculus), Condorcet's unflinching commitment to reason led him to articulate many radical positions, including atheism, anticlericalism, and civil rights for Protestants and Jews. He opposed torture and the death penalty, and, as a founding member of the Société des Amis des Noirs (1788), he was a pioneering abolitionist. According to the Badinters, Condorcet was the greatest feminist of the eighteenth century, and, in the course of the revolution, he was among the first to call for a republic. He played no significant part in the early phases of the revolution but was a notable member of the Legislative

Assembly and then the Convention. The progressive and independent-minded Condorcet split from the Girondins and was outflanked on the Left only by Maximilien Robespierre and the most radical of the Jacobins, who ultimately decreed his arrest.

Two problems undermine the complete success of this volume. The first concerns an imbalance in the presentation. The forty-four years of Condorcet's life through 1787 are treated in 220 pages; his last seven years are covered in a further 400 pages that exhaustively recount the intricacies of the French revolution through 1794. Although Condorcet's political involvements occurred largely after 1787, the imbalance is still remarkable because events of the revolution are well known and because Condorcet himself fades into the broader historical canvas and reappears clearly only at odd moments, for example, during his final flight.

A more serious reservation concerns the Badinters' organizing theme: Condorcet as a politically engaged intellectual. They are correct to so characterize Condorcet, but their narrative approach precludes any sustained analysis of what to make of his political engagement. Condorcet's political vision, as evidenced in his elaborate constitutional proposal of 1793, seems largely to have been a failure. Personally timid and a poor speaker, Condorcet worked best in committee, where he often served more as a secretary or reporter than as the guiding intellectual light. He supported the war effort with patriotic enthusiasm, he was silent over the September massacres, and he was in favor of revolutionary government. The Badinters mention those disquieting facts but fail to integrate them into any larger evaluation of Condorcet's role as an intellectual in politics. Although the book has an epilogue (on whether Condorcet committed suicide), it thus lacks a conclusion.

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EMMET KENNEDY. *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xxviii, 463. \$35.00.

This book is a response to a challenge to the author by Fernand Braudel to test his theory of the *longue durée* in a period of seemingly rapid change such as the French revolution. Emmet Kennedy therefore tries to place the culture of the revolution in the perspective of what had gone on for a long time and what continued long afterward. Among the various long-term elements, he places cultural institutions, the church, popular rituals, and almanacs. Among movements of medium duration, which began well before the revolution and continued into the nineteenth century, he includes the Enlightenment, neo-classicism, and the cult of *sensibilité*, which led to romanticism. Kennedy suggests that a black side of this sensibility may have prepared the way for the Terror. Viewing within this framework every aspect of the revolutionary effort to modify culture in

order to create a new citizenry, he comes to a clear conclusion: the revolution may have introduced a political agenda for the future and created a revolutionary tradition, but it did not profoundly alter French culture.

The cultural creations of the revolution were largely ephemeral, he argues, because they were too closely tied to the political shifts of the period. Lasting cultural achievements must have something timeless and universal about them. Moreover, Kennedy contends that, if the revolution did possess one cultural continuity with the past and future, it was the attempt to create a religion of humanity that was symptomatic of a more general Western immanentism in which God is sought in humanity, nature, and society rather than in any transcendental order. He sees the symbol of this religion of humanity in the Pantheon on the left bank of Paris, counterbalanced by the symbol of the older transcendental view in Sacré-Coeur on the right bank.

Even those who may be disappointed with or disagree with his conclusion will very likely be impressed with the remarkable synthesis that Kennedy has created. At every turn he shows an impressive command of the secondary literature as well as the original sources on French history from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. At the same time his analysis is punctuated with many arresting insights and telling turns of phrase. Especially revealing are the sections dealing with cultural institutions, iconoclasm, and the countervailing effort to preserve valuable works of art, the quest for simplicity in the various arts, new ways of communicating, and the effort to mobilize music, art, and drama in the revolutionary cause.

In the case of the attempt to mobilize the arts, Kennedy uses statistics compiled by other scholars and, in the case of drama, a research project that he headed. Those statistics are revealing, but they have their limitations. Most of the songs of the revolution employed old music because song writers were more interested in the words than in the tunes used to convey them. In the case of the visual arts, the salons do not reveal the whole picture because popular engravings rather than paintings or sculptures were the principal means of conveying revolutionary messages. And in the case of the theater one cannot judge the revolutionary or nonrevolutionary content of particular revolutionary plays on the basis of titles alone. Some comedies, for instance, with apolitical titles prove to have considerable revolutionary content.

Despite his attention to detail and his wide knowledge of the field, a surprising number of errors have slipped past him and his editors. The Horatii brothers whom David depicted swearing to do or die for their country were not a "famous family in republican Rome" (p. 85) but in monarchical Rome. This error makes the painting appear more radical than it actually was. The architect Etienne-Louis Boullée did not "stay mostly within curvilinear structures," as a glance at his projects for a national assembly and a municipal palace

shows. Jean-Marie Collot d'Herbois was not guillotined but deported to Guiana. A mountain was not erected on the Champ de Mars for the Festival of Unity and Indivisibility, and the one erected for the Festival of the Supreme Being was not in the Tuileries Gardens. There are also some gaps; for example, there is no discussion of the new words that the revolution introduced into the French language as well as into political terminology.

Such slips and omissions do not detract seriously from a very impressive book. It will provide an invaluable complement to political histories of the period and will raise various questions for further research.

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P. M. JONES. *The Peasantry in the French Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 306. Cloth \$44.50, paper \$14.95.

In this useful work of synthesis, P. M. Jones provides a timely critique of recent trends in the historiography of the peasantry in the French revolution. He argues persuasively that revisionist historians have gone too far in dismissing Georges Lefebvre's thesis of an autonomous peasant revolution directed against feudalism. Hostility to harvest dues and other seigneurial burdens unified a great many rural communities, whose protests continued on a large scale long after the National Assembly supposedly abolished feudalism on the night of August 4, 1789. Jones is equally skeptical of challenges from a new generation of Marxist historians to Lefebvre's analysis of the relationship between the peasantry and agrarian capitalism. He finds little evidence of a peasant road to capitalism during the revolution. Many peasants continued to depend on collective rights of usage of the land, and they rarely favored the subdivision of common lands. Finally, Jones moves beyond Lefebvre in discussing rural politics and culture during the revolution. Although he calls attention to the profound impact of the administrative revolution on rural society, Jones agrees, nonetheless, with historians who have emphasized cultural obstacles to peasant politicization during the revolution. Even at the height of the Terror, peasants in most regions did not take a clear stand for or against the republic. Opportunism, tempered by confusion, best describes their response to the ideological cleavages that characterized national politics after 1789.

In the first chapter of the book, Jones presents some general background on rural France during the eighteenth century—demography, social structure, agricultural production, and local institutions. In chapter 2, he highlights fiscal pressures and seigneurial burdens that help explain why a political as well as a social crisis emerged in the countryside at the end of the Old Regime. In chapters 3 and 4, he analyzes the interplay of peasant demands and national legislation concern-

ing seigneurial rights. A series of excellent maps and tables illustrates the geographical location and social context of rural revolts against seigneurialism between 1788 and 1792. Historians fascinated by the political rhetoric of revolutionaries in Paris may be surprised to discover how little influence such rhetoric had over the abolition of seigneurial dues and obligations.

A similar discrepancy between rhetoric and social reality occurred over the issue of common lands, which Jones examines in chapter 5. Unfortunately, he was not able to consider Hilton Root's recent argument that fiscal pressures compelled the revolutionary government, like the intendants of the Old Regime, to abandon the goal of privatizing common lands. Root's argument may help explain the discrepancies that Jones finds between the number of communes that voted for partition and the number of partitions that were actually implemented. In any case, most communes never made such requests. Whereas Marxist historians such as Anatoli Ado and Florence Gauthier have based their case for a peasant road to capitalism on the demands of agricultural laborers for allotments of common land, Jones shows that such demands were widespread in only a few departments, mainly near Paris.

In chapter 6, Jones reviews several topics concerning the administrative revolution, and in chapter 7 he returns to the theme of rural revolts, this time in the context of the Terror and counterrevolution. Here Jones takes issue with Charles Tilly and Donald Sutherland, whose social explanations of counterrevolutionary movements in western France are mutually inconsistent and cannot be generalized to comparable movements in southeastern France. Jones himself does not present a unified interpretation of rural opposition to Republicans in the towns. Instead, he takes issue with attempts to write the history of the period as if peasants in most regions joined the counterrevolution. In a concluding chapter, Jones draws up a largely favorable balance sheet of the impact of the French revolution on peasant society, culture, and politics. Although the revolution did not accelerate the development of capitalism in French agriculture, it did abolish the seigneurial system, reduce fiscal inequities, encourage birth control, improve the judicial system, and endow rural communities with municipal institutions. In the controversy over the meaning of the French revolution, Jones makes a strong case for the prореvolutionary camp of social historians.

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JEAN-PAUL BERTAUD. *The Army of the French Revolution: From Citizen-Soldiers to Instrument of Power*. Translated by R. R. PALMER. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 382. \$45.00.

This book is the translation of Jean-Paul Bertaud's *La Révolution armée: Les Soldats-citoyens et la Révolution*

française (1979). It confirms Bertaud's status as the preeminent scholar of the French army during the most dramatic transformation in its history.

Although Bertaud's focus in this work is on what has been called the new military history, which emphasizes interaction between the army and civil society, there is ample information on strategy, tactics, logistics, casualties, and leadership to satisfy more traditional military interests. Bertaud combines a mass of statistical data—whose bald presentation disguises hundreds of hours of archival research—with enough vivid examples and anecdotes to enliven scores of lectures and other presentations.

Bertaud traces the evolution of the French army from the eve of the French revolution through the army's assumption of a decisive role in the coup d'état of Fructidor (September 4, 1797) and concludes with a chapter on the military preliminaries to Napoleon Bonaparte's seizure of power in November 1799. Bertaud describes the disintegration of the Royal Army through massive desertions, mutinies, and the defection of the noble officer corps, and he chronicles the creation of a new armed force of citizen-soldiers, the national volunteers of 1791 and 1792. The heart of this work is an analysis of the French army from the summer of 1793 to the summer of 1794. Although it would be foolhardy to label that analysis definitive, it is impossible to imagine how it might be substantially revised. Bertaud presents the complex conditions of the Year II clearly and succinctly: the crises created by foreign and civil war, the phenomenal efforts at raising and supporting an army of unprecedented proportions, the formidable problems of ensuring that those forces developed necessary technical skills while maintaining their political allegiance, and the course of the war itself. In the last chapters, Bertaud deals with the growing professionalism of the troops, their alienation from civilian authorities, and their increasing dependence on military leaders, despite their lingering attachment to revolutionary principles.

This work is based on a thorough examination of relevant materials in the Archives Nationales, pioneering research in rich but little-known series of the Archives de la Guerre, and a firm command of the secondary literature of the past two centuries. Bertaud exploits many of the sources, such as military justice records, in an especially imaginative and fruitful fashion. He communicates the results in a lively literary style.

Inevitably, one can criticize some minor points. To do so, however, would serve no real purpose—except possibly to allow the reviewer to show off a little. Quite simply, no specialist in military history or in the history of the French revolution can ignore this work, and many nonspecialists would be well served by reading it.

A word about the translation is also in order. Although some will probably regret the publisher's decision to omit the notes, the bibliography, and the data and tables contained in the original French edition,

that decision does make good sense because readers who might benefit from those sections would be able to use the French work. One can appreciate some of the difficulties encountered by the translator, R. R. Palmer. Bertaud employs an especially lively, staccato style, with rhetorical questions and incomplete sentences. Although, in my opinion, that style makes the material more exciting, it does not always translate readily for an Anglo-American audience. It is a tribute to Palmer's professional dedication that he is willing to undertake such a demanding and, in most ways, unrewarding task and is able to accomplish it well. His translation allows specialists to appreciate Bertaud's impressive erudition and nonspecialists to appreciate the human element in history.

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MARIE-VIC OZOUF-MARIGNIER. *La Formation des départements: La Représentation du territoire français à la fin du 18^e siècle*. Foreword by MARCEL RONCAYOLO. (Recherche d'histoire et de sciences sociales/Studies in History and the Social Sciences, number 36.) Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. 1989. Pp. 363. 176 fr.

The long-term institutional implications of the French revolution may have been overshadowed by other concerns during the bicentennial, but, for historians, they remain central to any assessment of the impact of the revolution. So Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier's new look at the local government reforms of 1789–91 comes conveniently to hand. Rather than reexamining the details of the reorganization, she uses the debates around the Comité de Division's proposals to show what ideas the French then had about the concept of the territorial dimension of local government or, as she calls it, the "representation" of territorial divisions. So, after a brief discussion of prevailing attitudes and the nature of the committee's proposals, the bulk of the book is given over to analyzing the responses that the proposals elicited from local elites. The responses were selected from the collection in the DIV^{bis} series of the Archives Nationales, and are partly listed in the annexes. The final section summarizes the author's findings in the light of the argument as to whether the reforms represented continuity or rupture.

Although Ozouf-Marignier's analysis seeks to analyze the responses in terms of whether they favored "conservative" or "rationalist" representations, her basic argument is that it is wrong to see the reforms as being simply a continuation of the past or a new start. And they were not just a matter of centralization or decentralization, as previous scholars have contended. For her, the value of these neglected debates on administration in 1789–91 is that they achieved a compromise between two extremes. There were elements of universalism and particularism in both proposals and responses; hence, the arguments used, and the decisions made, were not without contradiction.

Centralizers and decentralizers found things to criticize in the proposals. One reason for this equilibrium was that the committee was pushed away from its initial rationalism by support for the provinces and the status quo. Another possibility is that, rather than conforming to the various styles of "representation," the local elites, notably in the unpopular but effective towns, were essentially pragmatic in their approach. Then, as now, they used any argument that came to hand to justify their claims. This combination of centralized structures and local powers is, after all, still with us.

Ozouf-Marignier's most interesting suggestion, borne out by the similarity of arguments and the sense of national community, is that the reforms, while pushing the administration down new roads, also reflected the fact that France was already socially and economically uniform. Unfortunately, that idea is one of a number that are not followed through or put into a wider context. This is especially true of the point that the original impulse for the reform was to provide a territorial base for a representative polity, not to lay down administrative structures. Equally, the reform is not set against any detailed analysis of the actual geographic structure of France, with its hundreds of *pays*. But the analysis does bring out the fact that economic geography was then more important in theory and practice than nineteenth-century geographers conceded.

The main weakness of the book, however, is not its argument but its lack of user friendliness. Although the text is full of examples, these are never pulled together in any regional analysis let alone by maps or, more regrettably still, by an index of place names. So the book will be a source of frustration as well as of stimulation to administrative historians. That may reduce its impact on our thinking about the influence of the reforms of 1789.

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NORMAN HAMPSON. *Prelude to Terror: The Constituent Assembly and the Failure of Consensus, 1789–1791*. New York: Basil Blackwell. 1988. Pp. xiv, 199. \$29.95.

During his long career Norman Hampson has written books on controversial questions in the history of the French revolution. Each book, he says, has been a quest for personal clarification rather than certainty, for his is a skeptical mind. In this book Hampson asks why 1789 was followed by the Year II.

Hampson's approach is traditional yet revisionist. Public affairs, he writes, were "usually regulated by the interplay of three interacting forces: the pursuit of material self-interest . . . ; the realization of systems of belief . . . ; and the provision of solutions to political problems, which included the pursuit of political power" (pp. xii–xiii). Returning to the beginnings of the revolution, Hampson writes a careful and detailed

history of the Constituent Assembly's work, and, in the interplay of his three forces, he finds the failure of consensus, which he calls "one of the great tragedies of modern times" (p. ix).

The clashes in the Constituent Assembly were a question of "attitudes" rather than "interest" (p. 37) and were not a manifestation of class. Men differed over "means rather than ends" (p. 59), and deputies argued less over "divergent policies" than over "their perception of the other side's intentions" (pp. 124). Ideological strife was political rather than economic and social (p. 106), and the same distinctions held for the peasantry, whose uprisings were "a clash of cultures rather than classes" (p. 87).

Hampson sustains his insistence on the primacy and self-sufficiency of politics. He sketches the chief actors as personally motivated men rather than as manifestations of historical forces. He finds Louis XVI to be "a conventional man with old fashioned ideas" (p. 161). Hampson leads us briskly through the convoluted debates on constitutional questions, and his decision to single out the question of religion for scrutiny is a happy one that somewhat restores the importance the subject held for contemporaries. Perhaps too mechanically, he views ideological debate, or rancor over first principles, as the incompatibility of Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who provided most of the philosophic ammunition, but his accounts are cogent.

Consensus failed for reasons of character and circumstance. The dramatic night of August 4 forced "the reorganization of every aspect of public life" (p. 60), which made the work of the Constituent Assembly infinitely more difficult. Jean-Jacques Mounier and the monarchiens were undone by the October Days, whereas Mirabeau was undone by his own deviousness and venality. Furthermore, "it was beyond the wit of any one to construct a stable majority . . . for any policy that involved cooperation with the government" (pp. 123-24) because "in the end everything turned on that irresolute and vacillating man," Louis XVI (p. 169). Those are traditional, even conventional, judgments, but there is a freshness in Hampson's vigor and shrewdness.

It is not Hampson's emphasis on the familiar politics that is troublesome—that is one of his virtues—but his use of consensus as a model for revolutionary parliamentary politics. Stability, Hampson says, comes from "an unspoken agreement that politics shall continue to be conducted within a traditionally accepted framework" (p. 189). That is precisely what did not happen in the French revolution. First came the Paris insurrection, then the Great Fear, then the October Days, then the flight to Varennes, then . . .

Such radical alterations in the circumstances of politics fatally undermined consensus and, one could argue, make consensus an inappropriate model. It is not clear that the failure of consensus led ineluctably to the Terror—Hampson explicitly denies it did—but that

is the unspoken thesis of this erudite and energetic history of the politics of the Constituent Assembly.

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C. J. MITCHELL. *The French Legislative Assembly of 1791*. New York: E. J. Brill. 1988. Pp. ix, 352. \$57.50.

C. J. Mitchell attempts to resurrect the historical importance and reputation of the Legislative Assembly by using a new method of categorizing the deputies to analyze the activities of that important body. Voting patterns on the seven *appels nominaux* provide Mitchell with the key to understanding the behavior of the deputies. He finds a strong tendency among the deputies to vote only yes or no: of the 741 deputies who voted on at least one *appel nominal*, 240 voted only yes and 269 voted only no. Those who voted yes were basically the Left and those who voted no were basically the Right of the assembly. Unfortunately, however, Mitchell does not adequately discuss the circumstances and issues surrounding each *appel nominal*, so the reader cannot fully understand the significance of the yes and no votes.

Mitchell discusses the assembly's internal elections and the major problems faced by the deputies. There is some pattern of dominance by the deputies who voted yes and by those who voted no in the elections, but our understanding of this period of French history is not significantly advanced by the discovery of that pattern because each side won about an equal number of positions. We learn that the deputies were serious about confronting France's problems, as evidenced by legislation on *émigrés* and refractory clergy, but, as we are well aware, those efforts were thwarted by the king. Mitchell discusses war, defense, and the difficulties with General Lafayette in separate chapters. He presents some interesting discussion on the unwillingness of the deputies who voted no to face reality, but he does not pursue that thesis with the consistency necessary to establish it with conviction. He believes, however, that any condemnation of the Girondins for their actions in the Legislative Assembly is misguided.

Mitchell devotes several chapters to an analysis of the relations between the people of Paris and the members of the assembly. He presents an illuminating discussion of the deputies' attempts to defend themselves by systematically making themselves dependent on the populace of Paris. The deputies, however, realized from the reaction of the provinces to the *journée* of June 20 that any removal of the king had to be viewed as orderly. It is the concern for orderliness that explains the deputies' behavior on August 10, not a split with the Parisians on the value of the revolution, which more appropriately dates from the September massacres. Mitchell also provides strong evidence that the deputies of the assembly, almost to the man, stayed on the job until the Convention met.

Mitchell details the role of ministers and how an elected government might operate. The limited existence of the assembly and the absence of a fully participating executive make any discussion speculative, although Mitchell shows just how creative the assembly was in using local government to replace the executive. Much work remains to be done on that subject.

The Legislative Assembly was an important body. We need to understand it better. Mitchell's scheme of analysis can help, but a much more rigorous analysis of the period is needed to understand that crucial year.

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MARIE-NOËLLE BOURGUET. *Déchiffrer la France: La Statistique départementale à l'époque napoléonienne*. (Ordres sociaux.) Paris: Editions des Archives Contemporaines. 1988. Pp. 476. 360 fr.

In this study of official statistical activity in revolutionary and Napoleonic France, Marie-Noëlle Bourguet shows that the Baconian identity of knowledge and power is about control over people as well as over nature. She also demonstrates that forms of knowledge are closely associated with structures of power. Neither of those insights is new, but both tend to be confined mostly to prefaces. The best prospect for working them out at the level of details lies in integrating the history of administration with the history of knowledge. A few historians have begun to do that, especially historians of France. None has been more successful than Bourguet, whose subject—statistics—was, after all, invented as the science for the heads of state.

Bourguet writes mainly about the attempt under the Consulate to carry out a complete statistical description of France. That attempt began with the arrival of Jean-Antoine de Chaptal as minister of the interior in the Year IX. That golden age of French regional statistics has been studied before, especially by J. C. Perrot. Bourguet presents a great deal of new information, some of it gleaned from hitherto unexploited departmental archives. More interesting, she recognizes a new historical problem that leads to important insights into the appropriation of knowledge by the French state. The question sounds modest at first. Why was Chaptal's initiative aimed at a descriptive, rather than a numerical, inventory of France? That aim marked a preference for the German form of *Statistik* over the Anglo-Dutch tradition of "political arithmetic." Both approaches had strong precedents in France. The preference for words over numbers in this case tells us a lot.

Such a descriptive survey, in fact, was only possible for a few years around 1800. Narrowly utilitarian considerations, paramount in times of military crisis, dictated an emphasis on numbers. Indeed, numbers had been preferred before Thermidor and would be preferred again under the First Empire, which is at least part of the explanation for the decline and even-

tual extirpation of Chaptal's initiative by 1811. The attempt to prepare a descriptive volume on each department reflected scholarly as well as utilitarian motives. It did not represent an attempt at Parisian *dirigisme* but drew on an alliance of administrators and regional elites that was typical of France in its gentler moments. The prefects who were charged with preparation of the reports would have been (and in some cases were) helpless without the assistance of local scholars. These reports were to serve simultaneously to promote rational administration, to enlighten the public, and to manage the poor.

To be sure, centralization was also an important issue in this statistical campaign. Once administration had been rationalized under the Consulate, the persistent regional diversity in culture and language grated all the more. Significantly, however, the lack of uniformity was most frustrating to the quantifiers, who were stymied by local weights and measures and by regional variation in the names and functions of the trades. Descriptive statisticians came eventually to celebrate local customs as indispensable to the maintenance of social order within a population impervious to the ideal of enlightened individualism preached by the revolution. Thus, those statisticians moved toward anthropology and began to look like disciples of Johann Gottfried von Herder, in contrast to the quantifiers, who were inseparably bound to the bureaucratic state. Bourguet demonstrates that the history of statistics can contribute most usefully to the history of the state.

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EMILE POULAT. *Liberté, laïcité: La Guerre des deux France et le principe de la modernité*. (Collection éthique et société.) Paris: Cerf or Cujas. 1987. Pp. 439. 135 fr.

Emile Poulat's study is an ambitious attempt to survey liberal philosophy and its implications for relations between church and state in France since the revolution. The book is based on secondary works but builds on an erudition developed during the preparation of eighteen other related books by the author, notably *Catholicisme, démocratie et socialisme* (1977).

Poulat's perspective is not strictly historical, nor is his approach empirical. Many chapters begin with quotations from United Nations proclamations about human freedom or from contemporary French laws, and sources of the quotations are then traced to historical events. The author's sympathies clearly lie with classical liberalism. He criticizes both church and state for attempting to monopolize institutions and impose their ideals. *L'église* should have appeared in the title, for the book devotes the greatest attention to the Catholic church's attempt to adjust to notions of liberty and modernity, the topic that most of Poulat's earlier publications addressed.

In this book Poulat treats three major themes, each having general chronological limits. The first theme

concerns the germination of modern liberalism from the French revolution (the Enlightenment receives passing mention) until the establishment of the Third Republic. When philosophical premises began to translate into practical applications, disagreements quickly arose concerning the extension of individual rights of conscience to rights of association (for example, religious orders and trade unions) and the implications of those rights versus traditional authority of church and state. As a symbol, liberty became a fountain of social, political, and institutional conflict. The church in its early centuries when it had been the object of persecution had defended freedom of conscience, but it later came to see liberty as a pernicious attack on truth, of which the church was custodian. In 1791 Pius IX formally condemned freedom of conscience. Leaping into the twentieth century (as Poulat often does), the author praises Vatican Council II for confirming the principle of religious freedom as a milepost on the journey to religious progress and fulfillment.

During the second period, that of the Third Republic, notions of modern liberty became linked with the lay, republican state. The republic introduced restrictions on both individual liberty and freedom of association in order to achieve social justice and a strong central state. The battleground became education, and the state replaced the church as custodian of the truth. Poulat makes an important point about Catholics and liberty of education that historians of education have often missed. Moderate Catholics who sincerely wanted liberty of education were not just accommodators or opportunists but also citizens claiming the right of association. Intransigents never wavered from the position of Pius IX that the church and truth were synonymous. Poulat's discussion of education is flawed, however, for he sees the debate solely in philosophical terms with no reference to the social and political settings. His sources are generally from the Catholic side, notably Pierre Zind's history of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes*. Zind's history is comprehensive and factually accurate, but it is also, as Poulat admits, "a monument to the glory of the Frères" (p. 250).

In the book's final section, Poulat traces the victory of a scientific, secular, and rational culture that replaced both the Judeo-Christian culture and that of liberty. A symbol of the new culture was the replacement in 1885 of the faculties of Catholic theology within the French university by the V^e section, or *Sciences religieuses*, of the *Ecole pratique*. The success of the new culture owed as much to the weaknesses of Catholic intellectualism as to its own strength.

Poulat's work is an intelligent and important synthesis with a bias toward liberalism and liberal Catholicism. It does not break new ground.

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LOUIS PÉROUAS and PAUL D'HOLLANDER. *La Révolution française: Une Rupture dans le Christianisme? Le cas du Limousin (1775-1822)*. Foreword by MICHEL VOVELLE. (Collection en d'autres temps.) Treignac: Les Monédières. 1988. Pp. 429. 130 fr.

For anyone interested in the religious history of modern France, the west central province of Limousin poses some particularly intriguing problems. Overwhelmingly rural and agrarian, largely illiterate, and relatively isolated until the late nineteenth century—not so different in many respects from the neighboring Vendée—the province had become by the mid-twentieth century among the most dechristianized in the country. For over twenty years, Louis Pérouas, one of the foremost practitioners of the Catholic school of "religious sociology," has applied himself to explaining this perplexing situation. His ultimate objective is to trace the evolution of religion in Limousin from the fifteenth to the twentieth century and, in pursuit of that goal, he has already published two books and more than forty articles. In the present work, written in collaboration with his student Paul D'Hollander, Pérouas changes his focus from the *longue durée* to the "event" of the French revolution.

What real impact did the tumultuous period of the revolution have on the religious culture of Limousin? The general picture that emerges here is complex and at times ambiguous. Although the authors provide an interesting introductory chapter on the socioeconomic and political structures of the region, they make little attempt to explore connections between religious trends and exogenous factors of that kind. As in Pérouas's previous study, *Les Limousins, leurs saints, leurs prêtres du XV^e au XX^e siècle* (1988), considerable stress is placed on the interaction between the clergy and the popular forms of Christianity in Limousin. That popular religion, in the view of the authors, was characterized by an exceptional devotion to local saints and relics and a predilection for the celebration of feast days. The efforts of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ecclesiastical hierarchy to take control of these traditions, to clericalize them and purge them of elements deemed "superstitious," had only a superficial influence (especially among men) and probably engendered considerable resentment against priests. After 1789, revolutionary anticlericalism, initially propagated by elites imbued with Enlightenment values, found a sympathetic resonance among elements of the lower classes in Limousin. Moreover, from 1793 through the early nineteenth century, the clerical corps was profoundly disrupted, first through the general repression of the Terror and later, under the Directory, through the bitter and mutually destructive struggle between "constitutionals" and "refractories." Largely freed during those years from effective clerical surveillance, local popular religious traditions passed through a kind of renaissance. The subsequent efforts of the Concordat clergy to "reconquer" the population were only marginally successful, and the postrevolutionary clerical

leadership revealed itself to be even more intransigent toward popular religion than its Old Regime predecessors. Although the religious transformations described—from the near-universal Catholic practice on the eve of 1789 to the postrevolutionary rejection of confession and avoidance of “Easter duties” by the majority of the male population—would strike many readers as a genuine “rupture in Christianity,” the authors eschew such a conclusion. In their view, nineteenth-century Catholicism in Limousin was characterized by its “fragility” (p. 386), yet a more understanding and sympathetic clergy might have saved the situation for the church. For Pérouas and D'Hollander, full dechristianization came only at the turn of the twentieth century and is to be understood as a phenomenon largely internal to the church, a phenomenon for which the clergy itself held the major responsibility.

In their interpretation of the religious history of the revolution itself, the authors of this consummately crafted and researched book offer few surprises, developing themes and episodes elaborated in a number of other local studies. In this respect the most original section of the book may well be the final chapter, in which the authors follow their story into the Napoleonic and Bourbon Restoration periods.

TIMOTHY TACKETT
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MICHAEL MARRINAN. *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830–1848*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xxiii, 310; 239 plates. \$45.00.

Any reader of this book must be impressed by Michael Marrinan's tirelessness, even his bravery. Marrinan's book is an exhaustive account of Louis-Philippe's pursuit, through paintings both purchased and commissioned, of a preferred version of the past. Marrinan writes with the clear intention of getting this largely forgotten matter straight, wresting from the king's household ledgers, the files of the ministries, and the storerooms of provincial museums the outlines of a story until now untold. The centerpiece of the monarch's project (and thus of Marrinan's) was the refurbishment, begun in 1833, of the royal chateau at Versailles as a *musée national d'histoire* dedicated “to all the glories of France” and illustrated by paintings meant to argue and instruct, if not always to inform. *The Oath of the Tennis Court*, *The Departure from the Island of Elba*, *Louis-Philippe Distributes Battalion Standards to the National Guard, 29 August 1830*—the titles alone are enough to convey that, at Versailles in the 1830s, history was very much at issue.

Yet so was memory, and, as critics complained, individual and collective recollection of past events and the shape given them by the familiar conventions of history painting did not always coincide—hence, the pressure on the artists in Louis-Philippe's employ

toward a special kind of realism. According to Marrinan, a new set of representational conventions, which he calls *genre historique*, was the result; the term is meant to name a new hybrid manner of illustrating the past, one that abandoned the vehement geometries of the grand academic tradition for the deliberately “ordinary” effect of disparate groups loosely tied together through accumulation and made believable via precisely rendered detail. How else to appeal to an audience that had lived the past as it happened and that claimed to remember who was there and what they wore? This was Louis-Philippe's own personal taste, Marrinan argues, and the painters he patronized, from Horace Vernet to Joseph Beaume, became adept in the manner.

If a special style was needed to show the past, even more to the point, according to Marrinan, was the necessity of a special version of the past. Louis-Philippe wanted history remembered his way, if at all possible. The pictures he commissioned thus tread softly, yet deliberately, through the minefield: How to paint the *Trois Glorieuses* without encouraging revolution? to represent Napoleon but not tap the peculiar romantic blend of liberal republicanism he had come to stand for? The tactics were diverse, from straightforward dodging and substitution to steering clear of dangerous themes.

These points are put in place with a welter of contemporary evidence and cemented by references to a remarkably wide range of the historical imagery of the day. (Oddly enough, verbal sources are never cited in French, making the book less useful than it might be as a basis for further work.) In fact, it is exactly Marrinan's mastery of the materials of his study and the circumstantial weave he makes of them that stand as his “method,” even his intended contribution. For this is revisionist art history, with both ambitions and successes on a level that provokes attention, not just to the quality of its scholarship but to the tenor of its assumptions.

For Marrinan, history seems not a matter of beliefs, or even *mentalités*, but a question of an essentially neutral ground of facts, the “historical record” once again, which, when consulted fully enough, yields understanding. Thus, we read of the “raw data of history,” which July Monarchy pictures “sift and refine” (p. 125) and to which Marrinan in some sense wishes to return us by means of his own researches. Yet how raw, I wonder, are the data of François Furet or David Pinkney or even Adolphe Thiers? Like Louis-Philippe, these writers have a stake in the histories they tell; so does Marrinan, despite his empiricist's clothing. The politics of his title are ultimately “not the important issue”: he will not name the “particular political coloration” of the works that he discusses (p. 212). The result, not surprisingly, is a depoliticized history, unwilling, for all of its author's efforts and scholarship, to imagine opposition or engagement. The careful calculation of the official portraits of Louis-Philippe cranked out in the 1830s is discussed without a whiff of the

scathing exploitation of that same physiognomy by caricaturists on the Left: Delacroix is claimed (once again) as an 'artist par excellence, led by painterly ambition, not belief, to paint *The 28th of July, 1830: Liberty Leading the People*; a source for Courbet's pictorial strategies is alleged in the *genre historique* of Louis-Philippe's galleries, thus making the painter's "opening moves less heroically 'revolutionary'" (p. 214) but also overriding the fact that Courbet himself found these supposed sources overtly political and anathema. Such claims and omissions, like Louis-Philippe's, are the product of a determined revisionism in itself as provocative as it is political. One need not subscribe to the "vulgar" theory that is Marrinan's explicit *bête noire* to wish for a model of history at once more self-critical and more dialectical.

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JAMES CHASTAIN. *The Liberation of Sovereign Peoples: The French Foreign Policy of 1848*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1988. Pp. 291. \$34.95.

James Chastain has published a work that has developed out of his twenty-year-old doctoral dissertation. Like his earlier study, this book concentrates heavily on French relations with Germany in 1848 and provides new data on this topic. It also makes a contribution by covering in detail French policy toward Hungary and the Danubian principalities. If used with caution these sections should prove of interest to specialists in those fields.

Despite the author's extensive research in certain domains, though, this book poses numerous problems. Its organization is disjointed, its contents repetitious, its argumentation replete with contradictory statements. Thus, Chastain asserts on page 3 that Lamartine, the Second Republic's first foreign minister, "stood for moderation," while elsewhere he is depicted as radical and revolutionary. Then, too, we are told that French foreign policy in 1848 was "Richelieuist-Girondist" (a term defined in several different ways), in other instances that it was only really "Girondist," and that in any case it was also idealistic and nontraditionalistic. Unfortunately, one of the major problems in reading this book is trying to understand what the author intends.

Other difficulties arise concerning the work's orientation. Chastain's close focus on Central and Eastern Europe throws his analysis askew and nullifies his claim of offering a reassessment of French foreign policy as a whole in 1848. By concentrating almost exclusively on Central Europe, Chastain does injustice to the real focus of French diplomacy at the time, the Italian question, which he treats as a mere appendage of Franco-Austrian relations. More amazing still, he entirely fails to discuss French interaction with Britain, the other cornerstone of French policy. One is shocked

to see Chastain simply repeat the popular adage that Britain was France's "eternal enemy" (p. 86) or err markedly in asserting that Lamartine "thought the English were as belligerent toward France as Austria" (p. 77), when all existing studies demonstrate emphatically that courting Britain and rebuilding the English entente was France's main objective in 1848. The author makes such allegations without citing sources to justify them, indicating yet another problem with this book.

The author goes astray primarily by attempting to be revisionist at all costs. As a result, he continually strains or misinterprets his sources in trying to disprove standard historiographical wisdom on the topic, which shows that French policy was peaceful, traditionalist, conservative, affected by internal developments, and opposed to German unity. For example, in his treatment of the Schleswig-Holstein question, a prime factor turning France against efforts for German unification, Chastain cites any fragments of information in his attempt to prove the unimportance of the Schleswig-Holstein crisis, while disregarding the massive documentation contradicting his thesis. One of the ways in which Chastain attempts to justify this selective use of evidence is by claiming that French foreign ministers relied heavily on the reports of secret agents (another point that he fails to prove persuasively) and that dispatches from French diplomats can often be discounted. Or again, after postulating that internal developments had little effect on the conduct of French diplomacy, the author cites, as evidence of a radically oriented foreign policy, pronouncements that clearly were bombast to placate extremists within France. At times Chastain even goes so far as to misapply evidence, for example, when (p. 239) he argues that Bastide—Lamartine's successor—had ideas similar to those of a French diplomat and then cites the writings of this agent to prove Bastide "a romantic rebel." It is unfortunate, then, that the author's highly irregular methodology negates what could have been a serious historical contribution. His confused, slanted analysis neither achieves his revisionist aims nor advances the cause of historical knowledge.

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BRUNO LATOUR. *The Pasteurization of France*. Translated by ALAN SHERIDAN and JOHN LAW. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1988. Pp. 273. \$30.00.

This book is a historical, sociological, and philosophical account of the Pasteurian revolution, a famous episode in the history of science. Bruno Latour, whose goal is to understand both the content and the context of science, bills this English translation as a companion piece to his *Science in Action* (1987). Arguing against a reductionist approach, he contends that science and society must be taken together like space and time. Latour's account of the diffusion and translation of Pasteurian

ideas is based on an analysis of three journals central to the Pasteurian story: the *Revue scientifique*, the *Annales de l'Institut Pasteur*, and the *Concours médical*.

Historians of science have considered the Pasteurian revolution conservative because of the seemingly immediate and widespread acceptance of Pasteurian ideas. Hagiographers have attributed that acceptance to Louis Pasteur's genius. Without denying Pasteur's genius, Latour challenges the received view as simplistic and inaccurate, contending that ideas are spread by many actors whose roles must be taken into account. He argues that the hygiene movement was a necessary precondition for Pasteur's success. Pasteur found a receptive audience among the scientific, statistically based hygienists, who welcomed his discoveries and experiments, incorporated his ideas, and used microbes as a focal point to gather their forces and bring public health reform to France. Acceptance of Pasteurian ideas was not universal, however. Many French physicians resisted pasteurization until 1894–95, because they perceived preventive medicine to be a threat to the profession and practice of medicine. Those physicians accepted Pasteurian ideas and practices only when the accessibility of diphtheria serotherapy made them realize that Pasteurism held real benefits for everyday medical practice.

The book has two parts. In the French version, *Les Microbes* (1984), the parts are integrated so that, when reading the sociohistorical account in part 1, "The War and Peace of Microbes," the reader can refer to numbers in parentheses to find the corresponding philosophical axioms in part 2, "Irreductions." Unfortunately, those cross references are omitted in the English translation, making it hard to integrate the two parts.

Latour assumes that the reader is acquainted with his previous work and that of other scholars in science and technology studies. For example, to appreciate the underlying themes of this book, readers must be familiar with the work of Michel Serres, the French philosopher of science to whom the book is dedicated. Only then can they understand what Latour means by the "northwest passage," namely, the difficult and tortuous crossing between the sciences and the humanities. Reading Serres also clarifies Latour's references to the "parasite," by which he means a cosmic interference, or in this case the microorganisms that are the nonhuman actors that intervene in our history and relationships. Far too often, Latour notes, historians fail to acknowledge nonhuman actors. In the Pasteurian story those actors were the microbes, which Pasteurians used to redefine society. Microbes were also the agent of passage that Pasteur used to move from one scientific discipline to another. Latour rejects social analysis that ignores nonhuman agents, and he argues that microorganisms were and still are the third party in all relations. Network analysis must be broadened to include nonhuman networks as well. Latour's philosophical message is irreductionism: *nothing can be reduced to anything else*. All the components of the world are

interconnected by forces such as microorganisms, which connect humans, plants, and animals.

Medical historians have long addressed the role of nonhuman actors in history. Other historians might want to consider the ways in which Latour's ideas could inform their own work. What would an account of the Civil War be like if microorganisms were given equal treatment as Latour's third party?

This is an exciting and challenging book in which Latour greatly enhances our understanding of science and society. I strongly recommend it to historians of science and medicine, French historians, and all historians who are interested in provocative and innovative ways of understanding science and society and of thinking about the past and present.

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MATTHEW RAMSEY. *Professional and Popular Medicine in France, 1770–1830: The Social World of Medical Practice*. (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 406. \$49.50.

The professionalization of medicine, a process that in France occurred over the course of the nineteenth century, entailed the edging out of a wide array of healers and would-be healers whose claims to status and authority derived from something other than training in institutions of higher learning or from the norms of science enshrined there. This confrontation between an advancing professional medicine and an alternative medicine rooted in popular culture is the subject of Matthew Ramsey's thoughtful and meticulously documented book.

The narrative center of the book is the revolutionary era, when France switched its mode of creating official medical practitioners. Under the Old Regime, that power had been vested in the medical corporations, which, much like the guilds of artisans, combined occupational education (in this case given at the Faculties) with monopolistic pretensions. The revolution abolished all corporations, and, by a Napoleonic law of 19 Ventôse Year XI (1803), the state acquired the power to license individual physicians. Ramsey aptly depicts the Ventôse law as "French history writ small," for it decreed in the area of medicine the same transition from corporatism to "liberal individualism tempered by a strong state" that the revolution brought to France generally (p. 125). But what were the implications of the Ventôse law for medical professionalization? Did it more effectively foster a monopoly of the formally schooled than had its corporate predecessor?

On the basis of his examination of the archival evidence, Ramsey answers yes and thus ranges himself among the scholars who have in recent years stressed the pivotal role of the state in the development of the French professions. Bureaucrats did not apply the Ventôse law with complete rigor, but they tended to reject the claims of what Ramsey terms "the great

penumbra" (p. 31)—that is, the numerous quacks, charitable persons, and clergy who, although outside the corporations, had been able to secure special authorizations to practice the healing art under the Old Regime. On balance, the rule of particularistic privilege gave way to the rule of law. As Ramsey presents it, the change in the several decades after 1803 was less practical than cognitive. Quacks were not actually stamped out; in the era before the discoveries of Robert Koch and Louis Pasteur, their remedies often worked as well as those of physicians; and the popular classes preferred their lower fees. But the distinction between the social categories "quack" and "physician" was greatly sharpened, and that cognitive step was a necessary precondition for the later repression of the quack.

Ramsey discusses the Ventôse law and its effects in part 1 of his book. In part 2, he turns his attention to those practitioners the law refused to sanction; at the same time, he shifts his genre from narrative to taxonomy. Because the medical practitioners without formal educational credentials barely changed as a group during the sixty years covered by this study, Ramsey's decision to approach them through a descriptive classification of their varieties and subvarieties might seem logical. (The basic varieties are itinerant and sedentary quacks, who charged for their services, and folk healers, who did not.) But in practice that strategy offers the reader bits of pieces of data about a large number of healers and few generalizations. Furthermore, the individual cases are not thickly enough described or sufficiently contextualized to give the reader an understanding of the culture of popular medicine from within. Ramsey, an imaginative researcher who has mined both obvious and improbable sources (even the autobiographies of George Sand and Ernest Renan provide material), seems in part 2 to have replicated the dizzying diversity that his research uncovered rather than to have gained control over it.

In the brief final part of the book, the pace quickens again when Ramsey ventures the broad hypothesis that medical quacks flourish in periods of transition between agricultural and industrial economies—1770–1830 in France was one such period—and derive particular strength from frontier regions between town and country.

Tucked into this book are many interesting passing remarks and suggestions for further research. For example, Ramsey's reconstruction of the professionalization process seems to indicate that the nineteenth century marked something of a nadir for female participation in the healing art. Women figured prominently among the irregular practitioners excluded by the Ventôse law and were also debarred from French medical schools, the gateway to regular practice, until around 1875. Some of the research possibilities opened up by this study have already absorbed Ramsey himself. He promises us a second volume on the companion process to professional self-definition: how French physicians successfully competed with unauthorized

practitioners and gained a monopoly over the market for medical services after 1830.

JAN GOLDSTEIN
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JEAN-MICHEL GAILLARD. *Jules Ferry*. Paris: Fayard. 1989. Pp. 730. 160 fr.

In the tapestry of French history, the figure of Jules Ferry is usually woven in drab threads, as colorless as the stability he propounded and brought to the Third Republic during its first two decades. Jean-Michel Gaillard rightly argues that the man and his program deserve more vibrant hues: Ferry was resolved to find a way for the French people, who from 1789 until 1870 had oscillated between revolution and authoritarianism, to rally around pluralistic democracy, universal manhood suffrage, respect for fundamental liberties, and equality of opportunity through education. Gaillard calls Ferry the architect of political democracy, social progress, and the lay state in France and argues that he, more than anyone else, was responsible for broad acceptance of a republic as the natural form of government.

Ferry believed in order, progress, positivism, freemasonry, and the French revolution from 1789 to 1792: he was very much the classical liberal. The Right loathed him for his ideals, the Left for not applying them with Jacobin fervor. He detested them both for their lack of moderation. One of the finest moments in his political career came with his early opposition to Georges Boulanger and an alliance of the extremes. For that opposition Ferry was hated in Paris, where Boulangist sentiment was particularly strong, and he was hated even more by the Radical Republicans, who were yet to realize the danger of Boulangism. He thus lost his chance to become president of the republic in 1887.

Gaillard's superb and very full biography provides new information about that and every other incident in Ferry's career by exploiting the enormous correspondence he maintained throughout his adult life with his brother, Charles. (Until 1984 those letters were held by Ferry's grandniece, the historian Fresnette Pisani-Ferry, who barely lifted their veil.) Gaillard makes clear that Ferry's greatest accomplishment, the establishment of free, lay, obligatory state schools, derived from his dedication "to establish humanity without God or king" (p. 424); that his personal atheism, although dating from adolescence, never led him to confuse clericalism with genuine religious conviction like that held by his beloved sister, Adèle; and that his ambition and commitment to create a French empire overseas was considerably greater than he ever admitted openly. Read in conjunction with the recent volume of essays edited by François Furet, *Jules Ferry, fondateur de la République* (1985), Gaillard's richly textured work must be regarded as definitive on the public man.

The correspondence between the two brothers also

reveals more fully than ever before the private Ferry. He and Charles exchanged letters detailing their trifling with "petites dames" and even about the venereal diseases that were sometimes the outcome. There are hints that Ferry may have had an affair with Blandine (an illegitimate daughter of Franz Liszt) while she was married to his best friend, Emile Ollivier, thereby setting up the future political break between the two men. Such adventures ceased after Ferry met Mathilde Eugénie Risler, who is always described as the love of his life. Gaillard suggests that he proposed marriage more for her dowry and for the entrée she provided to the wealthy Protestant hierarchy than for love, which came later as she evolved under his tutelage from an awkward and poorly dressed provincial heiress into the grandest republican Egeria. They shared ideals as much as lives. He endured insults and even assault on the street for his beliefs; she bore with dignity the condemnation "concubine" for disdaining a church ceremony to bless their civil marriage. That those ideals became institutionalized and gained general approval is the measure of Ferry's achievement. Gaillard has recounted Ferry's life grandly.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE DUROSSELLE. *Clemenceau*. Paris: Fayard. 1988. Pp. 1077. 195 fr.

This book is a monumental biography, a detailed and exhaustive account of a long, varied, complex, colorful, and tempestuous career. The book possesses the scholarly quality one would expect from one of France's leading students of twentieth-century diplomatic history and international affairs. Director also of an ambitious project under way at the Musée Clemenceau to publish the French statesman's surviving correspondence, Jean-Baptiste Duroselle has had privileged access to materials barred for the moment to others.

Paying deserved tribute to David Robin Watson's excellent *Georges Clemenceau: A Political Biography* (1974), Duroselle has set about, he tells us, to write more than a political biography and to show us "le véritable Clemenceau sous tous ses aspects" (p. 368). This intent means not only reconstructing Clemenceau's public career and his private life but also examining his extensive writings. Duroselle explores for us every facet of Clemenceau's years in the Chamber and Senate and in the two key cabinets that he headed (1906–09 and 1917–20) as well as his role at the Paris peace conference. He examines in depth Clemenceau's contributions as political journalist and writer (Clemenceau wrote a novel and a play in addition to many volumes of miscellaneous philosophical and political ruminations and travel accounts). Duroselle recounts Clemenceau's failed marriage to an American woman, reinforcing the picture of his cavalier treatment of her; his amours (less spectacular than legend

has it); and his relationship with his children and friends, most remarkably with Claude Monet, one of the few men of stature with whom Clemenceau seems never to have quarreled. All of the Tiger's political targets from the 1880s on, when as Radical leader of the opposition he gained his reputation as the "wrecker of ministries," figure in these pages. Long quotations abound, considerably longer than most American publishers or editors would find tolerable.

The biography unfolds as narrative, from Clemenceau's birth in the Vendée in 1841 to his death at the age of 88 in 1929. Active to the end, Clemenceau died as he completed his final polemic, the quite justified riposte to Marshal Foch's posthumous accusation that Clemenceau had "lost the peace." Throughout the book, Duroselle intersperses his narrative with analysis and reflections, including one whole chapter—"Que veut Clemenceau?"—at the midpoint of his subject's career, but he advances no concluding summary judgment at the end of the volume, nor does he provide any special insights on motivation. Perhaps Duroselle treads too lightly in exposing the contradictions in Clemenceau. In his earlier years, the Radical leader fiercely championed justice for the oppressed (the victims of Napoleon III, the former American slaves, the exiled Communards, the working classes, Captain Dreyfus, to name but a few) and set himself against repression in all of its forms. But he went on in his first ministry to earn a reputation as the premier strike-breaker in France and accomplished little of his promised reform program. In his second ministry, despite his unquestionably heroic rallying of the country in its moment of supreme tribulation, he governed high-handedly (even if not dictatorially) in the name of *raison d'état*, which he had always abhorred. He made so many enemies, not only among the Socialists but also among his own Radical colleagues, that it was no surprise that he was denied the presidency of the republic in 1920. (Typically his ego would not permit him to advance his candidacy.) Duroselle tells us that Clemenceau lived by the precept that life is action—action carried out "in the pursuit of Justice and Liberty" (p. 931)—but the biographer does not make sufficiently clear how loaded with ambiguity those terms are.

Although Duroselle's volume now stands as the most complete biography we possess, studies of Clemenceau should not end. The study by Jack Ellis (*The Early Life of Georges Clemenceau, 1841–1893* [1980]), which Duroselle overlooks perhaps because the French scholar dismisses any possible enlightenment from "psychoanalysis," explores Clemenceau's relationship to his ardently republican physician father in a way that helps explain the statesman's irascibility and inflexibility and even his will to fail at certain crucial moments. Although Duroselle has amassed and ably integrated all of the relevant information into this impressive biography, continued efforts will be needed to understand

this enigmatic, paradoxical, and gifted leader as well as the complexities of his Radical and Jacobin ideology.

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PAUL JANKOWSKI. *Communism and Collaboration: Simon Sabiani and Politics in Marseille, 1919–1944*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 240. \$27.50.

Paul Jankowski has written an interesting, imaginative, and valuable account of the life of Simon Sabiani and the political culture of Marseille in the first half of the twentieth century. The author originally envisaged his work as a contribution to the debate concerning the nature of French fascism but explains that he turned instead to an examination of *Sabianisme*, a phenomenon he describes as “a freak movement thrown up by the encounter between an archaic form of clan politics and a modern form of mass politics: a political grotesquerie” (p. xii). Although Jankowski states that he is unable to place *Sabianisme* into any recognized political tradition, he makes a strong case for defining it most precisely as the politics of clientelism. Individuals were attracted to Sabiani because of his generosity and control of favors. He was not so much a charismatic figure, although his speeches seemed to ignite the crowds at times, as the man to know in the neighborhood of his fourth canton fiefdom. As he turned from pacifism and communist internationalism in the 1920s, to behind-the-scenes boss of city hall largesse in the “Marseille-Chicago” of the 1930s, to champion of Jacques Doriot’s Parti Populaire Français (PPF) and collaborationism during the Second World War, a hard core of loyalists followed Sabiani, mindless of, or unconcerned with, the rhetoric or ideology of the moment. By and large his supporters were nonpolitical; they cannot be easily pigeonholed by class, geographic or ethnic background, or occupation, although there was always a disproportionately strong contingent of his fellow Corsicans and the core was largely “popular,” working class, or lower middle class. Only at the height of the Popular Front did a momentary panic bring in a largely bourgeois layer of newcomers who joined Sabiani’s party from political conviction, notably anticommunism, Sabiani’s last and most passionately held leitmotif. The Sabianiste ranks swelled at moments when Sabiani was best positioned to distribute jobs or services, and they melted away with his growing incapacity to deliver. Several of those who remained loyal through thick and thin were tainted with an aura of gangsterism, and because he willingly and publicly accepted their help, the stigma of association with the Marseille underworld was something Sabiani never escaped, even though he was no more “connected” with criminal supporters than most prominent Marseille politicians of his day.

Overall, the book is well documented and convincingly argued, although some points of interpretation may raise questions. The author views *Sabianisme* in

terms of marginality, a movement of outsiders, and applies the same perspective to collaboration during the war. He presents strong evidence that collaboration had only the slightest following in Marseille, yet an explanatory footnote implies that resistance and collaboration were roughly equivalent in terms of their following (n. 33, p. 216). This suggestion contrasts with most of the evidence offered in the text, indicating that the population was much more receptive to resistance themes than to collaboration, even if few *Marseillais* approved of bomb-throwing by the most activist resisters. Also, in view of the fact that probably the most surprising feature of that era was the rapid return to legality and republican government, Jankowski’s depiction of the liberation as a seemingly complete breakdown of law and order may be overdrawn. Finally, one may regret that Sabiani himself seems especially elusive during the war and occupation years. Although he is described as “the most important collaborationist leader” (p. 97) in Marseille, very few pages are devoted to what he did personally. Surrounded by an increasingly violent and criminal entourage, Sabiani was “out of the picture,” occasionally disapproving of excesses yet never disowning the *Sabianistes* “gone haywire” (p. 120). Perhaps the book reveals not so much that Sabiani’s “traditional virtues”—courage, loyalty, and generosity—had “gone mad” as that they represented less than a complete picture of his character (p. 150).

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HILARY FOOTITT and JOHN SIMMONDS. *France, 1943–1945*. (Politics of Liberation Series.) New York: Holmes and Meier. 1988. Pp. xvi, 319.

In this book, a volume in the “Politics of Liberation Series,” which is designed to examine the links between international and national politics in the occupied countries of Europe during the liberation period, Hilary Footitt and John Simmonds describe how Charles de Gaulle’s political skill in uniting the various Resistance factions under his leadership and winning Allied support, together with Joseph Stalin’s order to the French Communists to recognize de Gaulle’s government, produced a continuity in policies and personnel from Vichy, which, with the disappearance of the Resistance organizations and the reemergence of the prewar political parties, all worked against significant political and social change in liberated France. Quoting Pol Hervé, the authors conclude: “To many French men and women . . . the aftermath of the Liberation seemed to be a betrayal of the bright hopes of the Resistance: ‘The mountain has given birth to a mouse’” (p. 258).

The betrayal of the Resistance after 1944 is a theme that has often been suggested, but its validity has been difficult to establish because so much Resistance theory was never fully aired. Groups dissolved, partisans were

killed, and many of the arguments we have are only of the postwar kind, such as Hervé's. The welter of claims, exemplified by Herbert R. Lottman's recent suggestion of Marshal Pétain as a resistor, makes it difficult to analyze the Resistance on its own terms before the liberation. To argue that the creation of a national popular assembly and the limitation on presidential authority in the Fourth Republic were a betrayal is surely a curious twist of historical analysis.

Nonetheless, Footitt and Simmonds offer a welcome attempt to capture the partisan spirit of the Resistance apart from the confused planning of the Allies for postliberation France. The fragmentation of the Resistance between northern and southern zones, among Catholic, communist, and other factions, and by loyalties to different leaders, all enhanced the potential for a sense of betrayal when specific programs and persons were compromised in the name of national unity under de Gaulle. The key question, of course, is what the Resistance really wanted: a militant Jacobin state defending national virtue at the cost of democratic participation, a Stalinist solution, a Catholic-Rightist solution, or even a monarchy?

That question, however, is not answered in this volume, whose title suggests that Footitt and Simmonds have found nothing new, nor have they been able to sort out the treacherous issue of Left, Center, and Right among multiform groups that probably included naive young activists *d'occasion*, *lycéens*, of practical more than theoretical commitment; *parti pris* militants of prewar Communist, Socialist, and radical Popular Front persuasion; anarcho-syndicalists; far Right supporters of François de la Rocque who shifted to the Resistance; Vichy agents of varied views who disappeared after 1944 or reemerged with claims to a "double-game"; Allied intelligence operatives; amateurs of notorious public acclaim, bourgeois writers, and artists, such as Pablo Picasso and Josephine Baker, Jean-Paul Sartre and Marc Bloch; and the *hors la loi*, including black marketeers, sellers of information to every side, prostitutes, and, finally and most important, the vast standing army of the concierges.

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J. H. ELLIOTT. *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700: Selected Essays*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 295. \$27.50.

In keeping with the global power and responsibilities of early modern Spain, this collection of essays ranges from the New World to the Old and from internal politics to international diplomacy, with side trips into the worlds of literature and art. Focused on high politics, society, and culture in the urban milieu, the essays largely ignore the local and rural base of government power. Similarly, the fashionable topics that currently engage many historians of early modern Europe—sexual and social deviance, for example—

appear nowhere in J. H. Elliott's Spanish landscape. By inclination and conscious choice, his research has concentrated on topics that have been considered old-fashioned in recent decades—government, diplomacy, court politics, and the elite members of society who dominated them all.

It would be easy to fault the author for not following modern trends in scholarship, or to accept grudgingly, in the interests of variety, his traditional approach. What must be remembered, however, is that much basic groundwork for Spanish history remains to be done. The political, institutional, diplomatic, and cultural history of Spain has been neglected in the twentieth century, both by Spaniards and by others interested in the Spanish past. To some extent, we can blame history itself for this neglect. The Civil War erupted within a society polarized by its past, and the Franco regime that followed turned history into propaganda and many would-be historians into silent and cynical observers. As a result, the post-World War II ferment in European historical approaches affected Spain very little. Only economic and social history made progress during the Franco regime through the work of Jaime Vicens Vives, Ramón Carande, Carmelo Viñas, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, and others. As continuing scholarship forces us to take a fresh look at the interplay between economy, society, and government, we become increasingly hindered by our limited knowledge of the institutions, politics, and diplomacy of early modern Spain. In this situation, the question is not why Elliott concentrates on traditional topics but why more historians do not.

Elliott is concerned with the fundamental questions of how Spain's government functioned during its heyday as the first global superpower and how the subsequent loss of its dominant position during the seventeenth century came about. Each of the essays in the volume, even those centered on specific events and individuals, keeps the broader picture clearly in view, not just as background but as an essential part of the action. Although written between 1961 and 1988, the essays are presented here topically rather than chronologically. Like the foreign policy of Spain during its superpower years, they spring from a remarkably consistent vision, which was elaborated but not fundamentally changed over time.

Part 1, rather misleadingly titled "The American World," deals with the broad implications of conquest and colonization for Spanish government and for Spanish perceptions of the universe and humanity's place within it. The opening essay examines the vast responsibilities of the Spanish empire in Europe and abroad, analyzing how Spain staffed and financed the imperial bureaucracy. The essay on Hernando Cortés reveals the conqueror of Mexico as a man of quick intelligence, imagination, and adaptability, a consummate leader of men and a skilled self-promoter who distorted events and undermined his rivals' credibility to enhance his own status. The third essay, from Elliott's *Old World and the New* (1970), traces the process

by which sixteenth-century Spanish intellectuals assimilated the reality of the New World and its peoples. The essay's perceptions and its firm base in written sources make it a model for those who aspire to understand the minds of other times.

Part 2, called "The European World," examines the rebellions and the potential for dissolution of Spain's European empire during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Elliott's analysis of the leaders of the Catalan revolt of 1640 provides little comfort for regional patriots. Self-centered and ridden by factional violence, the ruling families of Catalonia found unity only in opposition to the crown and lacked a true sense of what was best for their homeland. Rebellions elsewhere in the monarchy sprang from a variety of local issues, as well as alienation from a distant and financially pressed central government. Ultimately, the only successful rebellions—in the Netherlands and in Portugal—were spearheaded by local elites whose alienation from the crown was shaped into an idealistic quest for independence from Spain, engaging the population as a whole. Despite the strains created by escalating warfare abroad and a worsening financial crisis at home during the first half of the seventeenth century, the monarchy held together and its heartland in Castile remained loyal—surely an extraordinary achievement.

In part 3, Elliott turns his attention to the court. The formalities and elaborate rituals that surrounded court life in Spain represented a theater of power that enhanced the status of the monarch and, by extension, the monarchy. A vast propaganda machine of public spectacle employed the services of artists, playwrights, musicians, architects, and writers to display majesty at its most majestic, closely allied with God. Even when funds were scarce, as they often were, it was deemed essential to maintain an extravagant facade to protect and enhance the monarch's role. The count-duke of Olivares, chief minister to Philip IV, understood this principle well, using it to pursue his dual aims of restoring Spain's reputation abroad and reforming society at home. Less skilled as an administrator than as a grand strategist, he alienated a good many of the Spanish elite. He also forfeited the support of influential intellectuals such as Francisco Quevedo, whose bitter satires against Olivares's government, and whose association with other dissidents, led to a three-year imprisonment. The image of the government could not be allowed to tarnish from ridicule and dissent.

Part 4 examines a central issue, the question of decline. Although earlier generations of historians tended to seek a moral reason for the decline of Spanish power, particularly if they disliked Spain to begin with, scholars are now taking a much more sophisticated view. Understanding the decline of Spain requires a thorough examination of government policies at home and abroad, as Elliott demonstrates. Even then, we may never know how politics, personalities, beliefs, and a range of other ingredients led Spain to decline in the mid-seventeenth century. Perceptive

Spaniards had a sense of their impending loss of place as early as the turn of the century, and Olivares's plans aimed explicitly at reversing the trend. That he failed is not in question. Whether he or anyone else could have succeeded remains open. In examining the widespread aristocratic patronage of art during Spain's seventeenth-century economic slump, Elliott concludes that patronage allowed "economic decline and cultural achievement to walk hand in hand" (p. 286). Indeed. But the path was much rougher when economic decline tried to escort political achievement. Many times Elliott reminds us that the state of the economy did not influence the goals and tactics of Spanish foreign policy, even in the short term, which is a conclusion I share. Less certain is the implied corollary that, in the long term, there was no necessary connection between the strength and status of the Spanish monarchy and the strength and trends of the Spanish economy. That remains to be seen, as continuing work on the economy is eventually assimilated into the far-reaching and incisive political analysis of which Elliott is a master.

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BARTOLOME YUN CASALILLA. *Sobre la transición al capitalismo en Castilla: Economía y sociedad en Tierra de Campos (1500–1830)*. (Junta de Castilla y Leon, Consejería de Educación y Cultura; Colección de estudios de historia.) Salamanca: Gráficas Ortega. 1987. Pp. 671.

This book examines three centuries of change in the Tierra de Campos, a region long the center of Castile's breadbasket. Although Bartolome Yun Casalilla has written a regional study, he has paid attention to institutions and processes that also operated on a bigger stage, and he presents his region as a proxy for all of Spain's dry-farming interior. He aspires to show how the region moved from "feudalism" to "capitalism"; by "feudalism," Yun implies an agricultural world in which part of the product is extracted from those who work the land via nonmarket institutions and is transferred to aristocracy, church, and crown. Access to land takes many forms, some quite egalitarian, but the power of crown, nobility, and church is unavoidable. This simplification is familiar to most, but Yun's capitalist outcome may not be.

Most English-language accounts infer that, outside of Catalonia and the Basque provinces, capitalism was scarce in nineteenth-century Spain. Recent scholarship, however, suggests an interior penetrated by agrarian capitalism quite early, in ways like those seen in Prussia, where the landed class adapted to privatized landownership, controlled large estates, and produced for the market. In Castile, however, commercial farms were not as large, and the local oligarchies included peasants who had assembled sizable holdings. Alongside the large farms were thousands of small, marginal farmsteads. Marginal farmers had to find supplementary

employment—craft production, transportation, and day labor—which gave the rural economy a cheap labor force but one without discretionary income or technical skill. Thus, an impoverished peasantry facilitated the capitalist farming that enriched landowners, while cheap labor made investment in productivity pointless, producing an export-oriented developmental trap.

Yun takes us through the sixteenth-century economic expansion, the collapse and restructuring of the rural economy in the seventeenth century, the different form of expansion in the eighteenth, and the crisis after 1790. Yun's version of the "decline of Spain" is intriguing because he focuses on elements that have been neglected: communal government and the accumulation of municipal and personal debt. By viewing the process through that prism, the evolution of society is clearly revealed.

The sixteenth century began with fairly equitable access to land via a community government representative of local interests but saw the progressive privatization of much common land and domination of local government by wealthy interests. The demands of the crown forced local governments to take out loans secured by municipal assets to pay taxes. This gave creditors control of local policy just as Philip II began to sell the *tierras baldias* crucial to the livelihood of small farmers. The commercial network held together through the century, and the economy still functioned, but after 1600 the burden of debt, subsistence crises, epidemics, and collapse of the commercial network pushed smallholders to bankruptcy as sources of supplementary income disappeared. As a result, land was redistributed in favor of nobility, church, and the wealthy.

In the eighteenth century, population and landed income again expanded, but lack of a city-based marketing system meant that growth depended on rudimentary crafts and direct marketing by producers. At the same time, clerical and noble landowners moved toward market agriculture and wage labor. The network of rural exchanges supported population growth despite limited access to land, depressing wages, and thus sustaining profits for capitalist farming.

The nineteenth century saw fiscal crisis in Madrid and renewal of massive borrowing. This time, evasion of tithes, collapse of the monarchy, and subsistence crises left towns unable to pay either crown or creditors, which triggered de facto foreclosure on municipal and clerical property. In a process that began before 1800, government sales, unauthorized local sales, and seizure allowed the creditors of the Old Regime to take title to the property that had secured their loans. This process was rationalized as a liberal reform but served to sustain a pattern of social relations that had emerged in the seventeenth century. What was new was not capitalist agriculture but the marginalization of the church and the altered relationship between landed class and crown. When tax-induced debt sustained the transfer of wealth to the elite, the relationship between elite and crown was close. The change of public and

church land into private property deprived the crown of its earlier autonomy.

This summary does not do justice to Yun's complex and subtle analysis. At times I wondered if, despite the rich documentation, the sources had produced the conclusions or if they had been arranged to sustain a hypothesis. That comment should not be taken seriously, however, since it is an inevitable reaction to a complex interpretation covering 300 years and 650 pages of text. This book clearly belongs on the shelf next to Bartolomé Bennassar and Angel García Sanz.

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CLIVE GRIFFIN. *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 270. \$118.00.

This book is concerned with more than its title might suggest. It is indeed a history of the Cromberger family, the first to deal with a major printing dynasty in sixteenth-century Spain. It also contains a wealth of information about printing in Spain, Europe, and America, insights into the cultural and business life of the city of Seville, and an exhaustive study of the books printed by the Cromberger press.

In presenting his material, Clive Griffin has tried to combine two approaches: that of descriptive bibliography, in the context of things Spanish so ably represented by the late F. J. Norton; and that emphasizing the role of the book in society, the cultural context of printing, and the book as a commodity. This is a great deal for one scholar to cover, and the success of this effort is partially explicable by the brevity of the Cromberger printing dynasty. The German immigrant, Jacobo Cromberger, became a partner in Seville's most thriving press in 1500, and his grandson Jácome, the last printer of the family, abandoned Seville for the New World in 1559. This relatively short time span allows a greater depth of focus.

The first part of the book incorporates much information from notarial records. Griffin traces the Cromberger's commercial activities, which encompassed the New World, Portugal, Seville, and other Castilian and European cities, and the family's investments in land, city property, paper, printing presses, and marriage dowries. As both printer and businessman, Jacobo was the most successful. In his capacity as a printer, book-seller, and publisher, he ranged from the fine liturgical works printed for the Seville cathedral chapter to the more mundane but lucrative indulgences, loose sheets of prayers, and traditional best sellers. The next generation, although not maintaining the quality of printing established by Jacobo, did enjoy financial well-being. With all of this prosperity, it comes as some surprise that Jácome, who like his grandfather was given the profitable privilege of printing liturgical

works for the Seville cathedral, was unable to meet the contract. Furthermore, in 1557 he was imprisoned for debts. Unfortunately, neither Jácome's will nor any other document that might explain this change of fortune has emerged from the notarial archives. Griffin suggests that the poor economic situation of the 1550s in Seville and all Castile, combined with the increasing surveillance and activity of the Inquisition, may have prompted Jácome's sudden disappearance.

It is largely in the second part of the book that Griffin assesses the Crombergers' role as disseminators of ideological, spiritual, and cultural currents. He concludes that the press was "instrumental in the diffusion of Erasmian and reformist ideas which blossomed in Seville and elsewhere in Spain" (p. 152) and that some books—the Scriptures, patristic works, and mystic treatises in the vernacular—"prepared the soil for the reformist ideas which blossomed in Spain, and especially in Seville, in the first half of the century" (p. 148). One would like to know more about the humanist and Erasmian-oriented Seville Academy, whose members appear to have been in close contact with local printers. Both the Academy and the intellectual currents in Seville seem a bit isolated from the larger world, even from events in other Castilian cities, in contrast with the international networks established for the Cromberger business dealings.

Spanish printing seems always to have lagged behind other areas of Europe in its output, a situation that worsened as the century wore on. By the 1540s, imported books printed in Spanish apparently outnumbered those produced in Spain, and the quality of Spanish printing had also declined. Publications in the vernacular were preferred, and the Cromberger press had the distinction of being the first to print a vernacular translation of any of Erasmus's work. Griffin describes both the presses and the readership as conservative, not too surprising in the case of the presses given the number of *conversos* involved in the publication of books.

The second part also contains much information about the techniques of producing books, but here the cost of doing too much in our own era of rising printing costs is apparent. There are four appendixes—reproduced in twenty microfiches tucked into pockets at the back of the book. In view of the author's explanation that it was either microfiche or suppression, one does not like to complain too much, but it seems sad that, in a book dealing with excellent printers, the reader should be forced to resort to the awkward services of a microfiche reader. The book is, however, beautifully produced: large type, wide margins, footnotes, three tables, a map, a genealogical chart, and a complete index of the editions printed by the Cromberger press. It is also true that the book can be read without consulting the microfiches.

This is a valuable, well-researched study of interest to all students and scholars of the history of printing, the book, and Renaissance letters. It is as well an important

study for those interested in early modern Spanish history.

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THOMAS F. GLICK. *Einstein in Spain: Relativity and the Recovery of Science*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 391. \$42.00.

Immediately after the total eclipse of the sun on May 29, 1919, there were world-wide responses to what Thomas F. Glick characterizes as "the Einstein phenomenon" in the form of debates, lectures, scientific issues connected to political and national questions, articles, books, concerts, and cartoons. In assessing these whirlwind activities, one might ask why Spain should react differently from other countries in this regard. Glick has set out to answer this query, among others.

One of Glick's primary considerations entails explaining how Albert Einstein's trip to Spain in 1923 provided the occasion by which specific scientific ideas were discussed, debated, and infused with ideological positions. The book examines the impact of Einstein's two-week visit on the scientific and lay communities in Spain and assesses the degree to which "civil discourse in matters of science" (p. xi) transcended class, ideological, and regional-nationalist boundaries. Glick's study of the "recovery of science" in Spain attempts to explain how "civil discourse" emerged within an ideologically polarized society.

The author's emphasis on the reception of and the debate over relativity underscores an approach that is concerned more "with the social appropriation of scientific ideas than with the ideas themselves" (p. xii) and, thereby, supplements his earlier studies on the receptions of Darwinism and Freudian psychology in Spain. Accordingly, the book may appeal more to social historians than to historians or philosophers of science.

Between 1900 and 1925, the Spanish intellectual community became increasingly active in academic exchanges and in scientific inquiries. Glick begins his investigation with these early decades because these dates mark a period during which Spanish intellectuals, scientists, artists, writers, scholars, research investigators, engineers, lawyers, and physicians reassessed the national "disaster" after Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War. The events of 1898 provided them with the historical reference in which the national catastrophe was perceived and from which their cultural, national, and social criticisms emerged. The defeat was experienced by Spaniards as a "national disaster," and the "generation of 1898," often referred to as "the generation of the disaster," came together to discuss what they considered to be the "degeneration" of Spain. This circle of academics and intellectuals reassessed the national predicament and expressed their programs for educational and social reforms in the format of literary polemics. The generation of 1898

expressed severe doubts in regard to the future and reflected the frame of mind of writers, scholars, and theorists, in contrast to the preceding generation of scientists, scholars, and investigators. The generation prior to 1898, in turn, was distinct from the previous generation of pedagogues, theologians, and orators, among them, Francisco Giner de los Ríos.

An important consequence of this state of mind was the appearance of critical-social and political literature. The literature had an impact on subsequent thinking that pertained to the "national problem" and to the question of "regeneration" and made concerted efforts to modernize Spain. Modernization thus became one of the crucial responses to the "national question," and, for several young academics and intellectuals, science became the medium through which regeneration and modernization were to take place. The objective of scientific modernization occurred concurrently with the tendency Glick defined as the "emergence of civil discourse" from 1900 "until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936" (p. 8). This intellectual atmosphere, where critical ideas were exchanged, prepared the social, cultural, and political contexts in which the debate of Einstein's theory of relativity transpired.

When Einstein formulated his special and general theories of relativity, he advanced Max Planck's quantum theory and challenged concepts of the Newtonian universe, particularly with respect to motion, space, and time, which were categorized in absolute terms in classical mechanics. In Einstein's universe, time and space merged into a fourth dimension, namely, the time-space continuum. Einstein's discoveries concerning the idea of light, mass, and energy eventually established a new world view that thoroughly revised Newtonian notions of the universe. The idea that the universe was a machine, regulated by gravitation and inertia, was supplanted by a world view in which gravitation was defined as part and parcel of inertia, and the movement of the stars arose from their inherent inertia. The courses of the stars were determined by the metric properties of the time-space continuum.

These recent developments in comprehending the universe gave rise to a flurry of intellectual activity in mathematics and in the physical sciences and divided Spanish scientists into either proponents or opponents of the relativity theory. The supporters of relativity, for the most part, were scientists and mathematicians who studied abroad and who were exposed to advanced scientific findings in Germany and in Italy. The antirelativists had minimal exposure to foreign scientists and tended to defend classical physics.

By contrast, a host of ideologically antagonistic political and professional groups found themselves espousing the same scientific cause, that is, Einstein's theory of relativity. Political conservatives, for example, historically prone to accept "traditional" trends in science, received the "new science" with astonishing enthusiasm. Engineers, who often aligned themselves with conservatives, were among Einstein's chief supporters and performed a crucial role in disseminating

his theories. Physicians, who tended to align with the political Left, also embraced Einstein's theories with equal enthusiasm, as did anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, and bourgeois Catalan nationalists.

Glick's study of this multidimensional phenomenon of civil discourse within the scientific and lay communities provides a great deal of information on science in Spain and an opportunity for a comparative analysis of the reception of Einstein's theories in Spain, France, Japan, and the United States.

In view of the sparsity of documented material concerning Einstein's visit, Glick relied heavily on scientific journals and newspapers as sources to account for Einstein's activities in Spain. Einstein's theories were incomprehensible to the average reporter assigned to cover his lectures, and, thus, by reason of the difficulties inherent in such an assignment, the journalist's eye for detail became apparent in the myriad descriptions of Einstein's physical appearance, attire, and gestures. Repeatedly, Einstein was depicted as the scientist of the sad countenance. Amid the various accounts and anecdotes, one reads the book with one eye on the narrative of Einstein's reception by the Spanish scientific community and the other on the accretion of detail about daily activities and his every gesture and statement during his stay: who attended the lectures, who accompanied him on travel excursions to El Escorial and to Toledo, and who sat next to whom at the special receptions and dinners held in his honor.

Although Einstein's persona and presence stimulated open discussions on the value of "pure scientific research" for Spanish society, the optimism and enthusiasm over Spain's future in the 1920s began to wane in the 1930s. "As the political cleavage deepened in the early 1930s," and the "unwritten pact between right and left" was no longer "in force," Glick concludes, "both relativity and Einstein's image fell victim to the breakdown of civil discourse" (p. 322). The main contribution of the book lies in reconstructing the historical connections of these tendencies.

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JOHN L. HAMMOND. *Building Popular Power: Workers' and Neighborhood Movements in the Portuguese Revolution*. New York: Monthly Review. 1988. Pp. 330. Cloth \$27.00, paper \$11.00.

In the sixteen years since the military coup of April 25, 1974, which initiated a revolution in Portugal, relatively few books have been published in English on the revolution and its aftermath. If there is a topic that has received more attention than others, it is the theme of John L. Hammond's book. The interest in popular mobilization is not surprising because it, along with the leftist orientation of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) that carried out the coup and subsequently turned power over to civilians, was a defining charac-

teristic of the Portuguese revolution. Popular participation in 1974 and 1975 was particularly dramatic in contrast to extremely low participation and apparent passivity before April 25. For many in Portugal, and not a few outside observers, the Portuguese revolution was unique because the people determined its pace and path. Or, as Hammond puts it, "The MFA made the coup, but the people of Portugal made the revolution" (p. 73).

Hammond's book joins Nancy Bermeo's *Revolution within the Revolution: Workers Control in Rural Portugal* (1986), Charles Downs's *Revolution at the Grassroots: Community Organizations in the Portuguese Revolution* (1989), and Phil Mailer's *Portugal: The Impossible Revolution?* (1977). The first two originated from doctoral dissertations and are thorough, and the authors use methodology systematically. Mailer's book is a personal account of popular movements by a committed foreigner who was involved in the process. Hammond's work is somewhere in between. He was not directly involved (except through the APOIO, the American-Portuguese Overseas Information Organization), but his commitment is clear. His methodology is unclear because there is no discussion of how and when he gathered his data or who he interviewed, and the footnotes are spotty and do not answer those questions.

Hammond discusses the background, dynamic, and denouement of the revolution through 1976 and situates the popular movements within the context of ascending and declining political actors. The popular movements formed and became central actors in the revolutionary process but faded when the context of radicalization evaporated in late 1975. He describes a variety of manifestations of the popular movements and gives particular attention to neighborhood commissions and workers' commissions, or cooperatives, in the urban and rural areas. He provides a good survey of the revolutionary experience and captures nicely the dynamic of participation at the bases of society.

My main criticism of Hammond's book is that he romanticizes the lower class and analyzes only within a class perspective. This works well enough for most topics at the base, where his interest is focused, but does not help us much in understanding the dynamics of key institutional actors in the Portuguese revolution, including the armed forces, the Catholic church, and the major political parties. Without better analysis of these institutional actors, the reader has difficulty understanding how such vital and dynamic popular movements so quickly lost momentum and became politically irrelevant in Portuguese democracy.

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R. PO-CHIA HSIA. *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 248. \$27.50.

The prime concern of R. Po-Chia Hsia's new book rests neither with the history of German Jewry nor with the intellectual history of Christian anti-Judaism. It focuses on the discourse of ritual murder, the symptom *par excellence* of the medieval Christian conviction that Jews involved themselves in demonic, magical practices that undermined the very fabric of European society. "The study of the history of the blood libel," explains the author, "must necessarily be the analysis of different interpretations of reality: the object is to elucidate the production of social knowledge in its specific historical structure and to explain how cultural symbols acquired their power and signification" (p. 5).

The blood libel flourished in Germany in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Hsia ably reconstructs its most notable and interesting occurrences from a wide range of printed and manuscript sources. One reads of the ritual murder trial in Emden in 1470, the Passau host desecration trial in 1478 in the wake of the alleged ritual murder of Simon of Trent, repeated indictments of the Jews of Regensburg for similar crimes in the decades leading up to their expulsion, and the blood libel in Freiburg in 1504-05. Hsia next turns to the academic debate over ritual murder and Jewish magic during the first generations of the Reformation to illustrate a diverse array of Christian scholarly opinion. Ritual murder discourse helped spur Ulrich Zasius to advocate baptizing Jewish children against the will of their parents; recently baptized Johann Pfefferkorn polemicized bitterly against his former (Jewish) coreligionists but rigorously denied the veracity of ritual murder charges nonetheless; Counter Reformation champion Johann Eck reiterated such allegations in his defense of a magical, more sacramental Catholic Christianity; yet Protestants such as Andreas Osiander and even Martin Luther were more skeptical. Finally, Hsia considers the declining success of the blood libel as the sixteenth century wore on. Through a "rite" of disenchantment, through which Protestant reformers "exorcised the magical and superstitious demons of the Roman Church from the Body Religious of evangelical Christians, the spell of ritual murder was also broken" (p. 143). Growing Protestant concern for the family and a concomitant interest in punishing those truly guilty of infanticide also weakened the once-instinctive tendency to blame Jews for the murder of Christian children. Although they could not eradicate the myth of ritual murder, sixteenth-century German emperors often worked hard to suppress its potency in court, enforcing imperial justice on cities and communes that sought to assert their independence by persecuting the Jews.

This book is a masterpiece of archival research. Hsia traveled widely and culled sufficient detail from a vast assortment of judicial records, correspondence, and theological and political pamphlets to make the events of which he tells come alive. Rarely is the student of premodern history given access to the attitudes and reflections of "ordinary people" of the sort that Hsia

provides. The author successfully relates the issue of ritual murder to other contemporary problems—for example, disputes between emperors, noblemen, and municipalities; ideological conflicts of the Reformation; developments in German legal history; and the power of the printed word—thereby shedding light on them all. This book offers ample testimony to the importance of Christian-Jewish interaction in the social and cultural history of Western Christendom—completely independent of the book's obvious bearing on the history of the Jews.

Any nagging reservation does not derive from a minimum of inaccuracy in this book. (The "ritual murder" of William of Norwich allegedly occurred in 1144, not in 1148. And the terms "ritual murder" and "blood libel," although used interchangeably throughout the book, are not synonymous.) It stems rather from the book's proclaimed focus on the "discourse" of ritual murder. Often this word appears numerous times on the same page. Yet the term is not carefully defined, nor are its ramifications explored systematically. Perhaps the author has realized his "hope to tell a good story" (p. 13) too well, occasionally at the expense of more controlled, interpretive analysis. But this, on reflection, may be the quibble of a captivated reader, whom this book has undoubtedly impelled to think and to question.

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JOHN E. KNODEL. *Demographic Behavior in the Past: A Study of Fourteen German Village Populations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time, number 6.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xxv, 587. \$59.50.

John E. Knodel's lengthy and scholarly monograph represents the culmination of almost two decades of work on family reconstitution for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Germany. His major sources are the *Ortssippenbücher*, or village genealogies, which seem to be unique to Germany. Those books, many of which are published, are detailed family reconstitutions within small geographic units. The information they provide allows the compilation of vital events (births, deaths, marriages) and the population (or, even better, person years) at risk. All of those data are necessary for the calculation of demographic rates such as age-specific marital fertility rates, age-specific death rates, and marriage probabilities and incidence. The paramount advantage of the data drawn from the village genealogies is that they are at the level of the individual, thus avoiding problems of "ecological" correlations and allowing large varieties of retabulations and statistical analyses. Although other investigators have used those sources (and Knodel provides an excellent bibliography of German historical demography), no one

has pursued the topic with as much thoroughness and comprehensiveness as Knodel has.

Knodel began his analysis of the data from the village genealogies in 1970 while at work on his now well-known *Decline of Fertility in Germany, 1871–1939* (1974). Since then he has used the reconstitutions for 11,722 couples married between 1700 and 1899, who produced a total of 54,071 births. Those families represent about 50 percent of the total available families in the genealogies and were drawn from fourteen villages. The villages were not large—their aggregate population was about twelve thousand in 1900. Most of the villages were agrarian, although several had small industries by the late nineteenth century. Others had some cottage industry (textiles), and one had an important fishing economy. The villages were distributed over the present-day Federal Republic of Germany: two on the North Sea, four in Waldeck (near Kassel), four in Baden, one in Württemberg, and three in Bavaria. The villages were not randomly selected from the one hundred or so available village genealogies and should be viewed as representing a variety of social, economic, and ecological contexts in Germany. The great advantage of this particular sample is that it covers a long period before the onset of the modern fertility transition as well as some of the earlier stages of that transition. It thus differs from some of the other family reconstitutions, notably those for England and, to a certain extent, France and the United States.

Knodel earlier published considerable material from his research on the villages. Hence, most of the results presented in this book will not be new to those who have followed his work. Five of the twelve substantive chapters have been published before, although all have been thoroughly reworked and augmented for the present volume. This monograph will constitute a very convenient summary of Knodel's research. The study is fundamentally demographic: its object is to provide better measurement of fertility, nuptiality, and mortality. Knodel states explicitly, "The approach followed in this study is almost exclusively demographic. Attempts to link demographic behavior and changing demographic patterns to their social, cultural, and political context are made only sparingly. When explanations are offered, they are usually posited in terms of a relatively self-contained demographic framework" (p. 9).

The book is long (over six hundred pages) and is replete with 125 tables and thirty-five figures. Two introductory chapters on family reconstitution and the village sample are followed by three chapters on mortality (two on infant and child mortality and one on maternal mortality), four chapters on family formation (including marriage, marital dissolution and remarriage, illegitimacy, and bridal pregnancy and prenuptial births), and three chapters on marital fertility. The chapters on marital fertility are the centerpiece of the book. Two chapters follow on the interrelationships in demographic behavior, first, between family size, fertility, and marriage and, second, between child mortal-

ity and fertility. In a concluding chapter Knodel sums up the main findings. The book includes seven appendixes dealing with such topics as the selection criteria for the couples from the genealogies, assessment of data quality, local village conditions, the occupational and status classification schemes used, methods of calculating child mortality, differences in infant-feeding practices, and biases in the determination of legitimization status. A reader seeking a brief survey should read the first two chapters and the conclusion, all of which are relatively short.

Knodel presents several major findings. On mortality, he finds that declines in child mortality preceded those in infant mortality and that there were few socioeconomic differentials in infant and child mortality. Child mortality was positively related to total family size but not to birth order. Maternal mortality was significant. On marriage, the European marriage pattern of late age at marriage is confirmed by Knodel's German village data and did not vary greatly across socioeconomic groups. There was a secular decline in the tendency to remarry. On fertility, Knodel shows that illegitimacy and bridal pregnancies increased in these villages (as elsewhere in Europe) during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, only to show a moderate decline during the late nineteenth century. The villages were characterized by natural fertility (no evidence of parity-specific control) up to the late nineteenth century, when evidence of family limitation began to appear. There was substantial variation across villages, although not as much within villages, in levels of both natural fertility and infant mortality. Much of that variation was the result of differences in infant-feeding practices, especially in the incidence and duration of breast-feeding. There was evidence of increases in natural fertility during the nineteenth century. Family limitation began predominantly as an effort to stop childbearing as mothers aged, not as an attempt deliberately to space births from early in marriage. Some modifications of our interpretations of the aggregate data from the late nineteenth century onward is called for in light of Knodel's results.

This book is an exemplar of careful, assiduous demographic research and represents an enormous amount of scholarly work. It is important for our understanding of past demographic behavior in Germany and elsewhere. One need not read the entire volume to gain insights into sources, methods, and state-of-the-art thinking about fertility, mortality, and marriage. One can use Knodel's study as a reference work, but it is an important piece of scholarship that belongs in the libraries of demographic, economic, and social historians.

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JAMES VAN HORN MELTON. *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and*

Austria. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xxiii, 260. \$42.50.

The recent renaissance of social history has brought a new and more analytical focus to studies of the history of education. James Van Horn Melton's excellent comparative study of educational reform in Austria and Prussia during the eighteenth century treats the subject less as a problem in the development of compulsory schooling than as an aspect of the kind of social discipline demanded by a changing social system. His interests are wide-ranging. He tries to give a new meaning to enlightened absolutism and to its use of education in a system of social control. As a historical phenomenon, enlightened absolutism has previously been studied mostly in terms of the emergence of administrative institutions. Perhaps one-third of the book is devoted to a study of the structural changes occurring during the eighteenth century in the economy, mainly as a result of the rise of rural industries (woolen, cotton, and flax spinning).

Compulsory education was not new in eighteenth-century Germany, only better enforced. Melton suggests a few reasons: school fees were sometimes abolished or graduated; teachers were better trained in the new kinds of normal schools that appeared. Chiefly, the full strength of state enforcement was enlisted by cameralists and Pietists in Prussia as well as by the Catholic enlightenment clergy in Austria and Bohemia. Of course, the idea of compulsory education for boys and girls aged six to thirteen had emerged during the sixteenth century as part of the Protestant program of reform. As the work of Notker Hammerstein has shown, the development of a historical consciousness in the Protestant universities served to stimulate a competitive spirit in the Catholic world. Melton's work takes up the thread here and gives us a down-to-earth image of the Jesuit educational system of the Baroque era with its emphasis on theater productions and on the inculcation of piety among the common people.

Hilde Haider-Pregler has described the growing secularization of the theater in Vienna; Melton has given us the other side of this picture by describing the church's hostility to the obscenities, to the crude language of the peasant type (*Hanswurst*) shown in the comedy theater at the Kärntnertor. By the early eighteenth century, however, the success of Protestant Pietist educational institutions in Prussia with their utilitarian work ethic made a great impression on Catholic reformers who were often Augustinians and Benedictines and hostile to the Jesuit monopoly of the teaching profession at the top. The annexation of Silesia by Frederick II after 1740 also introduced the Prussian models to the Catholic system in Silesia. Here the work of Father (later Bishop) Felbiger of Sagan is given considerable emphasis. Felbiger's success with teacher training, spinning classes, better attendance, and better peer evaluation of teachers provided a model that was followed by the Theresian reformers in Austria and Bohemia after 1769 as well as by those in

Catholic Germany, that is, in Bavaria, Bamberg-Würzburg, and Mainz.

The author's research into the development of rural industry, which offered the best hope of giving the beggars and the children of landless peasants some vocational training, provides perhaps the most insightful section of the book. Here, too, his research in original sources (especially the papers of Count Karl von Zinzendorf in Vienna) comes to the fore. The fear of peasant revolts grew, and the revolt of 1775 in Bohemia exerted influence in government circles as well as among the church hierarchy, which had not previously supported mass literacy. A morally educated people would be more obedient to the monarchy, it was observed, than one coerced into subservience. Melton finds a dialectical irony in this and concludes that, if these goals had actually been achieved, then Joseph II would not have been unpopular and Metternich's police would not have been needed. Further, the vocational education promoted by both Austrian and Prussian absolutism only produced the unemployed, technologically backward weavers and spinners of the nineteenth century, and they formed the core of the rebel movements of 1848. One might take exception to such conclusions. After all, the mainsprings of human behavior are complex and defy efforts to compel obedience. Consent, rather than mere obedience, arises, as John Locke observed, when there is proper representation of what is at stake.

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CHARLES EDWARD WHITE. *The Enlightened Soldier: Scharnhorst and the militärische Gesellschaft in Berlin, 1801–1805*. New York: Praeger. 1989. Pp. xv, 244. \$42.95.

Gerhard von Scharnhorst is generally recognized as one of the intellectual founders of the Prussian/German army. His concepts of the military's social and political roles, his definitions of professionalism, and his approaches to the craft of war have made seminal contributions to the history of modern Germany. Both the Federal Republic's Bundeswehr and the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) have considered Scharnhorst's legacy a major part of their tradition. Yet, for all of his acknowledged importance, Scharnhorst has been curiously neglected by modern researchers. In particular, there are few studies of the processes by which his ideas were transmitted and institutionalized. Scharnhorst did not operate in a vacuum. As a Hanoverian transferred to Prussian service, he needed what modern management jargon describes as a network: a structure of fellow officers willing to listen to him and able to implement what they heard. He found it in the *Militärische Gesellschaft*. Established in Berlin in 1801, this society was the first Prussian institution where men interested in the study of war could assemble to discuss the subject systematically in a learned atmosphere. The theme of

Charles Edward White's well-written, well-researched book is how Scharnhorst, as the society's leader, used it to convince his new colleagues that what had been a craft best mastered by apprenticeship was developing into a profession requiring study.

The Prussian officer corps of the late Frederician era was by no means anti-intellectual. Generals and lieutenants alike responded to Scharnhorst's insistence that the modern soldier must combine technical knowledge with humanistic values in a process blending self-cultivation and formal education. Only such *Bildung*, Scharnhorst declared, would produce leaders fit for the nation in arms that was a necessary product of the French revolution.

Seeking to place these men in direct command of Prussian armies meant the kind of conflict with the old order that Scharnhorst sought to avoid. Instead, he hoped to infuse his new generation into the army through the general staff. The pressure of events overtook Scharnhorst before his evolutionary revolution bore full fruit. By the time Prussia took the field against Napoleon in 1813, however, Scharnhorst's contributions to an aristocracy of *Bildung* had done much to alter Prussia's military character. Many of the officers in high positions—Hermann von Boyen, Karl von Müffling, and Karl Wilhelm von Grolman—had been members of the *Militärische Gesellschaft*. Their perceptive insights and sound judgment helped an improvised army compensate for its structural weaknesses. Scharnhorst's legacy survived its creator's death in battle. From Waterloo to Sedan, Prussia demonstrated the uses of cultivated intelligence applied to the study of warfare. For good or ill, its educated soldiers would be the cornerstone of the Second Empire and a prop of the Third Reich.

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TIBOR SÜLE. *Preussische Bürokratiemitradition: Zur Entwicklung von Verwaltung und Beamtenschaft in Deutschland 1871–1918*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 81.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1988. Pp. 402. DM 82.

Tibor Süle approaches the Prussian civil service (*Beamtentum*) from the bottom up, in the social context of industrialization and urbanization, rather than institutionally from above, as has usually been the case. In some respects, the title is misleading, because this book is also a study in discontinuity. Süle argues, successfully I think, that during the Second Empire the bureaucracy underwent sufficient changes to undermine the concept of it as simply an instrument of domination as the bureaucracy was in pre-1870 Prussia. In the last third of the nineteenth century, the state's administrative apparatus doubled, a change accompanied by differentiation, rationalization, and stratification as the bureaucracy accommodated industrial and urban modernization (officials composed 2.9 percent of employed

Prussians in 1858 and 5.2 percent in 1907; see page 29 for one of several tabular measures). Still the government could not keep up with demand. Burgeoning railroad and postal systems, though the most important factors, only partly account for this growth.

The transformations that Süle details further split executive from subordinate bureaucrats and undermined the civil servants' status as the embodiment of state authority, most notably for the majority in the lower ranks. Additionally, officials lacked freedoms increasingly enjoyed by other citizens, such as the right to organize, speak freely on political issues, negotiate conditions of employment, or, even, lead an unsupervised private life. Other tensions arose from a desire to promote careers through education and expertise, a move in conflict with the swelling number of retired noncommissioned officers sent into the ranks of the lower civil servants.

A few other examples amplify the depth of recasting: enlarged educational experiences for lower-rank officials oriented toward serving the public rather than the previously general juristic education for the elite, corrections in the disparity of remuneration among the ranks, the erosion in status of high civil servants compared to other professional groups, and the greater decline in marriage and birth rates for all officials in comparison to the general population.

As early as the 1870s, lower officials began to organize, not in imitation of trade unions but as interest groups to improve salaries, conditions of work, and professional status. By 1900 the *Verband Deutscher Beamtenvereine* represented 137 organizations with 110,000 members, although they loyally petitioned the government rather than made demands. After 1909, when the first German congress of bureaucrats convened, the movement, following the lead of postal workers, was radicalized, relative to bureaucratic traditions, and concentrated on economic and organizational issues. Nonetheless, civil servants remained a class set apart, and the differences between workers, artisans, and white-collar workers on the one hand and officials on the other ran deeper than a distinction in status.

Süle examines the impact of World War I on this widening, unsolved crisis. The extent of bureaucratic responsibility expanded, and its character changed in the form of deteriorating services, increased employment of women, lower standards of living for officials, and so forth. Discontent and joint action among officials grew apace.

The author's conclusions break new ground from which he briefly considers the well-known failure of the Weimar Republic to deal effectively with the bureaucracy. Necessary reforms were not undertaken, and officials never gained a proper place as citizens among citizens. Alienated from the monarchic-conservative past, but not attracted to the republican democratic present, *Beamten* were prone to Communist or, most usually, National Socialist appeals. At any rate, they were not situated to aid the survival of the republic.

Based on extensive archival sources and civil service publications, this study fills a gap in Wilhelmine historiography. Although Hans-Georg Merz's *Beamtentum und Beamtenpolitik in Baden* (1985) emphasizes the Weimar and Nazi periods and differs in other ways from the book under review, his study and Süle's make good companions on their shared topic.

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JANE CAPLAN. *Government without Administration: State and Civil Service in Weimar and Nazi Germany*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 382. \$59.00.

Jane Caplan has written a brilliant study of the politics of the German bureaucracy between 1918 and 1945. She focuses on the Reich Interior Ministry and its attempts in Nazi Germany to deal with thorny problems of administrative restructuring, personnel policy, and the evolving status of the German *Beamten*. In so doing, Caplan seeks to locate National Socialism in the context of "German state formation" and to exercise her interest in "the relationship between rationalization and liberty . . . the effects of the division of labor in complex societies . . . and the political meaning of claims to representational universality" (p. ix). Her book successfully details the conflicts of conception and interest behind the traditional image of a homogeneous *Beamtenstand* immune and indifferent to social and political change. Industrialization, bureaucratization, and wartime mobilization meant a social and economic stratification of the traditional civil service elite: by the 1920s around 50 percent of German civil servants worked in the "quasi-industrial" conditions of the postal and rail systems. The Weimar Republic saw a series of conflicts over such matters as the fiscally mandated *Personalabbau* in the civil service (especially among the increasingly numerous *Angestellte* and *Arbeiter*) beginning in 1923 and the Brüning salary cuts imposed from 1930. Even the salary law of 1927, which raised pay rates, was the product of unresolved differences over the nature and status of civil service. Thus, a "powerful intercalation of interests" (p. 152), active during the "stabilization period 1923–35" (p. 56), created a "basic continuity [that] overrode the political rupture" (p. 189) of 1933.

The Nazis, of course, did bring significant and disastrous change; it was after all the civil service that was the first to be purged of political opponents and Jews. But these same laws of 1933 (and 1937) grappled with old issues of function, organization, and status while also serving as a battleground for party activists and government bureaucrats. These clashes were not just functions of a "dual state" but reflected the more general challenge to the civil service represented by Nazi ideals and prejudices. Before 1933 the NSDAP had promised the growing number of disaffected civil

servants an increase in both pay and status, but, once in power, the Nazis, consistent with Hitler's disdain for pettifogging bureaucrats, created a regime based on "the contrast . . . between the will and the paragraph" (p. 103). Far from being advantaged and lionized in the "new Germany," civil servants as a group suffered from "a mounting *malaise*" (p. 224), while Wilhelm Frick's attempts at rationalization and reform were frustrated by government and party rivals, Hitler's general lack of interest and occasional hostility, and the exigencies brought on by the war. Attempts to coordinate the ideal of a *Rechtsstaat* with that of a *Volkgemeinschaft* were as tentative as they were unsettling, produced by people who "darted, moth-like, round the burning center of the Nazi *Weltanschauung*" (p. 197).

Caplan's research confirms the work of Hans Mommsen and Martin Broszat on the chaotic subversion of rational governance by Nazi policies and agencies, but the author argues on the basis of her own exhaustive archival work that we must "avoid confusing the functional rationality of the bureaucratic process with the substantive quality of bureaucratic rule as a political system" (p. 323). Caplan skillfully brings to bear a neo-Marxist, functionalist view of state formation à la Poulantzas not only to describe the dynamics of the various constituencies under National Socialism but also to use an analysis of the Nazi Reich as a contribution to an understanding of the politics of domination in the twentieth century. It is hardly a criticism to say that the author has not produced a major philosophical statement along the lines of Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1966), but she has brought our understanding and discussion of the Nazi regime to a higher level through outstanding archival research, sophisticated application of political and social theory, and thoughtful integration of the most recent studies of Nazism by Michael Geyer, Tim Mason, Ian Kershaw, and others. In my view, she stumbles slightly only once by not exploring the relevance of various interpretations (by, among others, Ludolf Herbst and Marie Luise Recker) of the effects of the war on Nazi policy and German society. Structurally, I would have preferred to see much of Caplan's concluding historiographical and interpretive chapter as an introduction in order to give the reader a fuller appreciation at the outset of the significance of the material and the author's skillful working of it. But these are quibbles. Caplan's book is an important and exciting contribution.

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MARSHALL M. LEE and WOLFGANG MICHALKA. *German Foreign Policy, 1917–1933: Continuity or Break?* New York: Berg; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1987. Pp. 180. \$45.00.

In this short book Marshall M. Lee and Wolfgang Michalka attempt "a synthesis of Weimar policy, resting

broadly on recent monographic literature and confronting the question of continuity in recent German history" (pp. 5–6). In view of the profusion of monographs on German diplomacy and the scarcity of up-to-date surveys that take account of them, such a volume can only be welcomed. Lee and Michalka cite almost all of the significant secondary works in German and English, and they describe the policy issues well.

The question of continuity or break provides a highly inclusive focus. According to Lee and Michalka, defeat of Russia in 1917 encouraged aspirations that survived the Versailles treaty, and the reparations conflict amounted to a continuation of Franco-German warfare by other means. Economic relations with the United States, however, represented a new departure for German foreign policy. Lee and Michalka have collaborated before on a study of Gustav Stresemann, whom they describe here as negotiating realistically with France while striving to recover great power status for Germany. In their discussion of the presidential governments after 1930, the authors see Heinrich Brüning as giving overwhelming priority to foreign policy, and they find continuities in Adolf Hitler's first year in office, noting, for example, that the foreign ministry was little changed and that Germany was still weak.

To write a brief historical survey that takes specific notice of an extensive body of scholarship is not easy. The task may be approached in various ways. In this case, Lee and Michalka lace their text with frequent quotations and add informative footnotes on the secondary literature. They thus helpfully bring the material together.

Difficulties occasionally arise, however, when Lee and Michalka quote excerpts from monographs without discussing the objectives of their authors or their place in the context of a specific debate. From the chapter on the reparations conflict, an uninformed reader might have difficulty detecting where the authors of the cited monographs stand. Lee and Michalka tend to take for granted that reparations were "excessive" (pp. 38, 41) and "impossible demands" (p. 41), although most of the English-language studies they refer to actually question that view. The authors could have invoked Peter Krüger's important critique of those studies (*Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 29 [1981]: 21–47), but they do not, although they cite other works by Krüger. In their discussion of Stresemann, they do not mention the once-influential "good European" interpretation. In general, although the authors claim that their work rests only broadly on the secondary literature, they might have described and weighed more fully the principal arguments of the various studies they cite, and they might have concluded their study with an explicit summation of scholarly results.

Although Lee and Michalka do not quite achieve a magisterial synthesis, their book is still a helpful guide

to the history and literature and is particularly suitable to serve as an introduction. It is a book worth having.

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MICHAEL BURLEIGH. *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 351. \$49.50.

This detailed critical study of research and scholarship on Eastern Europe in Nazi Germany represents an outstanding example of the kind of "historicization" of the Nazi experience that Martin Broszat and others called for in the wake of the West German *Historikerkstreit*. The objective of such historicization is to understand how criminality and normality could coexist in symbiotic relationship in the Nazi Reich. Historicization is intended to counteract the evasive and potentially apologetic interpretation of Nazism as a demonic event outside of history and beyond historical comprehension. Michael Burleigh's book offers a disturbing account of continuity and change in *Ostforschung* from the late nineteenth century to the present. The enlistment of scholarship in the service of German imperialism preceded the Nazi takeover and continued in different guise in the postwar period. The instrumentalization of a scholarly discipline to serve the imperialist aims of the state did not require Nazi coercion. Established and "respectable" scholars rushed to serve the interests of the new regime.

"The differences between what passed for normality and what the Nazis themselves thought were not mutually exclusive or unconnected" (p. 318). The enforcement of political conformity took place before and after 1933 without government or party intervention. "The experts did not challenge existing stereotypes and misconceptions; they worked within their boundaries and reified them through empirical 'evidence'" (p. 9). Although their publications and activities during the Third Reich might tempt the historian to consign these academics and specialists to a "lunatic fringe," Burleigh makes it clear that this is the history of "a section of the established, educated elite" (p. 9). Burleigh concludes that established scholars like Albert Brackmann had a utility to the regime far greater than "the mere nuisance value" (p. 154) of his Nazi rival Walter Frank, founder of the *Reichsinstitut für die Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands*. One of the most instructive parts of the book is the last chapter in which the rapid rehabilitation of Germany's Eastern specialists as a result of the cold war is recounted. *Ostforscher* readily adjusted their rhetoric to the altered political circumstances as they established a new institutional base in the Adenauer regime after the war. Former Nazi and SS scholars and researchers had no difficulty making the transition to cold warriors. Stripped of its racialism and couched in the language of Western resistance to communism, much of what they wrote and said about Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union bore a marked

resemblance to their aggressive wartime and prewar tracts. "This internationalizing of traditional German chauvinism barely concealed the legacy from the past" (p. 315).

Burleigh distinguishes *Ostforschung*, which subordinated independent scholarship to the struggle for territorial revisions in the East, from classical *Osteuropaforschung*, the study of East European societies as autonomous subjects. *Ostforschung* gained the ascendancy in the years between 1925 and 1935 as the Weimar regime and the Prussian state government sponsored a number of institutes, foundations, and university chairs to generate scholarly support for German revisionist claims. Burleigh's research is concentrated on the *Publikationsstelle* established in the Prussian state archives in Berlin-Dahlem in 1932 to coordinate *Ostforschung*, gather materials on Polish scholars, and generate publications to combat Polish efforts to legitimate the borders of Versailles. The *Publikationsstelle* served as the crucial link between government ministries in Berlin and scholars and institutes further afield. On Hitler's accession to power, Jewish scholars were purged, and racial concepts enjoyed increasing currency. "Capitulation to, and adoption by the 'respectable' of deeply irrational modes of thought is most striking" (p. 156). With the outbreak of war *Ostforscher* were much in demand to draw new frontiers, prepare resettlement, and conduct propaganda. Burleigh's focus now shifts to the Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit, a research institute on the site of the closed University of Cracow. Legitimizing policies of extermination and fomenting ethnic conflict in the occupied territories, this institute demonstrated the "complete perversion of scholarship as an active arm of the power of the state" (p. 286).

Burleigh's description of personal and institutional rivalries, bureaucratic empire building, and overlapping competences and jurisdictions in *Ostforschung* confirms the now widely accepted view of the Nazi regime as a polycratic system. "The obsession with structure bore no relation to the chaos of reality" (p. 257). But the main significance of the book lies in providing further devastating evidence of the culpable involvement of highly educated members of the German academic establishment with the Nazi regime.

RODERICK STACKELBERG
Gonzaga University

DONALD M. MCKALE. *Curt Prüfer: German Diplomat from the Kaiser to Hitler*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1987. Pp. xvi, 274. \$25.00.

In this handsomely produced and well-written biography of a minor German diplomat, Donald M. McKale examines the role of conservative, trained, and professional civil servants in the German empire and Weimar Republic in order to explain their cooperation and support for Adolf Hitler. His thesis is that this class of highly educated Germans contributed substantially to

undermining democracy and "shared significant responsibility for the country's demise and ruin and the world's suffering" (p. 187). The author asserts that Curt Prüfer's life mirrored the "prejudices, arrogances, and sense of superiority" (p. xiii) of the German elites and that such flaws made them willing participants in Nazi crimes. To develop this study, McKale uses a wide range of archival material, including the personal papers and diaries of Prüfer, which were offered to the author by Prüfer's son. These papers are indeed a rich source and substantiate the harsh conclusion about Prüfer's prejudices and the fact that, even after the war, he never faced up to his own participation in what had happened.

In swiftly flowing prose, McKale leads the reader through Prüfer's diverse lives, beginning with his tenure as a scholar-translator-spy in pre-1914 Egypt and the Middle East and as a participant in two abortive Turkish drives to capture the Suez Canal during World War I. Prüfer was a good linguist but a repeated failure as a diplomat, continuously missing evidence and making remarkably unrealistic recommendations. He returned to the foreign ministry after the war, and his comic-opera adventure to restore the former khedive of Egypt as an agent for German power and the anti-Semitism expressed repeatedly in his diaries during the German revolution show that he also failed in understanding foreign and domestic developments. In the postwar foreign ministry, Prüfer continued his undistinguished service, despite chronic ill-health, rising slowly but steadily through a variety of positions, culminating in September 1930 as deputy director of the Anglo-American-Mideast desk. Throughout these years, Prüfer served but hardly led. McKale provides no evidence of any substantive contribution to foreign relations between 1920 and 1930 but, nevertheless, finds his subject guilty of a "willingness to subvert the democratic principles of the republic to protect German relations with a foreign country" (p. 91). This charge is certainly serious, but the particular issue that arouses this judgment seems rather minor. In the spring of 1932, at the request of the Persian government and to prevent a deterioration of relations, Prüfer asked the police to investigate anti-shah foreign students living in Berlin and to expel the communist ringleader. Similarly, McKale uses very strong language to condemn Prüfer's attempts to "pressure" and "muzzle" foreign comments about the anti-Semitism of the rising National Socialists, even though he admits that there is no evidence to suggest that the procedure was effective. This chapter concludes by absolving the members of the foreign ministry of playing a "significant role in the destruction of democracy," but the next sentence reads, "Like other individuals and agencies in the Reich government, they acted to subvert the republic" (p. 97). To make this charge against Prüfer convincing, more evidence than McKale has provided is necessary.

There can be no question of Prüfer's willingness to continue his unspectacular and plodding service under

Hitler and to carry out whatever duties he was assigned. In 1936 he was rewarded by being named director of personnel in the foreign ministry. Apparently there exists little in the diaries and personal papers about his activities there, for this chapter, which could have thrown light on a number of important personnel issues, is one of the shortest in the book. Prüfer's contributions appear to have been as minimal as they were when he was ambassador to Brazil from 1939 to 1942, his final position. Here McKale finds repeated the pattern of Prüfer's earlier foreign appointments; he seems to have been ill-informed about what was going on and generally naive about international developments. Expelled from Brazil, Prüfer, as his diaries reveal, arrived home in the autumn of 1942 convinced that Germany was winning the war. McKale is certainly correct in calling this diplomatic career a series of blunders and failures.

The historical value of this study lies less in the career activities of Prüfer than in the character insights that are revealed in his personal papers and the critical comments of his son. From these, Prüfer emerges as an odious and extremely limited man. One wonders how he managed to perform his duties even in the minor positions he held. I would have liked more quotations from the diaries, especially in illustrating the anti-Semitism that McKale insists is pervasive from Prüfer's earliest pre-1914 entries through 1950. One of these, for November 22, 1942, is a shattering revelation of how broadly news of the Holocaust had spread. Even a rather ill-informed and second-level diplomat, living in retirement in Baden-Baden, knew the worst: "Men, women, and children have been slaughtered in large numbers by poison-gas, or by machine guns. The hatred which inevitably must arise from that will never be appeased. Today every child knows this in the smallest detail" (p. 175).

JOHN HEINEMAN
Boston College

KAI P. SCHOENHALS. *The Free Germany Movement: A Case of Patriotism or Treason?* (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 12.) New York: Greenwood. 1989. Pp. 176. \$39.95.

The National Committee "Free Germany" was the Communist-instigated resistance movement of German prisoners of war in the Soviet Union during World War II. As such, it aroused intense suspicion and was stigmatized in Germany both during and after the war. Claus von Stauffenberg once said, "What I am doing is treason against the government, but what they are doing is treason against the country."

Kai P. Schoenhals's book is an attempt to rehabilitate the movement, but it is not the first. Bodo Scheurig's *Free Germany* (1969) succeeded in establishing the sincerity of many of the officers who became active, including eventually Friedrich Paulus. But Scheurig's book was based on West German sources and inter-

views only; Schoenhals has been able to gain access to archives and veterans in East Germany. Whereas Scheurig ended his account with the disbanding of the committee in 1945, Schoenhals establishes the links between the Free Germany movement and the leaders of the German Democratic Republic during its formative years.

The two books complement each other in scope and interpretation. They excel as studies of the changing attitudes both of German prisoners of war in the USSR as the tides of battle turned and of German Communists as they encountered and dealt with the nationalism of the soldiers. Scheurig's work is stronger on the adverse reaction of the German resistance movement at home to the Soviet-based efforts and on the significance of the committee in wartime diplomacy, where it represented the possibility of a Russo-German collaboration as an alternative to the policy of crushing Germany that eventually emerged at Teheran and Yalta. That policy dashed the hopes of many leaders of the Free Germany movement. Schoenhals mentions those points only in passing.

Schoenhals is more sympathetic to the movement than is Scheurig. Although he admits that it failed in many of its objectives, he emphasizes its effectiveness in convincing many captured German soldiers of the evils of Nazism. One may well dispute his conclusion that such re-education work eventually helped create a more realistic and effective policy in East Germany than would otherwise have been the case, but, in pointing to specific leaders in East German politics, journalism, and the army who had been members of Free Germany, he makes a valuable contribution. One wishes he had shortened a somewhat tedious chapter on the founding of the movement and devoted more space to tracing in greater detail its impact on East Germany.

DAVID LINDENFELD
Louisiana State University

UWE KLEINERT. *Flüchtlinge und Wirtschaft in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1945–1961: Arbeitsmarkt—Gewerbe—Staat*. (Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene in Nordrhein-Westfalen; Forschungen und Quellen, number 2.) Düsseldorf: Schwann. 1988. Pp. 331. DM 58.

The pioneers of the new *Nachkriegsgeschichte*, who in the 1970s built the foundations for a scholarly historical examination of the postwar origins of the new Germany, generally shunned the subject of eastern refugees because it seemed shrouded in the subjective mythologies of personal reminiscences and the cold war. This has changed. In recent years, German scholars have increasingly rediscovered the essential part the newcomers from the East played in the first decades of West German history.

Uwe Kleinert's volume is an early and outstanding product of this new effort. It is a case study of the integration of refugees in one *Land* (federal state),

Northrhine-Westphalia. This state is an ideal case because it not only integrated the greatest number of refugees in the long run but also dealt with their economic and social integration through the whole period of the flow of refugees from 1945 to the final closing of the gates with the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

Kleinert addresses three subject areas: phases, role, and effect of the massive migration in the context of West German economic reconstruction; state policies toward refugees centering on the labor market, housing, and promotion of refugee business; and the overall success of integration. The successful integration of refugees, he argues, was not simply a result of the rapidly expanding economy of the 1950s. Instead, the twin successes of economic reconstruction and integration of refugees were interdependent. The extraordinary mobility, motivation, and flexibility of the refugees provided expanding industries with a ready pool of workers to fill gaps in the labor market, just as this market offered refugees opportunities for rapid integration. The critical mining industry, one-fourth of whose work force was made up of refugees by 1950, was only the most dramatic case in point.

The government of Northrhine-Westphalia skillfully exploited this opportunity to fashion a refugee policy that was guided equally by the goal of permanent integration of the newcomers and considerations of economic growth and diversification. As industrial production took off, the state even recruited refugee labor, sometimes whole industries, from other federal states in order to diversify its previously narrow economy. In the tradition of German corporatist government-business interaction, the state worked effectively with the centralized economic organizations, such as chambers of commerce and industry, labor unions, and especially the refugee association. By 1961 refugees had been fully integrated and had gained equal status with the native population in all areas but housing, where significantly fewer newcomers owned their own homes. In a larger sense, Kleinert argues convincingly that the postwar refugees were only a particularly dramatic part of a longer trend of east-to-west migration in Germany that had begun with the second phase of industrialization in the late nineteenth century.

The book is most impressive in its analytical depth and methodological breadth. Like his mentor, Peter Hüttenberger, Kleinert is equally at ease with painstaking archival research and social science methodologies. His solid economic analysis, which closely follows the pioneering revisionist work of Werner Abelshauser, adds to the book's sophistication. Kleinert's study will be a standard for future scholarship on the subject. The bibliography is excellent. It is a shame that there is no index, which would have enhanced the value of this fine work considerably for all students of postwar Germany.

DIETHELM PROWE
Carleton College

NIKOLAUS MEYER-LANDRUT. *Frankreich und die deutsche Einheit: Die Haltung der französischen Regierung und Öffentlichkeit zu den Stalin-Noten 1952.* (Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, number 56.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1988. Pp. 162. DM 28.

Forty years ago the Federal Republic of Germany was one of the two new German states established. The main objective of the Western Allies was to integrate the Federal Republic into the West. They wanted integration implemented in such a way that the Germans, as President Dwight D. Eisenhower put it in 1953, "could not break loose." The European Defense Community (EDC) was to be the means to accomplish that goal. When, in early 1952, negotiations on the EDC were drawing to an end and when it was clear that West Germany would provide the West with five hundred thousand soldiers, Joseph Stalin made his famous offer, that is, a reunified Germany with a national army for self-defense. The only condition was that Germany not become a member of any kind of military alliance.

That so-called Stalin note has remained the subject of controversy, most especially in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Germans ever since 1952 have been obsessed by the question of whether that chance for German reunification was lost. Over the last few years the availability of new documents has intensified the controversy. In 1985, I published *Eine vertane Chance: Die Stalin-Note vom 10. März 1952 und die Wiedervereinigung* (see *AHR*, 5 [1986]: 1189) based on British and American documents.

I argued that the Western Allies were convinced that Stalin's offer was serious, that they all preferred a divided Germany with the western half securely under their control, despite their talk of free elections and self-determination for the German people, and that for tactical reasons they did not rule out negotiations.

I also argued that it was Chancellor Adenauer, and he alone, who was to blame for the lack of negotiations with the Russians. When he made it clear to the Allies that the note would make no difference whatsoever to his policy and that he trusted that they would not let themselves in for a conference, the Allies saw no reason at all to oppose his view.

At the time a member of his own cabinet accused Adenauer of being "more American than the Americans." The moment my book was published West Germans were arguing "passionately" over it, as Neil Ascherson put it in the *Sunday Observer* (January 26, 1986, p. 9). Some people did not like the idea that Adenauer was responsible for what happened in 1952 and tried to blame the Allies, as Nikolaus Meyer-Landrut does. With documents from the French Quai d'Orsay, he gives answers to questions that no one—not even I—had asked. Although he can show that the Quai d'Orsay was convinced that Stalin's offer was a serious but very dangerous attempt to settle the German question, his book is an impossible attempt to whitewash Adenauer. It remains a fact that Adenauer deceived the German people, selling them the notion

that a policy of strengthening Germany's ties to the West was the only way to get the Russians to negotiate seriously for reunification, even though he was not interested in reunification. Those actions remain the *Lebenslüge* (living lie) at the heart of the Federal Republic. According to a document, which Meyer-Landrut could not know, declassified by the British Foreign Office in 1986, Adenauer made it clear that he felt that the integration of West Germany with the West was more important than the unification of Germany, even a Germany with complete freedom in domestic and foreign affairs. The bold reason was that he had no confidence in his fellow Germans, that he was terrified that, without his leadership, they would make a deal with the Russians. Adenauer understandably was concerned about that remark getting back to the West German electorate ("quite disastrous to his political position"). It did not during his lifetime.

ROLF STEININGER

University of Innsbruck

HERBERT H. ROWEN. *The Princes of Orange: The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic.* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 253. \$39.50.

After the Armada of 1588, the northern Dutch provinces rebelling against Philip II found themselves in possession of some territory that provided the makings of a state. What kind of state, no one knew. Like the French in the years after 1870, the Dutch gradually and rather reluctantly backed into a republican system. But it was a republican system with a difference, for the Dutch, unlike the French, had a man on horseback. As captain general, the prince of Orange was the head of the military. As stadholder, he selected the men chosen to be urban magistrates from a short list, or *terna*, like that submitted to the pope for the selection of a bishop.

Luckily, perhaps, the princes of Orange did not produce many legitimate sons. Maurice, all of whose children were illegitimate, was succeeded in 1652 by his brother, Frederick Henry. In 1650 William II left a pregnant widow whose son, once born, could not command an army until he grew up. That first "stadholderless period" following the death of William II was probably fatal for the development of the office. When William III died childless in 1702, there was a second "stadholderless period" lasting until 1747. In desperation, after the failure of the male line, the position of stadholder was made hereditary in the female line. The story of the stadholders in the Dutch Republic ends with the long minority of William V during the 1750s and the weak government he established as an adult.

Until 1702, while the military character of the office was prominent, the stadholderate was useful. During the eighteenth century, however, the military character of the office was in such eclipse that Anne governed and Caroline might have done so. It was, therefore,

more difficult to justify having a stadholderate. The problem was not that William IV and his wife and son were all that bad. The problem was that they had joined the oligarchs they were supposed to control, just as the Hanoverian kings in England had joined the local aristocracy when they defined the king's proper role as that of first gentleman of England.

Herbert H. Rowen, a meticulous scholar, has written two books. The text is a balanced and generous summary of Dutch political history, which appeals to us today as it would not have appealed to the sons of the murdered Oldenbarnevelt or the sons of the murdered de Witt brothers. Although there is nothing new in the text for scholars, it will be a great help to graduate students. The footnotes add up to a major bibliographical essay, also balanced and generous, that will be of even greater help to graduate students.

For the rest of us, the sting of the book is in its tail, the last sentence. A great deal of energy is currently being put into books and conferences about comparative revolution in an attempt to link up Machiavelli and the Dutch, English, French, Russian, and, for all I know, Iranian revolutions into a single pattern. Rowen is firmly against that effort. He points out that the constitution of the United Provinces was unique. Thus, Dutch history, including its revolutions, is also unique. Comparative historians, beware!

STEPHEN B. BAXTER
University of North Carolina

LILIANE MOTTU-WEBER. *Economie et refuge à Genève au siècle de la Réforme: La Draperie et la soierie (1540–1630)*. (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève, number 52.) Geneva: Droz or Champion, Paris. 1987. Pp. 539.

Historians of Geneva in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have focused on the impact of Geneva's tumultuous religious history on its politics, its society, its fiscal structure, its intellectual life, and its economy. In the city's economic history, both goldsmithing and printing have come under scrutiny, and Liliane Mottu-Weber ranges her book on the woolen and silk industries in that historiographical niche. She seeks to know how the textile industries developed in the mid-sixteenth century and fell into irreparable decline not a century later. In her explanation Mottu-Weber considers immense the significance of the thousands of refugees escaping religious persecution who came in waves to Geneva in the sixteenth century. Such demographic pressures affected the "structures of production" (p. 13), most notably by creating an indispensable pool of labor and by bringing technical expertise and capital to Geneva.

Mottu-Weber's analytical framework, if not her style, is Braudellian (the book is organized around "structures" and "conjunctures," which are privileged over events). Meticulously, she takes the reader through the

economic process, first of the woolen and then of the silk industry. For each industry she briefly explores the preconditions of its establishment, discussing the transit trade through Geneva before the mid-sixteenth century before moving on to indigenous manufacturing. With each industry she focuses first on the origin and variable quality of the raw material and then on how it was distributed and what it cost. Her shift to what happened to it in production leads the reader into the world of labor, where Mottu-Weber scrutinizes the stages of production and the relations between merchants and artisans in each of these stages. For each industry, the division of labor, the techniques, the kinds and uses of tools, wage and price levels, and even the choice of geographic location of mills are explained. Only after the structures are thus laid bare (which takes 145 pages for woolens and 124 for silk) does Mottu-Weber move from synchrony to diachrony with chapters at the end of part 1 entitled "La Draperie de 1550 à 1593" and "La Draperie genevoise au XVII^e siècle" and, at the end of part 2, "La Soierie genevoise, 1570–1630."

The third part of the book is the shortest. It is here that the reader moves from structure to conjuncture, out of the world of manufacture and into the world of finance. In her analyses of sources of credit (both public and private), tariffs, and taxes, both within Geneva and just beyond its borders in France and Savoy, Mottu-Weber, like the fluid capital she is tracking, picks up the pace of her exposition.

Like most quantitative *annaliste* historiography, this work has its share of tables, charts, and graphs (62). It is based on a wide range of sources: private collections, administrative records kept by various governmental councils and offices, and fiscal archives (of the seignury, the hospital, and the French and Italian Bourses). The documentary backbone of this study, however, is a nearly exhaustive mining and deft use of the extensive notarial archives (the records of 120 notaries are extant for this period, which Mottu-Weber guesses represent half of those that once existed).

Most of the time Mottu-Weber eschews entering polemics when she clearly could (for example, on the rural or urban nature of "protoindustry"), and thus it is puzzling why she would employ the tendentious vocabulary of a particular view of economic "development." In part 3, for example, she explores tariffs and taxes in the context of the decline of the textile industries, and she explains the decline in part in terms of "obstacles to commerce." Economic historians working from a free-market developmental model often cast their analyses in a similar framework using the same vocabulary, and one wonders whether Mottu-Weber shares the attendant ontological assumption that economic growth is natural and governmental activity in the marketplace is somehow or other out of place or whether her choice of vocabulary is simply inadvertent. In any case, this does not mar the achievement and importance of this

extraordinarily deeply researched and expansively informative book.

JAMES R. FARR
Purdue University

JOHN T. LAURIDSEN. *Marselis Konsortiet: En studie over forholdet mellem handelskapital og kongemagt i 1600-tallets Danmark* [The Marselis Consortium: A Study of Relations between Trade Capital and Royal Power in Seventeenth-Century Denmark]. Aarhus: Jysk Selskab for Historie. 1987. Pp. 266.

In accordance with general trends in Western Europe during the seventeenth century, the kingdom of Denmark-Norway was transformed from an elective and limited monarchy whose finances relied on income from landed estates into a hereditary and absolutist monarchy whose finances relied more on direct and indirect taxation. The kingdom was transformed, in the words of Ladewig Pedersen, from a "domain state" into a "tax state." A small circle of wealthy merchants with access to European money markets played a significant role in that transformation. Within that circle the leading element was the so-called Marselis consortium. Originating in the Netherlands, members of the Marselis family and their associates spread their influence throughout much of the continent, and they were particularly important in Russia and Denmark-Norway. Their activities in Russia have already been detailed by Erik Armburger, but he has dealt only fleetingly with the consortium's relations with the Danish crown. John T. Lauridsen examines those relations.

Beginning at the time of Denmark's early humiliations in the Thirty Years' War and after the crown's own economic enterprises during the 1620s had failed, the Marselis family, led by Gabriel Marselis the Elder in Hamburg in collaboration with Albert Berns in Copenhagen, made itself indispensable first to Christian IV and then to Frederick III in the kings' efforts to husband their resources in order to free themselves from financial dependence on their nobility and to equip their realm militarily for the struggle against Sweden. During the 1640s and 1650s, Marselis and Berns came to dominate the kingdom's armaments industry from their works in Glückstadt. The consortium was also the most important supplier of ships to the Danish navy and the leading exploiter of Norway's timber and mineral resources. The weakening of the crown's financial position at the end of Christian IV's reign made the monarchy even more dependent on credit extended by the consortium. Gabriel Marselis's sons carried the consortium to the height of its power at the end of the war with Charles X of Sweden, a war for which they organized most of the funds. They had previously spearheaded the reform of the central administration and the entrance into it of those bourgeois elements that became prominent after the establishment of absolutism in the 1660s. Bern's son-in-law,

Poul Klingenberg, was probably responsible for the creation of the College of Admiralty in 1654.

With the introduction of absolutism and the repayment of a large part of the crown's debts to consortium members in the form of landed estates and assignments, the consortium had served its purpose. As financiers, the family lost significance after 1670. The price, in the form of privileges and property, that the consortium extracted from the crown for its services was undoubtedly high. And, Lauridsen suggests, it was a price that was paid to some extent by the Danish economy as a whole; the enterprise of provincial merchants in Denmark and Norway and of the merchants living in the capital who were outside the charmed circle of crown creditors was inhibited.

Lauridsen has had to confine himself largely to Danish sources. That limitation, as he confesses, means that, in view of the consortium's wide international associations, the picture he provides of its activities is far from complete. We are nevertheless indebted to him for the new light he has been able to throw both on international finance during the seventeenth century and on the background to the development of absolutism in Europe. In view of the general significance of his themes, it is a pity that no summary in a major European language is provided.

STEWART P. OAKLEY
University of East Anglia

VOITTO AHONEN. *Jälleenrakennuksen politiikka ja talous: Kaupunkien toipuminen isostavahasta noin vuoteen 1740* [Political and Economic Aspects of Reconstruction: The Revival of Towns after the Great Wrath up to approximately the Year 1740]. Summary in German. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 146.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1988. Pp. 346.

The eclipse of Swedish power at the hands of Peter the Great's armies during the second decade of the Great Northern War of 1700–21 proved calamitous to Finland. With the Russian drive westward through the Finnish provinces to the very borders of Sweden proper, a desperate Stockholm urged its hard-pressed military commanders to use scorched-earth tactics there in order to slow down and stop the enemy onslaught. When nothing availed them, the Swedo-Finnish forces were obliged to abandon most of Finland to the Russians who, in the heat of battle, also ravaged and laid waste town and countryside. Once overrun by Russian forces, Finland became an occupied territory. During the occupation, the Russians occasionally terrorized Finnish civilians and pillaged their properties for the purpose of "pacifying" the country. This period was immortalized in Finland as the "Time of the Great Wrath," an era that has subsequently fed Finnish fears and hatred of Russia to the present day.

Voitto Ahonen's work is a carefully crafted and researched historical study of the politics and economy

energizing the reconstruction of Finnish towns after the Great Wrath, that is, from about 1721 to 1740. Ahonen first establishes the condition of those towns at war's end, an accounting that includes detailed cost estimates and analyses of the war damage wrought by friend and foe alike. He next focuses on the politics and policies of reconstruction as developed in Sweden and Finland during 1719–21. He then treats such matters as the return of refugees and the growth in Finland's urban population, the tax holidays accorded to war-damaged towns by the central government in Stockholm, the revival of industry, trade, and commerce, and the rising income and wealth of most townsfolk irrespective of class or occupation. Following a discussion of the organizational structures that were developed to undertake the actual work of reconstruction, Ahonen treats the building and repair of residential housing as well as the construction and renovation of public buildings (churches, hospitals, town halls, and the like) during the period. The last part of the book offers a brief theoretical survey of the causes of the later evolution of many towns, primarily as seaports or agricultural centers, together with a summation of the political, economic, and social consequences arising from the reconstruction period.

As a published doctoral dissertation, this book retains the strengths of the genre without its usual weaknesses. In his downward reassessment of Russian culpability in the despoliation of Finland during the Great Wrath, Ahonen underscores the originality and purpose of good academic history. Unlike so many other academic treatises, however, here the author's skillful writing allows neither his data nor his statistical and theoretical analyses to overwhelm the reader. In short, Ahonen has produced a model work that describes how one tiny land was able to fashion its own economic, political, and social recovery out of the ruins of a devastating war that had not been of its choosing.

Given the obvious strengths of this book, it is most unfortunate that it is published only in the Finnish language. The appended German summary is no remedy, for it is much too short for the conveyance of Ahonen's considerable scholarship to the broader historical community.

EDWARD W. LAINE
Canadian Museum of Civilization

RISTO ALAPURO. *State and Revolution in Finland*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 315. \$32.50.

Risto Alapuro is concerned with the machineries of state building. In his book he identifies two phases of state building in Europe. In the early modern phase, which was driven by military imperatives and produced the mixture of potential nation states and multinational empires that dominated Europe until 1914, national identity followed the formation of the state. In the modern phase nationalism preceded and legitimated

the founding of the state. Alapuro concentrates on the successor states that developed from the collapse of the multinational empires in modern times, and his book is a case study of Finland, a successor state of the Russian empire. He assumes that, in this type of state building, the internal forces making for an independent polity are extensively controlled by external factors, which in turn shape the kind of polity that emerges. Alapuro concludes that Finland has deviated significantly from the normal successor state experience.

Alapuro focuses on three historical episodes: the emergence of a mass Social Democratic party in the first democratic parliamentary election in 1907, the failed workers' revolution of 1917–18, and the abortive quasi-fascist movement of 1929–32. He seeks to demonstrate the interaction of external factors and domestic class relations that produced those episodes. The special factors in the Finnish case, which Alapuro identifies, have all been noted before. Regarding the rise of the Social Democrats, he discusses the externally imposed development of an autonomous, bureaucratic state machinery after 1809; the absence of feudal landowning and the development after 1870 of capitalist agriculture based on forest resources, which strengthened the independent peasant farmer; and the rural basis of industrialization, which linked rural and urban workers in a single socialist party that triumphed in the 1907 election. In his analysis of the peculiar situation of 1917, he notes that external factors caused the elimination of the state security forces and compelled a reluctant Social Democratic movement to fill the power vacuum. That situation brought the Social Democrats into confrontation with a resurgent bourgeois nationalist movement, resulting in a wholly unpremeditated socialist seizure of power and lost civil war. Finally he discusses the right-wing backlash of 1929, which failed because, after the Right had eliminated the communist challenge in 1930, it found it difficult to continue the attack on the Social Democrats, who had accepted their defeat in 1918 and were willing to accept a subordinate place in the bourgeois republic.

The merit of Alapuro's book lies not in any new material he presents but in his use of familiar material to produce an explanatory model that can both give a coherent explanation of the pattern of Finland's development and be used to generate generalizations, on a comparative basis, about the politics of small nation states. This book is a work of political science, and historians will find difficulties with some of the generalizations, which will seem too bold. For example, according to Alapuro, one major factor in Finnish state building was the consolidation of the "Swedish-speaking upper class" in the larger community and its "easy adoption of the Finnish language and Finnish culture" (p. 272). It might be difficult to find a historian who agrees that the vicious Fennoman-Svecoman polemic and the language disputes that it generated, which still rouse political passions in present-day Finland, could be described as "rather frictionless" (p. 272).

This book will stimulate debate. It will be received

gratefully by political scientists who want to test and extend their models, and it should be welcomed by all historians, who can always benefit from the serious consideration of explanatory hypotheses, even when they do not find those hypotheses wholly convincing.

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JOHN M. MCMANAMON. *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 343. \$49.95.

The comparatively small world of the Italian humanists has attracted a wealth of scholarship over the last forty years. Yet, despite the minute attention that has been devoted to the cultural milieu of Renaissance Italy, funeral oratory has suffered relative neglect. John M. McManamon, in this timely study, offers the first systematic analysis of the mass of funeral orations produced between 1374 and 1534. He has been diligent in his pursuit of sources. Indeed, an appendix listing the funeral eulogies he has unearthed will be an invaluable supplement to the established bibliographies.

McManamon's principal concern is to use the characteristic form of the funeral oration as a means of shedding light on wider aspects of humanist culture. The humanists themselves saw the funeral oration as central to their cultural enterprise, enabling them to project a self-conscious image of their ideal of a life of learning set at the service of the community. Such is the abundance of material that McManamon has been faced with an embarrassment of riches. Instead of focusing on the context and occasion of particular orations, he has chosen to organize his material thematically, highlighting typical humanist views on praise and blame, education and descent, and ecclesiastical, political, and academic ideals.

All that is well done. McManamon's painstaking analysis yields a convincing picture of the humanists' conception of themselves. Specialists in different aspects of Renaissance culture will find that the evidence of the orations confirms a broadly familiar picture. Students of historiography, in particular, will recognize an affinity between the form of the funeral oration, which subordinated the details of a life to an overriding moral concern, and the great humanist histories.

McManamon's approach, however, leaves certain avenues unexplored. His preoccupation with broad cultural themes leaves the impression that the world of the humanists was all of a piece. He begins by distinguishing neatly between humanist and earlier scholastic funeral oratory, but he then proceeds to gloss what might be regarded as important differences among the various humanists. We get very little impression from this study of the intellectual identities of specific humanists. Only in the chapter on political ideals do we find a sustained attempt to explain the differences of

emphasis of the funeral orations in terms of significant changes in the political context. For the rest, we are presented with a rather static picture that is useful as a guide to the essential characteristics of Italian humanist culture but ignores subtle nuances.

Yet it would be misleading to conclude on a negative note. McManamon has highlighted the central significance of a neglected cultural form. His bibliographical appendix will be the first resort of anyone anxious to pursue further aspects of humanist funeral oratory. It is perhaps disappointing that a detailed study of the funeral orations should furnish so few surprises. But to confirm the current orthodoxy on Italian humanism from an original angle is itself a signal service. We must hope that others will be encouraged to follow his example.

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PATRICIA FORTINI BROWN. *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. 310; 132 plates. \$45.00.

Narrative painting played a central role in Italian Renaissance art, but the great narrative cycles painted in late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century Venice followed a logic of their own. With their exquisite detail, their apparent lack of dramatic form, and their portrayal of happenstance and the quotidian, the canvases of Gentile Bellini and Vittore Carpaccio, among others, broke with the more formal and humanistic ideals evident in the works of the artists' Tuscan counterparts and offered a far less idealized vision of the world than did the works of the artists' younger and ultimately more influential Venetian contemporaries, Titian and Giorgione da Castelfranco.

Although Patricia Fortini Brown examines the genre and the circumstance of all narrative painting in Venice circa 1500, Carpaccio is her central focus. Many of his compositions have survived, and, fortunately, they vary enough in conception to provide a useful point of departure for the study of Venetian narrative painting in general. Like most of the other *istorie*, or narrative works, Carpaccio's compositions were commissioned by Venetian *scuole*, or confraternities. In the first part of her study, Brown explores the circumstances of the corporate patronage that led to the creation of such works, but it is the second part of her analysis that soars. Here, she explores the period "eye" and in so doing offers a cultural history of what she calls the "eyewitness style" (p. 4). Deep affinities obtained, she argues, between the detailed narration of the lives of saints and their miracles that the *istorie* depicted and the Venetian preference for chronicle rather than humanist historiography. Like Marino Sanudo's interminable diaries or the especially perceptive dispatches of Venetian ambassadors, Carpaccio's canvases seem almost indiscriminately detailed. In part, the taste for particulars reflected a peculiarly Venetian commercial

culture. But it was also—and this is Brown's richest argument—expressive of the way in which at least some of Carpaccio's contemporaries imagined the place of the sacred in their often very secular lives. In Carpaccio's vision, the miraculous was potent not because it brought passersby to a standstill or because it was set off from the events of everyday life but because it coexisted so comfortably with the ordinary and the mundane. Thus, like the dozens of other figures depicted at Rialto in Carpaccio's well-known *Healing of the Possessed Man*, the black gondolier seems oblivious to the exorcism that takes place in the patriarch's loggia above him. Similarly, the Venetian gentlemen gathered in St. Mark's Square in Bellini's *Procession in the Piazza San Marco* appear to ignore the holy events that the artist has placed in the foreground of his composition.

By the late 1520s the delicate balance between the sacred and the profane gave way to increasingly dramatic portrayals of the miraculous. But Brown's concern is with retrieving the context and the meanings of an earlier sacred art. That she has done admirably. For those who admire Carpaccio, this well-crafted, beautifully illustrated book makes it possible to enjoy his works afresh—and to do so with a new understanding of the society in which they were created.

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ANDREA ZORZI. *L'amministrazione della giustizia penale nella Repubblica fiorentina: Aspetti e problemi*. (Biblioteca Storica Toscana, first series, number 23.) Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1988. Pp. vi, 125. L. 25,000.

When some of the modish concerns of current historical writing go out of fashion, the old interest in how societies have apportioned and exercised power will still be with us. Andrea Zorzi's book is in this sense old-fashioned, but it is fashion of the enduring sort. His concern is with the question of how criminal justice was administered in Renaissance Florence.

In their ascent from feudalism, Italian communes begged, bought, and grabbed judicial authority away from local magnates, gradually vesting it in diverse communal courts, including guild and other corporate tribunals. The administration of temporal justice was thus fully drawn into the walled city, but its fragmentation continued. During the fourteenth century, with the rise of despotic government, urban *signori* extended their powers over the fragmented system of justice, but they encroached especially on all jurisdiction over crime. Interestingly, the republics—for example, Florence, Lucca, and Venice—also gave way to this centralizing trend.

At Florence the takeover of penal justice by a strong executive authority began in the late fourteenth century with the establishment of a special commission, the Council of Eight (*Octo custodiae*), to combat action and speech directed against the ruling regime. Venice already had the like in its older Council of Ten. In the

course of the fifteenth century, as Zorzi tells us, the oligarchy in Florence used the Council of Eight to undermine the authority of the old criminal courts of the podesta, captain, executor, and appellate judge. These foreign magistrates were increasingly bombarded by injunctions from the council and from other offices in the executive cluster of government with the result that by 1478 much or most crime in the city—largely anonymously reported—was tried by summary and secret proceedings, not in open courts. Civil justice itself often fell subject to tampering and intervention by the *signoria* (the chief executive magistracy), by the Council of Eight, and by one or two other bodies.

This story was first told years ago by G. Antonelli and then by me. Zorzi's valuable study provides more detail and new archival material. Yet nagging questions persist. Why exactly were princes and oligarchies driven to put all crime more or less under their direct competence? Why have modern historians refused to grasp the nettle in the matter of the major role played by secret proceedings in the criminal justice of Renaissance Italy? And was republican oligarchy not all the more ominous by its immediate and devious controls over criminal and even civil courts?

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GIUSEPPE RUGGIERI. *Teologi in difesa: Il confronto tra chiesa e società nella Bologna della fine del Settecento*. (Istituto per le Scienze religiose di Bologna, Testi e ricerche di Scienze religiose, number 23.) Brescia: Paideia. 1988. Pp. 128. L. 15,000.

Institutions, civil and religious, develop more or less adequate responses to changes that confront them. When events radically alter a situation so that habit no longer suffices, the institution first goes into shock and continues to use the same answers, but then, if it is to survive, it gradually makes the adaptations necessary for its continued existence. Church structures are no exception to those rules. In the present work, we view a narrow section of the Roman Catholic Church endeavoring to adjust its strategies to dangers to its belief and structure. The threats, whether real or perceived to be such, were multiple: Jesuit Molinism, Jansenism, and Jansenistic regalism created an atmosphere that encouraged appeal to an authoritarian interpretation of doctrine originating in the papacy. Giuseppe Ruggieri deals with the efforts of Andreas Cardinal Gioannetti, archbishop of Bologna from 1777 to 1802, and his circle to come to terms with the collapse of the *ancien régime*, the novelty of a laic and hostile France, and the last stages of Italian efforts to bring the church to heel within a civil structure. Overshadowing all that was the necessity of countering the Enlightenment concept of a morality based merely on rational principles without the need of anything other than a minimal theology of Providence.

Gioannetti and the professors at the University of Bologna devised a program of church reform based on sacred scripture, patristic philosophy, and the encyclical *Inscrutabile* (1775) of Pius VI. Conflict about means of church renewal came to focus on the issue of whether feast days might properly be reduced to encourage deeper piety as well as to stimulate a moribund economy. Gioannetti held a synod in 1788, the main decrees of which had already been foreshadowed in his *Lezioni pastorali* (1782). Various Bolognese professors, such as Vincenzo Nicola Penzi and Lotaringo Prospero Trebbi enlarged on what Ruggieri calls Gioannetti's *moderatismo pastorale*, but, frightened by French occupation, Michelangelo Griffini, a Barnabite, came out in support of the superiority of church over state and argued for the authenticity of the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals.

The reader may draw two conclusions from this slim volume. First, it is no guarantee of survival for any church to be content with merely defensive positions. Second, Gioannetti's thought and reactions to the challenges faced by the Bologna legation could provide some assiduous student of church history an opportunity to produce a valuable monograph on a sincere and responsible church reformer of the late eighteenth century.

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GIANNI TONIOLO. *Storia economica dell'Italia liberale (1850–1918)*. (Universale Paperbacks Il Mulino, number 213.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 1988. Pp. 241. L. 20,000.

This study of the Italian economy between 1850 and 1918 is based on a series of lectures given at the Ca'Foscari University in Venice. It is divided into three parts. The first analyzes long-term economic trends in income, expenditure, output, productivity, and welfare. The second offers a survey of the political history that underlies Italian economic growth in this period. The third discusses recent interpretations of the Italian economy in the liberal period. The study, as Gianni Toniolo explains, is conceived in a Kuznetsian national income framework.

Quantitative economic history has made notable progress in Italy in recent decades, beginning with the national income study of the Istituto Centrale di Statistica (ISTAT) in 1957, which covered the period from 1861 to 1954. The ISTAT estimates of national product and related measures were revised by Giorgio Fuà and coworkers at Perugia in the late 1960s and 1970s as part of a comparative international income study on the growth of industrial economies sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. Refinements of those estimates are still in progress.

Toniolo has analyzed Italian national income data in aggregate and sectoral terms to describe the performance of the Italian economy as a whole and to provide a unifying basis for the study of economic change. The

study has the advantages and disadvantages of a national accounting approach. Gross national product is a comprehensive measure and susceptible to disaggregation by sector. The corresponding disadvantage is that the statistical data are not always available. The reader will find much here about production, consumption, income distribution, and sectoral shifts (little about international trade) but less about technology, entrepreneurship, and industrial relations—"residual" sources of economic growth that are very difficult to translate into national accounting terms. The study then relegates some aspects of economic activity to the category of exogenous variables that remain outside the model.

It is nevertheless a valuable study, and there is much interesting information as one would expect from Toniolo on problems of regional dualism, the role of the state, the banks, agriculture, the problems of the south, and so forth. The period of fastest growth in Italy coincided with periods of expansion in the world economy. Italy's takeoff started with the "Third Kondratieff" about 1897. Italy, under Giovanni Giolitti, followed a Lewis model of capital accumulation where cheap labor fed economic growth by holding down wages and maintaining high rates of profit, investment, and expansion. "Between 1897 and 1907 *per capita* output in manufacturing industry grew at an annual rate of 2.9%, real wages increased by 2.2%, and Italy's terms of trade were moving in a favorable direction and profits rose faster than wages" (p. 164).

The role of migration in Italian industrialization is largely neutral in Toniolo's view. Yet there are historical cases where mass migration has contributed to economic growth. By eliminating surplus labor, migration can stimulate the economy, lead to increasing returns through more efficient use of resources, and encourage the substitution of machines for men. Southern Italy could have enjoyed higher rates of economic growth, while Italian migrants from the south contributed to growth in North and South America.

The study then has considerable merit. Toniolo gives proper weight to social and political factors, which play an important role in Italy's economic growth. He emphasizes internal factors as causative agents in growth but adds little to what is known about international aspects. For a country like Italy with a large foreign trade sector, this is an unfortunate omission.

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GIAN CARLO JOCTEAU. *L'armonia perturbata: Classi dirigenti e percezione degli scioperi nell'Italia liberale*. (Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna, number 962.) Rome: Laterza. 1989. Pp. xi, 255. L. 35,000.

In this volume, subtitled "The Directing Classes' Perception of Strikes in Liberal Italy," Gian Carlo Jockey

examines the parliamentary debates, investigations, and reform projects that focus on these labor disputes. Jocteau provides a broad definition for the term "directing classes," encompassing therein the political elite, intellectuals, and journalists as well as sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie and established agrarian elements. He seeks to gauge the directing classes' perception of social issues by analyzing their reaction toward the outbreak of strikes. Consequently, this book is not a history of strike activity in Italy but an analysis of the theoretical and practical solutions proposed to cope with the labor unrest.

Basing his study on a wide variety of primary source materials and a thorough examination of secondary works, Jocteau traces the reaction of the directing classes from the first strikes following unification through the parliamentary inquiry of 1878 and the crises of the 1880s and 1890s to the new course of the ministry of Giuseppe Zanardelli and Giovanni Giolitti. A number of chapters provide a chronological treatment of events. Others are organized thematically, stressing the response in Italy within the context of developments elsewhere, particularly England, France, and Germany. Another chapter centers on the solutions proposed by the industrial leagues formed by the factory owners who opposed the workers' unions.

In assessing the attitude of the directing classes toward labor organizations and the strikes they promoted, Jocteau observes a certain ambiguity within the liberal-conservative camp, which eventually approved of certain rights in principle (for example, the right of workers to organize and strike) but was not prepared to accept the consequences. The same contradictory course was noted by Roberto Chiarini in his historiographical essay, "The Italian Crisis of 1898: Recent Literature" (*Politico* 47 [1982]). In Jocteau's study the confusion is compounded by his determination to fit several groups with diverse interests, attitudes, and agendas into the broad category of directing classes. It is quite clear that those groups differed substantially in their approach to the problems unleashed by the labor agitation and strikes.

The inspiration for the directing classes' opposition to labor unrest varied. Jocteau rightly observes that members of the landed classes of rural Italy, with their notion of direct personal relations between proprietor and peasant, were hostile to the interjection of any intermediary and vehemently opposed the workers' unions. Their opposition to the unions was paralleled by a disdain for industrial society as a whole as they looked backward rather than forward. Their aristocratic notion of labor relations influenced men such as Sidney Constantio Sonnino, Antonio Starabba Rudini, and Antonio Paternò San Giuliano, who longed to recapture a world that was largely lost and invoked the state to preserve traditional rights and relations. That notion, however, did not represent the interests of the new industrial bourgeoisie, who championed

freedom and opposed the unions in the name of liberty.

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MAURIZIO GRIBAUDI. *Itinéraires ouvriers: Espaces et groupes sociaux à Turin au début du XX^e siècle*. (Recherches d'histoire et de sciences sociales, number 28.) Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. 1987. Pp. 264. 140 fr.

In this complex, subtle, and lucid study, Maurizio Gribaudi takes multiple approaches to an analysis of the working class of industrial Turin. Extraordinary Italian sources enable the author to reconstruct and analyze family and individual itineraries of northern Italian villagers and working-class city residents, reconstructing the routes of those who joined, traversed, and abandoned the urban working class. Gribaudi draws on village and urban censuses from the 1881–1961 period, Italian population registers (including family and individual records of changes in civil status and family composition, immigration and emigration, moves from house to house, and changes in profession), and oral histories of interwar Turin workers from the Borgo San Paolo (a politically conscious working-class neighborhood on the edge of town). This is a book informed by the work of Anglo-American historians and social scientists (48 percent of the bibliographical entries are in English). Gribaudi punctuates the volume with compelling family histories and moving testimony from his interviewees, which adds charm and warmth to this clear and profound study.

The book opens with families from the village of Valdoria near Turin. Gribaudi found a variety of migration itineraries, all of which embodied strategies to ameliorate poverty. The core of the study traces the urban lives of three generations of Valdorians and a control group of Turin workers (90 percent of whom were immigrants). Gribaudi shows the families and individuals engaged in a "cycle of integration" (p. 61) marked by professional and spatial mobility; he finds an astounding degree of turnover in the Turin working class and of mobility out of the working class into white-collar employment. Most urban workers were new to the working class, which was fed by wave after wave of immigrants.

Gribaudi identifies three influences on the professional cycle of integration. Families could aid, if they were small (children in small families were able to obtain training), marriage was late (which allowed time and resources for further training), and there were successful relatives to provide inspiring models. Neighborhood influenced choice of work (unlike the heterogeneous old town, the Borgo San Paolo produced primarily worker children). Finally, economic crises affected mobility, making it more difficult for those who entered the labor force in the hard years of

1915–21 than for their siblings and offspring in the later 1920s and 1930s.

In the 1920s, the Borgo San Paolo was integrated by networks of kin, neighborhood, and work, reinforced by exchanges of goods and services. The multiple hierarchies of the neighborhood operated in a common language of equality and socialist ideology. Despite considerable poverty, the Borgo San Paolo provided for its people an improved standard of living and a homogeneous, if somewhat oppressive, culture. Why, then, did this unity dissolve for the cohort of young men who shared their adolescence there? Gribaudi points to the fundamental discord between the neighborhood ideology of equality and the individual and family aspirations embedded in each one's cycle of integration. In addition, social services obviated the intense interdependence among neighbors, and the triumph of fascism silenced social and political discourse. Gribaudi attributes the popular response to fascism to the generational differences exacerbated by different degrees of integration. He contends that the vision of a unitary class denies the complexity of occupational turnover or an understanding of individual and family itineraries. Gribaudi's assertions about class identity may be the most controversial portions of the study. Yet he has created a model for interpreting cohesions and divisions among workers, which has fascinating implications beyond the borders of Italy.

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JAMES WALSTON. *The Mafia and Clientelism: Roads to Rome in Post-War Calabria*. New York: Routledge. 1988. Pp. xxi, 265. \$67.50.

Although the political historian James Walston has done most of his academic work at Cambridge University, he has spent much of his working life in Italy, dividing his time between Rome and Calabria, a region he has come to know as well as any English-speaking scholar. In this book Walston not only explores the role played by clientelism in southern Italy but also proposes insights that may be transferable to other similar societies. Walston's Calabria is the "toe" of that famous Italian boot, economically and socially less developed than most other parts of Italy. This mountainous, chronically poor region is made up of three eternally feuding provinces (Reggio di Calabria, Catanzaro, and Cosenza). Since the end of World War II, political power in Calabria has been uneasily divided between the Socialist party and the Christian Democratic party.

As a concept within the social sciences, clientelism is most often studied by cultural anthropologists looking at very traditional societies. Walston demonstrates that clientelism does not vanish as a society modernizes but is transformed into behavioral patterns that have not always been clearly identified either by political historians or by cultural anthropologists. This transforma-

tion is, perhaps, most visible in societies such as Calabria, which may serve as a paradigm for other poorer, less developed, more backward appendages to successfully modernizing societies.

Having established his frame of reference, the author notes the rivalries between Christian Democratic and Socialist party establishments, demonstrating that clientelism is an important mechanism (albeit not the only one) for creating consensus in an fragmented ideological environment. Furthermore, he shows how clientelism acts as a crucial instrument for regulating the distribution of resources and for limiting the potentially dangerous animosities among competing provincial capitals such as Reggio di Calabria and Cosenza.

Walston is perhaps at his most fascinating when talking about that specific form of lawlessly clientelistic behavior popularly known as *la mafia*. Sagely avoiding *Godfather* interpretations of Italian criminality, the author reminds us that the "Mafia" (in the sense of a hierarchically structured and unified criminal organization) does not actually exist. As a system of social control or "clientelism taken to its violent extreme" (p. 85), however, a mafia certainly does exist, and Walston quotes the popular southern Italian cynicism, "everything is mafia; nothing is mafia" (p. 231).

While showing that Calabria is more clientelistic and less ideological than we might have imagined, Walston has had the wisdom not to attribute too much to this one form of social organization. He notes, for example, that, as far as anyone can tell, most southern Italians vote "as a result of a generalized belief in certain ideas rather than in the hope of personal gain" (p. 232).

What contributes to the success of this book is Walston's unusual mastery of three normally separate fields of scholarship. Having worked through a large and difficult body of anthropological literature on clientelism, Walston has also shown himself to be entirely comfortable with postwar Italian history, able to tie together national-level politics and little-known elements of Calabrian political life. As a political scientist, the author also understands the technical aspects of Italy's complex proportional representation system of voting and illuminates previously unexplored relationships between clientelism and Italy's idiosyncratic use of the preference vote.

This book has the twin virtues of being both an important contribution to scholarship and a highly readable trip through life, politics, and history in southern Italy. The source material is fresh, varied, and enterprising. In addition to the usual archival and scholarly sources, Walston has conducted a remarkable series of interviews, ranging from Communist party officials to imprisoned *mafiosi*, demonstrating in the process that there are some kinds of research that cannot be conducted with the interlibrary loan system.

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LUCIA CHIAVOLA BIRNBAUM. *Liberazione della donna: Feminism in Italy*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1986. Pp. xiv, 353. \$25.95.

With the publication of this work by Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum, English-speaking readers finally have the opportunity to understand and appreciate the complex theory and practice of contemporary Italian feminism. With extensive documentation and passionate argumentation, Birnbaum lays to rest the widespread American misperception that Italy is too backward, Latin, *macho*, and religious to support an indigenous women's movement. She shows how both Marxism and Catholicism, the pillars of modern Italian intellectual and political culture, have contributed to the establishment and evolution of various branches of feminism since 1968. The major strength of her book is its equal treatment of Catholicism and Marxism, tracing the origins of women's critique of Italian society not only to the influence of Antonio Gramsci and the New Left but also to Vatican Council II and the revival of Franciscan theology.

The diverse and often-local nature of feminist groups in contemporary Italy has reflected their theoretical emphasis on "differences" (p. 235), the notion that equality between men and women, or among women, must not erase individuality or a multiplicity of perspectives. The most significant split within the women's movement has been that between political feminists and neofeminists, the latter roughly corresponding to American cultural feminists. Political feminists have clustered in the national *Unione Donne Italiane* (UDI), an organization founded in 1944 to improve the status of women through legislative change. Linked to the parties of the Left, the UDI has historically been a large, centralized organization working in a sophisticated manner within Italy's political system. Neofeminists, who began to organize in 1968, have preferred membership in small, sometimes single-issue collectives that have resisted national coordination, dependence on the political parties, or cooperation with the legislative process. Despite such tensions within feminist ranks, the Italian government has adopted some of the most progressive legislation for women in Europe including the protection of working mothers (1971), a national plan for nursery schools (1971), equal rights in the family (1975), equal wages with men (1977), and, for the first time in Italian history, the rights of divorce (1970) and abortion (1978). When the laws regarding divorce and abortion were challenged in referenda, in 1974 and 1981 respectively, the public overwhelmingly defeated repeal. The current campaign to reform the law of rape has witnessed an unprecedented cooperation between political feminists and neofeminists, facilitated by the decentralization of the UDI and its detachment from the Italian Communist party in 1982.

Birnbaum falters only when she overgeneralizes and portrays Italian feminism—or even Italian women—as chronologically or geographically all of one piece. Her opening chapters on the historical background to 1968,

for example, trace a straight line from prehistoric earth goddesses to late nineteenth-century female socialists without mentioning the rich and innovative research on Roman or Renaissance women. That reductive approach allows her to portray contemporary Italian feminism as embodying timeless truths rather than as being historically constructed. Similarly, she focuses on Sicilian women as an "evocative metaphor" (p. xvi) for all Italian women in a manner that flattens the diversity of women in a nation marked by cleavages between the north and south, city and country, and rich and poor. In that respect, Judith Adler Hellman's *Journeys among Women: Feminism in Five Italian Cities* (1987) is more successful in placing the various feminist organizations of Italy in their differing political, social, and cultural contexts. Overall, however, Birnbaum provides an excellent and informative account of contemporary Italian feminism. Her book is enriched by a useful chronological table, a compendium of feminist organizations and journals, and a bibliographical essay in the appendixes.

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M. J. RODRIGUEZ-SALGADO. *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551–1559*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 375. \$49.50.

M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado's book about the transfer of power from Charles V to his son Philip II is the sort of exquisitely detailed study we have come to expect of "Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History." The outlines of that transfer have been known, but many of the complexities have remained obscure, particularly the active part played by Philip before Charles's abdication in 1555–56. Generally, studies of Charles end in undue haste after his flight from Innsbruck, whereas, in studies of Philip, Charles seems to dominate the scene until his death in 1558. Using extensive and often little known archival material, Rodríguez-Salgado provides a wealth of fresh detail. Her bibliography reveals her familiarity with the pertinent literature in English, Spanish, French, and Italian. She appears to be less familiar with works in German.

Rodríguez-Salgado is concerned with the maintenance of Habsburg authority, the financing of war, and the decision by Philip in 1559 to leave the Netherlands for Spain. Philip's growth in statecraft and his sense of obligation form a leitmotif through the dense text and seem to command her chief sympathies. Not always the dutiful son, Philip often differed with Charles acrimoniously. He was aware of the emperor's deteriorating health and faculties. While regent of Spain, Philip often viewed matters from the perspective of his Castilian advisers. He was, moreover, determined to establish his own credibility, particularly in Italy, which he

feared that Charles, from the vantage of the Netherlands, did not give due attention. Disagreements between Philip and Charles, which they could not entirely conceal, affected policy, especially financial policy, and figured in Charles's decision in 1555 to abdicate. When Philip ruled from the Netherlands, he discovered his sister Juana, his regent in Spain, to be as stubborn as he had been in the same office. He then tried to enlist Charles, who had retired to Yuste, on his side as interminable wars appeared to threaten the integrity of his inheritance.

Rodríguez-Salgado's portraits of those around Philip are thoughtfully drawn but remain debatable, and her use of sources from interested parties often leads to perspectives of events or decisions that could be regarded differently. She compares the retired Charles to King Lear, and she sees the duke of Alba too often through the eyes of his rivals. Ruy Gómez de Silva escapes close scrutiny, as usual.

Because of the complexity of issues, the book resembles Fernand Braudel's *Méditerranée* (1966), particularly part 3, as it unfolds like an intricate jigsaw puzzle within its general chronological framework. The play of personality is vivid, and events often flow at a breakneck pace that few can fully follow. Rodríguez-Salgado chose that pace to give a sense of how bewildering developments appeared to the contemporary actors.

The author pays considerable attention to Philip's financing of the interminable wars. "War," she quotes from one document, "is made up of three elements: money, more money, and even more money" (p. 223). She provides detailed figures of the sums involved and describes how they were obtained through taxes and subsidies, wholesale borrowing, forced loans, and virtual confiscations. Fiscal policy proved a matter of unrelenting tension between the government and the governed, raised fears for the stability of regimes, and forced rulers into disagreeable compromises. By late 1558, Philip II and Henri II of France, however desirous of further strategic or dynastic gain, knew they had to make peace. Their fiscal concerns were matched by their fear of the spread of heresy. Despite complications caused by the death of Mary Tudor and the succession of Elizabeth, peace was made in 1559 at Chateau Cambrésis.

Yet Philip failed to make peace with the Turks and soon risked war again. It was not for war but to find the money to save the Netherlands that Philip returned to Spain. Rodríguez-Salgado promises to pursue his policies from 1559 to 1566 in her next book.

PETER PIERSON
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D. PRODAN. *Iobăgia în Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea* [Serfdom in Transylvania in the Seventeenth Century]. Volume 1, *Supușii* [Subjects]; volume 2, *Stăpînii: Economia Domenială* [Masters: The Domanial Economy]. Bu-

charest: Științifică și Enciclopedică. 1986. Pp. 581; 527. 55 L; 53 L.

Agrarian relations in Transylvania have preoccupied D. Prodan for a half-century. Beginning in 1938 with a monograph on the peasant uprising led by Horea in the counties of Cluj and Turda in 1784–85, Prodan has produced fundamental works on Horea's uprising (2 vols., 1984) and on serfdom in Transylvania in the sixteenth century (3 vols., 1967–68) and has edited the *urbaria* of the district of Făgăraș in the seventeenth century (2 vols., 1970–76). The present work, which extends his analysis of serfdom into the seventeenth century, is characterized by the same reliance on first-hand sources and the same judiciousness in evaluating them found in his earlier works.

Prodan treats the estate as continuously subject to change throughout the century. Some estates expanded, others contracted, and some even disappeared, while others were formed anew. But the feature common to all was their gradual transformation into large, complex economic units. Prodan shows how these estates largely freed themselves from state control and, in effect, became states within the state, governed increasingly by private rather than public law. Equally important were changes in the internal organization of the estate. Particularly striking is the growth of allodial land, which was exploited directly by the master of the estate. Appearing only occasionally in the sixteenth century, the allod became general and massive in the seventeenth. Prodan also notes other signs of change—the use of some hired workers in small industrial enterprises, which suggests a modest step away from dependence on servile labor, and the efforts to accumulate surpluses for sale—but, he insists, the estate was by no means becoming a commercial enterprise. It continued to rely on serfs as its primary source of labor, and it was not engaged in producing goods for distant markets. Autarky, he suggests, best characterizes the estate in the seventeenth century, for estate masters tried to produce everything the inhabitants needed and reduce purchases from the outside to the bare minimum.

Of great importance in judging the nature of the estate is Prodan's analysis of the almost infinite variety of social categories living on it, from nobles and freemen to dependent peasants. None of these broad strata were themselves homogeneous, and movement up and down the social scale was not uncommon. But the serf, or *iobag*, who was bound to the landlord and to the land, constituted the bulk of the population, and it is with the serf's labor services and the myriad payments in money and goods owed to the landlord that Prodan is mainly concerned. He introduces into the narrative an enormous quantity of facts and figures taken from estate records, published and unpublished, all of which suggest how difficult it is to generalize about the condition of the serfs. The variations of their obligations from estate to estate and within each estate or from individual to individual in the same village are

striking and may be attributed in the first instance to the predominance of private law. Indicative of the economic direction taken by the estate in the seventeenth century are the changes in the relative importance of money payments and tithes, on the one hand, and of labor services, on the other. Money payments and tithes remained approximately the same or even declined slightly, but the demand for servile labor increased steadily. It rose from one day per week in the early sixteenth century to two, three, and four days per week in the seventeenth. As Prodan points out, the amount of labor the master of an estate could require was, in fact, unlimited, for it had to be performed whenever he called for it. Occasional instances when serfs substituted money payments for labor services did not represent the beginnings of a transition to a money economy or to the generalized use of wage labor but simply meant that landlords had a need for money at certain times or that some lands, especially in hilly districts, were not very productive. Thus, by the end of the century, Prodan concludes, serfdom in Transylvania had become one of the most burdensome known anywhere in Europe and had come to be considered unchangeable.

These two volumes constitute the most comprehensive investigation of serfdom in seventeenth-century Transylvania to date. Scholars concerned with the evolution of the institution in Eastern Europe as a whole now have an indispensable source for comparative studies.

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WOLODYMYR KOSYK. *L'Allemagne national-socialiste et L'Ukraine*. Paris: Publications de l'Est Européen. 1986. Pp. 665.

In June 1941, when the armies of the Third Reich invaded the Soviet Union, Adolf Hitler ostensibly found willing allies in the Ukrainians, whose leadership had been traditionally pro-German and whose population seemed ready to welcome any force (in this case the Wehrmacht) that promised to liberate them from hated Communist rule. This is the basic theme that has dominated Western understanding of the role of Ukrainians on the eve of and during World War II ever since the writings of Alexander Dallin, Alan Bullock, and Gerhard Reitlinger.

In his extensive and detailed monograph based primarily on archival materials in West Germany (Koblenz, Freiburg, Munich, and Bonn) and on published documents of German, Ukrainian, and other provenances, Wolodymyr Kosyk sets out to answer the following questions. What were Germany's plans for Eastern Europe and especially for the Ukraine? How were those plans implemented? And how did the Ukrainian nationalist movement react to the German domination of their homeland?

Actually, such questions were previously addressed, although in some cases not with as much documented evidence, in English-language books by Ihor Kamenetsky (1956) and John Armstrong (1963) and in a Polish monograph by Ryszard Torzecki (1972). And the basic answers in all cases were rather similar: that prewar Ukrainian nationalist leaders were in contact with but hardly enamored of the German variety of fascism; that following the German invasion of 1941 the nationalist leadership acted from the outset independent of and often in contradiction to German policy; and that brutal German policies in the Ukraine led to spontaneous and eventually to organized Ukrainian nationalist military movements (most especially the Ukrainian Insurgent Army [UPA]) that fought against both the Wehrmacht and the Red Army, in the case of the Red Army until as late as 1950. The greatest virtue of Kosyk's book is that he brings this more accurate version of events to a French readership. Of particular value in this regard is an appendix (pp. 482–623) with 192, albeit edited, documents mostly of German origin, translated into French.

Like his predecessors, Kosyk largely focuses on the ideology and administration of the Nazi regime and on the attitudes and response to it by Ukrainian nationalists. Ukrainian nationalists, however, are misleadingly equated with Ukrainian society as a whole. To quote one example: "Ukrainians," writes Kosyk, "considered Soviet Russia, which was the incarnation of Bolshevism, as their principal and hereditary enemy." Although this may have been true among supporters of the nationalist movement and among many segments of the population in the western Ukraine (Poland's Galicia) and in those areas in the prewar Soviet Ukraine that suffered under the harsh famine of the early 1930s, sweeping assertions such as that above tend to obfuscate rather than illuminate the actual diversity of a Ukrainian society that was certainly not entirely made up of nationalist sympathizers.

Now that we have proper correctives in several languages to the simplistic collaborationist view of the Ukraine during World War II, it is time for researchers in the West (and perhaps under the impact of *glasnost* in the East as well?) to attempt analyses that will provide better insight into the whole of Ukrainian life during the war by discussing those elements who collaborated (and there were some) with the Germans, those who were opposed to the Nazis but who favored neither the nationalist nor the Soviet approach, and those who remained loyal to and fought for what they considered their Soviet Ukrainian homeland.

PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI
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JOSEPH ROTHSCHILD. *Return to Diversity: A Political History of Eastern Europe since World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 257. \$24.95.

This work is the attempt of a political scientist to reduce the history of East Central Europe between 1938 and 1980 to a compact and insightful synthesis. On the whole the effort is a successful one, as perhaps the reader can best grasp if presented with a summary of Joseph Rothschild's analysis of the basic relationship between Germany, Russia, and East Central Europe in those years.

The Versailles settlement left the states of East Central Europe militarily helpless, in Rothschild's view. France's construction of the Maginot Line was a public confession that these countries, sandwiched between the two great powers, could not be defended by the West. A mere twenty years later defeated Germany reasserted an economic domination over East Central Europe that was "more categorical" (p. 23) than it had been in 1913. By 1939, moreover, the Germans had organized the whole area as an essential element of their autarkic *Grossraumwirtschaft*, a change that the affected peoples viewed positively because German purchases of foodstuffs brought their technologically medieval agriculture out of its depression while the Reich itself provided surplus laborers with employment as *Gastarbeiter*. Full employment and high wages helped make the Bohemian Protectorate, for example, one of the most quiescent and productive parts of German-occupied Europe. The new prosperity also helps explain the strength of the Iron Guard in Romania and the bitterness with which the Hungarian army fought alongside the Wehrmacht during the final withdrawal into Austria. Even Prince Regent Paul may have been right in accepting Adolf Hitler's generous offer of territorial integrity in exchange for Yugoslav adhesion to the Tripartite Pact, a bargain that, to be sure, the Serbian air force promptly trashed.

The failure of *Grossraumwirtschaft* lay in the inability of the Nazis to recognize the moral value of national sovereignty to the peoples of East Central Europe. If Hitler had offered them a dignified status within his hegemonic framework, he might have averted their resistance movements and even shaped them into a rampart against the USSR.

Soviet Russian military security after 1945 did not, moreover, in and of itself, require the imposition of Communist regimes on these peoples. Yet, in the Russian view, not only did the Reich have to be broken up but, given the traditional attitude of the in-between peoples toward Russia, Soviet-friendly governments had to be imposed. This imposition required methods so harsh and so transparently dictated by Moscow that the anger of the West was provoked and the appeal of communism everywhere in Europe blunted. The "stagnant living standards, glaring social inequities, hideous environmental pollution, and continuing, Soviet-mandated political and structural inflexibility" (p. 219) fed the anticommunism of the satellite populations, compromised the military utility of Poland, and reduced the Soviet party to paramountcy among the ruling parties of East Central Europe. Like most of his colleagues, however, Rothschild did not conceive that

these same domestic failures were meantime bringing the Soviet metropole itself to the semi-chaos of a system breakdown, an outcome that has now triggered the collapse of the Polish, East German, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian regimes and left the future of the Romanian, Bulgarian, and Albanian in doubt.

Not everyone will agree with all of the analyses in this remarkable book, but every reader will find them worth considering.

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EMERITUS
Wayne State University

A. N. GROBOVSKII. *Ivan Groznyi i Sil'vestr (Istoriia odnogo mifa)* [Ivan the Terrible and Sil'vestr: The History of a Myth]. Translated from English by IZRAIL' RABINOVICH and IRINA RABINOVICH. London: Multilingual Printing Services. 1987. Pp. vi, 206.

A. N. Grobovskii's original and autonomous scholarship deserves far more attention than it seems to have received. His first book, *The "Chosen Council" of Ivan IV: A Reinterpretation* (1969), was more than a reinterpretation; it showed, on the basis of determined skeptical analysis of the contemporaneous sources, that it is impossible to establish the existence or the composition of any body that might fit the description of the "Chosen Council" mentioned only in Andrei Kurbskii's *History*. Later works by others have supported Grobovskii's conclusion and have explained why he was right: Kurbskii was illiterate (Inge Auerbach, *Andrej Michajlovič Kurbskij: Leben in osteuropäischen Adelsgesellschaften des 16. Jahrhunderts* [1985]), and the term "izbrannaia rada" appears only in the late, "full" version of the *History*, around 1675 (E. L. Keenan, "Putting Kurbskij in His Place," *Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte*, 24 [1978]: 148-49). But it should be remembered that Grobovskii was the first to declare that this particular king's council had no clothes on—and that the *American Historical Review*, in David B. Miller's review (vol. 76 [1971]: 166), was the only journal to note the fact.

The present work resembles the first in theme and method. Here Grobovskii explores what he calls a "labyrinth, inhabited by a crowd of historiographical phantoms, each of whom is called Sil'vestr" (p. vi).

Grobovskii shows quite convincingly (at times, perhaps, repetitively) that most scholars' treatments of the role of Sil'vestr are ludicrously illogical and that the commonly accepted image of the deacon of the Church of the Annunciation as a close and influential confidant of Ivan IV derives primarily from speculations by Nikolai Karamzin, who was unduly influenced by questionable sources.

Grobovskii speaks of "three Sil'vestrs": the Sil'vestr of the 1550s, about whom "we know almost nothing"; the Sil'vestr who is "an evil wizard, intriguer, traitor, . . . who lords it over . . . boyars, the metropolitan and the tsar himself," about whom we have "significantly

more information"; and the third, "holy" Sil'vestr (p. 108). He points out, quite rightly, that the most explicit description of Sil'vestr as mighty *éminence grise* is to be found in the *Piskarevskii letopisets*, a mid-seventeenth-century compilation (p. 144). He then concludes that "[t]he only sixteenth-century sources that characterize Adashev and Sil'vestr [in similar fashion] . . . are: Ivan the Terrible's letters to Prince Kurbskii, the *addenda* to the *Tsarstvannaia kniga*, made by Ivan, and Kurbskii's narrative, which . . . is nothing but a paraphrase and mirror image of Groznyi's hyperbole" (p. 147).

In the end, Grobovskii demolishes all familiar representations of Sil'vestr. One has to agree with him that "our knowledge about Sil'vestr consists, basically, of an extensive web of tautologies" (p. 31) and that "[t]he search for the all-powerful Sil'vestr of the 1550s is . . . an entertaining, but useless activity" (p. 148). Such a conclusion should have the salubrious effect of stimulating a reconsideration of much (preferably all) of what one thinks about the time of Ivan IV.

But it may not, for several reasons. It will be easy for mainstream specialists to find fault with this quirky volume and to ignore its significance. Grobovskii devotes himself almost entirely to criticism of his predecessors and provides little positive guidance as to how one should go about producing a new picture of Sil'vestr to replace the one he has discredited. The book's unrelentingly polemic tone and structure and Grobovskii's occasionally derisory comments may offend some readers' sensibilities.

Specialists will find it particularly unfortunate that no effort seems to have been made to take into account the considerable scholarly literature that accumulated in the sixteen years that elapsed between the completion of the text and the publication of this translation. It would appear, among other things, that Grobovskii might find corroboration of his doubts and suspicions, as well as confirmation of his low opinion of the general run of scholarship, in the voluminous literature that has recently been devoted to the Kurbskii and Groznyi texts.

There was a time when Grobovskii's work was characterized as *vrednyi* (dangerous). Nothing could be further from the truth. What is harmful is to parrot Karamzinian fantasies as embroidered by latter-day glossators while ignoring the logical and factual flaws that Grobovskii points out so derisively. Anyone who wants to make sense of the time of Ivan IV should read this book at an early stage of his or her explorations.

EDWARD L. KEENAN
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E. I. KOLYCHEVA. *Agrarnyi stroi Rossii XVI veka* [Russia's Agrarian System in the Sixteenth Century]. Moscow: Nauka. 1987. Pp. 228. 4 r. 20 k.

Author of a well-received book on late medieval Russian slavery (1971), E. I. Kolycheva here turns her

attention to the economic and political aspects of agriculture in sixteenth-century Muscovy, a subject that, like her first book, grew out of the work of her teacher, A. A. Zimin. To be sure, Kolycheva does not attempt to survey all of the monetary and trade aspects of agricultural policy, nor does she divert the reader's gaze far from the central regions. In four unequal chapters, Kolycheva examines the development of governmental land inventories and the units by which land was measured, the evolution of land rents, state relations with the church and their impact on clerical landholding, and the economic crisis from the 1570s to the 1590s.

It is unfortunate that the book begins with a tedious but scrupulous examination of the process by which *soshnoe pis'mo* came to prevail in governmental inventories and the impact on land rents. Only the most interested of students will read these two chapters in which Kolycheva cites local inventories at length. The conclusion, however, is important. Kolycheva observes that by mid-century, when the new system was fully in place, on seignorial estates the government claimed control not only over plowland but also over forests, hayfields, and other property previously omitted in cadastral surveys; henceforth, claims the author, public law displaced customary law, bringing state power closer to every citizen of sixteenth-century Russia. There then followed a significant and steady growth of obligations for peasants, whether they tilled crown lands or private estates.

During the Livonian War, government imposts waxed sharply while payments to landlords tailed off. Kolycheva observes the cruel irony of rising government taxes at exactly the moment when devastating epidemics and harvest failures afflicted Muscovy. According to the author's figures, by the mid-1570s depopulated service lands reached 98 percent of the total; the service land economy "as a system ceased to exist" (p. 183). Monastic and secular lands also suffered. Arrears grew accordingly, and landlords, little interested in financing growing governmental appetites, resorted to providing peasants with "hired" lands, which were immune to governmental taxation. By the author's calculations, the crisis deepened well into the 1590s, leading to empty villages and overgrown plowland in much of central Russia. In turn, the depression sharply reduced state incomes and also revealed the bankruptcy of the government's taxation policy, delaying the recovery of agriculture and thereby contributing to the Time of Troubles.

The author devotes special attention to the granting of immunity charters to private landholders, one aspect of government policy much debated in the literature. Kolycheva subscribes to the conventional view that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the government allied itself with Joseph of Volok and the "possessors." With the increase in state power during the century, however, that alliance had increasingly less to offer the crown. Consequently, Kolycheva finds that over time the government first restricted the growth of church

landholding (not very successfully) and then abolished (no later than 1581) its immunity grants to churchmen altogether. In tracing the path the state took to this end, the author examines in detail many of the basic texts on which the traditional argument has depended. Not infrequently, she contradicts S. M. Kashtanov, whose book (*Finansy srednevekovoi Rusi* [1988]) addresses many of the same questions. But, because the conclusions often depend on inferences from the surviving sources rather than explicit governmental fiat, the argument will undoubtedly continue.

In short, Kolycheva's work is an important book that, by taking the reader beyond the standard political history of the sixteenth century, enlarges our vision of the bases of early modern Russian history. To reach these insights, however, the reader will have to plow through a text deprived of the organizational elegance that characterized the author's earlier book.

DANIEL H. KAISER
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L. V. MILOV *et al.* *Tendentsii agrarnogo razvitiia Rossi pervoi poloviny XVII stoletia: Istoriografiia, komp'iuter i metody issledovaniia* [The Tendencies of Russian Agrarian Development in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century: Historiography, the Computer, and Methods of Research]. Moscow: Moscow University. 1986. Pp. 303. 3 r. 40 k.

This book, set in type on a typewriter with a ragged right margin and published in thirteen hundred copies on very poor quality paper, consists of four parts. The first part discusses in great detail the historiography of the Russian land cadastres from the 1620s to the 1640s. The second and longest section studies the cadastres as sources, and the third part describes the archival inventory of surviving cadastres from nineteen provinces. The last part is a competent textbook on computer methodology with explanations of statistics ranging from the coefficient of variance to multivariate and cluster analysis. (A good translation aid for the statistical text is M. M. Glushko's *Russko-angliiskii matematicheskii slovar'-minimum* [1988].) Explanations of the statistics are based on data (grouped into sixteen variables) generated from two small cadastres of the Likhvin and Vorotynsk districts. The eighteen tables and three figures are almost all in "computerese," and there are numerous equations in the book as well. The conclusion, however, is in Russian.

At first glance, the book appears to be a detailed study of those cadastres, which the authors try to prove are a reliable source. In the period following the catastrophic Time of Troubles at the beginning of the century, the tax system changed from one based on landed area to inhabited landed area or the household. The process of transition led to variants in the documents themselves, which the authors examine in great detail. The authors also devote much space to clarifying seventeenth-century terminology on such things as

fallow, waste, overgrowth, plowed forest land, and the workings of the three-field system.

From the perspective of two exhaustive historiographic chapters tracing what is known about their topic, the authors conclude that their labor and statistical manipulations produced one major, new finding: in real life the hereditary estate (*votchina*), which was the property of its owner, was much different from the service landholding (*pomest'e*), owned by the state and loaned to cavalymen in exchange for military service. Perhaps my reaction to this "discovery" is harsh, but I do think that any Soviet historian capable of discerning the productivity differences between the peasant private plot (provision grounds) and the Soviet collective farm should have been led to expect major differences between the *votchina* and the *pomest'e*. One major difference was that *votchina* estates recovered rapidly after the Time of Troubles, whereas *pomest'e* landholdings remained depressed for decades. Should anyone be surprised that owners acted as rapidly as possible to restore their own estates, whereas those using state property were lackadaisical about it? A comparative glimpse at Soviet private apartments and public housing should have provided at least a parallel clue.

One can gain considerable information about various social institutions from the book. One such institution was the *bobyi*, which is usually rendered as "landless peasant" in the sense of a very poor agriculturalist but could also be a merchant or other privileged type. The institution of slavery is also visible, especially its contributions to estate economies. The major issue is what form of labor slaves performed on seignorial estates and whether they farmed personally. The authors notice a high correlation between the presence of land belonging to the lord and the presence of slaves, but this does not tell us whether or not the slaves actually farmed. In spite of what the authors intend to convey, the regression equations make it rather clear that slaves did little farming and, in fact, were maintained by the peasants. On the other hand, slaves apparently played a significant role in clearing land. Peasants made up most of the labor force, and the book touches on the level of their exploitation and the influence of that exploitation on the peasant economy.

Any conclusions reached are only tentative and for the purposes of illustration. The "N" of the tables is rarely given, but one assumes that it is small, 67 in some cases, perhaps as much as twice that in others. Fundamentally, the book is an unstated plea for the resources to do a full-scale analysis of all of the cadastres. Considering the state of the Soviet economy, one may have to wait for some time for any such study to materialize.

Western specialists often allege that Soviet historiography was one of the major sufferers from the Brezhnev era of stagnation, a time when relatively few historical works of even ephemeral interest were produced, when S. P. Trapeznikov controlled the enterprise from his position as head of the Communist party's Central Committee Section on Science and

Education. I cannot say that this volume disproves such conclusions. Although the technical and statistical virtuosity exhibited is admirable, the book's ideological blindness shows that the Soviet historical mind has a long way to go to match world standards.

RICHARD HELLIE
University of Chicago

A. P. KORELIN. *Sel'sk Khoziaistvennyi kredit v Rossii v kontse XIX—nachale XX v.* [Agricultural Credit in Russia in the End of the Nineteenth—Beginning of the Twentieth Century]. Moscow: Nauka. 1988. Pp. 259. 3 r.

Soviet economic historians have long heralded the arrival of capitalism in Russia as hastening the inevitable development of a socialist utopia. But, in spite of their enthusiasm for the dialectic, study of key instruments in this antithetical process—credit, finance, and banking—has been almost religiously avoided. Moreover, the few who have turned their attention to this problem, I. F. Gindin, A. P. Pogrebinskii, and now A. P. Korelin, reveal little theoretical understanding of the role of credit in modern society. Korelin shows no familiarity with any of the vast literature on the subject. Indeed, it is sad, if not lamentable, that all of his references to the role of finance credit in Western Europe come from studies that are over eighty years old.

Nevertheless, this turgidly written book is not without merit. Korelin systematically describes each of the institutions that provided agricultural credit between the reforms of the 1860s and the outbreak of World War I. The first two chapters concentrate on the major sources of large-scale, long-term mortgage money and short-term commercial credit. Here Korelin adds little to what is available from prerevolutionary monographs. But most of this study focuses on small credit institutions that lent to the peasantry—estate-based communal credit institutions, credit cooperatives, savings and loan associations, and local government (*zemstvo*) credit funds. Their stories and attempts to form national associations of small credit institutions pooling significant capital resources are important and not well known.

Although small credit institutions existed in Russia even in the pre-emancipation period, they were not of much import until after 1900. But, during the next decade and a half, they expanded considerably. By 1915 almost half of the rural population had benefited from the three billion rubles lent by over twenty thousand small credit institutions.

The wide availability of small-scale rural credit can have a tremendous impact on peasant life. It can facilitate the purchase of land and inventory, protect the peasantry from usurious moneylenders, make possible the implementation of new technologies, and, most important, stabilize commodity prices. Korelin is of the view that most of the money borrowed from small credit institutions in Russia went to buy or rent

land or to pay off existing debts. Little was directed to agricultural improvement or development. Although the data, by Korelin's own admission, are not very good, this conclusion makes sense.

Korelin's assessment of the economic impact of small-scale rural credit is much less satisfying. On the whole, he echoes the hackneyed Soviet view on the development of capitalism in Russia, an antiquated interpretation some one hundred years old and no longer worthy of serious consideration. He might have made a considerable contribution in assessing the effect of rural credit on seasonal commodity prices. Although he does assert that agricultural credit helped to stabilize prices over the course of the year, he does not feel inclined to present any evidence to support such a view. But this is a key issue. It is important to know if the wide availability of credit helped peasants avoid selling their produce immediately after the harvest when prices were usually low. Did rural credit institutions allow many small producers to withhold their crops from the market in exchange for paying a moderate interest rate? If so, short-term credit, even in small amounts and even if not directed toward agricultural improvement or investment in land, could have had a substantial impact on peasant well-being. Moreover, stable prices would have benefited even those peasants too poor to borrow. Korelin's failure to address this issue is a serious weakness. Still, he has unearthed a wealth of material that, if sifted by more skilled hands, holds much promise.

STEVEN L. HOCH
University of Iowa

GLYNN BARRATT. *Russia and the South Pacific, 1696–1840*. Volume 1, *The Russians and Australia*; volume 2, *Southern and Eastern Polynesia*. (Pacific Maritime Studies Series, numbers 5 and 7.) Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 338; xx, 302. \$39.95; \$39.95.

These are the first two of a projected four-volume study of Russian voyages to, and awareness of, the South Pacific, all published in the Pacific Maritime Studies Series of the University of British Columbia Press. Glynn Barratt, professor of Russian at Carleton University, is a leading authority on Russian activities in the Pacific before 1900. He has, in fact, already covered much of the same ground from the historical perspective in *Russia in Pacific Waters, 1715–1825: A Survey of the Origins of Russia's Naval Presence in the North and South Pacific* (1982). The focus of these new volumes is on the scientific information collected in Australia, Easter Island, and New Zealand; the others will continue the examination through central and western Polynesia. The result is a detailed analysis of the motivations and goals of the Russian naval visits and of their contributions to understanding about these places and their peoples in Russia and in the rest of the world.

The beginning date of the study, 1696, is a bit

misleading, because it signifies only the first awareness in Russia of the area. The real focus of both books is on the first quarter of the nineteenth century, after the establishment of the Russian America Company and the expansion of the Russian presence in North America. Most of these voyages to the South Pacific were the result of passing through the region on the way from the Baltic to Northwest America. The most important voyages were those of I. F. Kruzenshtern and Iu. F. Lisianskii (1803–06), L. A. Hagemeister (1807–09), V. M. Golovnin (1808–10), Otto Kotzebue (1815–17), and F. F. Bellingshausen and M. P. Lazarev (1819–21). That these visits were truly exploratory in nature was a result of the interest and direction of Alexander I and especially one of his leading ministers, Nikolai Rumiantsev. Barratt attributes their success to the leadership and navigational abilities and scientific interests of a group of Estonian Baltic-Germans (Kruzenshtern, Bellinghausen, Kotzebue, and Hagemeister) and ambitious Russian naval officers such as Lisianskii, Lazarev, Golovnin, and Aleksandr Avinov. British naval experience during the reign of Catherine the Great and in the Napoleonic Wars was important in conditioning members of both groups for extended voyages in distant waters. They were also fortunate to have a number of able scientific recorders and collectors, such as Tilesius von Tilenau, Johann Horner, Adelbert von Chamisso, and Ivan Simonov, with their expeditions. Nevertheless, it is still remarkable that so much Russian activity took place in this area at a time of such turmoil in Europe.

Barratt credits the decline of Russian contacts with the South Pacific after 1825 to members of the expeditions who were implicated in the liberal Decembrist movement (Konstantin Torson, Mikhail Kiukelbeker, Dmitri Zavalishin, and Fedor Vishnevskii). He might also have considered other factors: Russian Anglophobia, the Russian America Company's greater reliance on its own or American ships, and the focusing of Russian naval attention on the Amur region.

In the geographical concentration of the volumes, Barratt examines the historical information available in Russia at the time, describes the preparations for the voyages, illustrates the scientific information collected, and translates extracts of memoirs, letters, and journals written by the participants. The result is an exhaustive and thorough survey of the materials available on these voyages in both published and manuscript form. A particular strength of Barratt's work is his extensive use of Soviet primary materials from a variety of archives and ethnographic collections.

This organization leads, however, to considerable overlap and duplication, not only between the two volumes but within them. One wonders if some of this could have been avoided and the texts combined in a single volume. Variances in the spelling of names, especially those of Baltic Germans, can be confusing. And, although a major strength of the work is the bibliographic notes, the reader is not informed that Chamisso's valuable diary of Kotzebue's visit to Easter

Island is readily available in a recent English translation. A more serious flaw for publications about exploration is the absence of maps in the first volume and the inadequacy of those in the second. Despite these drawbacks, historians, ethnologists, archivists, and their students will long be in debt to the painstaking efforts of Barratt to record the Russian achievements in South Pacific exploration.

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LEOPOLD HAIMSON *et al.* *The Making of Three Russian Revolutionaries: Voices from the Menshevik Past.* New York: Cambridge University Press or Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. 1987. Pp. ix, 515. \$49.50.

Forty years ago Leopold Haimson started interviewing a group of émigré Mensheviks in the United States. Those interviews were the beginning of a long project on the history of Menshevism, and this book presents three biographies in interview form based on that project. Taken together they add up to a collective biography of Russian revolutionary intelligentsia. In his introduction, Haimson sketches the outline of Menshevik party history. Throughout, his interest is in reconstructing the frame of mind of these men and women. What did they think at various stages in their lives about the revolution, capitalism, socialism, the role of the party? Haimson has brilliantly analyzed the political psychology of these people and has explained their actions through their deep attachment to some basic concepts of their understanding of Marxism. The questions are consistently thoughtful, explicating the values of these people to the reader.

Part 1, which contains a series of interviews with Lydia Dan, is perhaps the most valuable section of the book. Dan, the sister of Iulii Martov and wife of Fedor Dan, worked closely with those two key leaders of the Russian Social Democrats (SDs). Her intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the SD party, especially of its early period when Martov worked with Lenin, is particularly valuable. We learn the decision-making mechanism of the editorial board of *Iskra*, the SD newspaper, and how agents of *Iskra* disseminated the paper in Russia. Some of these details are not available from any other sources. We see a picture of a party that was not really a party but a circle, a group of professional underground revolutionaries, bound to each other by friendship and family ties. The party was their entire life. They had no other political life in society other than through the party. This clannishness, this separateness of the party was, it seems, at the root of its privileged position in society when it came to power.

Even more important is that Haimson's questions led Lydia Dan to reconstruct the world view of Russian Marxists at the turn of the century. They were not interested in Russian history; they were preoccupied with atheism and the natural sciences but, most impor-

tant, with dreams of revolution. Revolution was everything for them, a supreme and distant goal. They did not value a democratic order in and of itself. They thought in categories of class struggle. Their schematic thinking is most astonishing. First, there would be a bourgeois democratic revolution and, then, a proletarian revolution. The first would usher in the rule of the bourgeoisie and the second the rule of the proletariat. They did not know or did not consider how exactly a bourgeois democratic order would function or how the proletariat would exercise its authority. One problem with Lydia Dan's reflections, however, is that it is unclear at some points whether those reflections represent her thoughts of the time or how she remembered those thoughts at the time of the interview.

The task of these professional revolutionaries was to organize the proletariat. What is most interesting, however, is that Lydia Dan admitted that she did not know much about workers' lives. In one instance her party task was to organize women weavers, but she had never seen a loom. In another instance she recalled that she did not know how to start a samovar. One is left with an impression that the revolutionary intelligentsia assumed the task of teaching the people what was best for them, not by asking them but by deriving guidance from a doctrine in which the intelligentsia believed.

A series of interviews with Boris Nicolaevsky presents a view of revolutionary activity from below, by a low-ranking Social Democrat. He recalled how the rank and file perceived the split between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks in 1903, what authority and influence the *Iskra* board had in a provincial city, and how the revolution of 1905 was played out in Samara. Nicolaevsky played a much more prominent role in the Menshevik party after 1917, but this period was not covered in the interviews. The main weakness in his recollections is that he was too certain about how he felt and what he thought in 1905. It seems that here, even more than in Lydia Dan's case, we deal with projections into the past rather than with a genuine attempt to reconstruct one's thoughts.

The third series of interviews, with George Denike, follows the same format as the other two. Haimson questioned Denike extensively on his formative years, revolutionary events in Kazan' in 1905, factional divisions between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Denike's study at Moscow University in 1910, the political outlook of students there, and many other revealing issues. It is difficult to choose facts and episodes that stand out because there are so many of them. Denike describes well his role as a party agitator in Kazan' in 1905. We see that a city party committee was essentially a self-recruiting and self-perpetuating organization.

Denike's interviews are the only ones that deal with the 1917 revolution. He recalled events from the viewpoint of a provincial Social Democrat from Kazan drawn ever more closely into party politics at the top. Perhaps the most valuable parts of Denike's recollections are personal characterizations of the leaders of the revolution—of I. G. Tsereteli, Fedor Dan, Martov,

M. I. Liber, and others—and numerous vivid descriptions of events in that fateful year. For example, he recalled how Liber addressed the Bolsheviks at the session of the Central Executive Committee saying, "Freedom! You will set up a regime of savage terror, and put all your opponents to jail" (p. 420). Haimson's persistent questioning draws out very well all of the illusions of the Mensheviks about the establishment of democratic order amid the chaos of 1917.

The scholarly apparatus of the book is superb. All persons mentioned are identified, and their short biographies are provided in annotations. The authors painstakingly explain key concepts and political terminology. This greatly enhances the value of the book for nonspecialists. Without these explanations it would be difficult to know, for example, that struggle with economists means struggle with certain kinds of Marxists. The book will be of interest to specialists and the reading public at large. It certainly is a remarkable contribution to literature on the Russian revolutionary movement.

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RICHARD STITES. *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 307. \$35.00.

This intriguing book will be read with profit not only by historians of Russia but also by anyone interested in utopian visions and utopian experiments. Richard Stites has cast his net widely to draw in a varied catch of science fiction writers, architects, efficiency experts, student communards, and Bolshevik leaders. By dissecting their ideas, he provides a provocative analysis of the hopes of the Russian revolution.

Stites begins with a discussion of the origins of Russian utopianism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He divides the impulse into three broad categories. There were the inchoate, mythic dreams of the peasants, spun around the deeply felt desire to be freed from the oppression of the ruling classes. There were the Prussophile schemes of government officials to marshal all Russians into an efficient nation working busily to advance the greatness of the monarchy. And there were the plans of the revolutionaries, pervaded by Western socialism but also by Russian aspirations to *sobornost'* (harmonious collectivism). These varieties of utopianism survived their creators to swirl through the revolutionary years, sometimes blending together in the projects of Bolsheviks such as Anatolii Lunacharskii, sometimes separating the dreamers into hostile camps. There was always tension between the command utopianism of Bolshevism and the innately anti-establishment utopianism of the intelligentsia, the working class, and the peasantry, but the tolerant atmosphere of the New Economic Policy (NEP) permitted the unofficial dreamers to flourish.

Stites looks at a fascinating variety of dreamers and dreams. He divides the utopianism of the period from 1917 to 1921 into attacks on the old regime ("revolutionary iconoclasm"), celebrations of the revolution ("festivals of the people"), and proposals for a new value system based on atheism, egalitarianism, and a worship of the potential of the machine. He then moves on to the more concrete products of the NEP—science fiction, city planning, and communal organizations. The author is at his best when explaining those thinkers who rested their hopes for social perfectibility on modern technology and economic organization. Always sympathetic to the naiveté of men such as Aleksei Gastev and Platon Kerzhentsev, Stites uncovers the sources of their faith and stresses the poignancy of their visions of shiny machines and efficient workers arising from the rubble of postwar Russia.

The dreamers were crushed by Joseph Stalin's juggernaut. In a brief concluding section, Stites catalogs the repression of the unofficial utopians by the officials of Stalin's dictatorship. This was Arakcheevism triumphant, watched over by a deified taskmaster who demanded that his people stop dreaming and get to work. Stites acknowledges that outbursts of utopianism tend to peter out in disillusionment, but he believes that the end of the revolutionary euphoria need not have been quite so brutal.

This is a very rich book based on an impressive array of carefully analyzed evidence. There is a prodigious wealth of detail, all of it interesting, much of it charming, some even funny. Stites always keeps his central themes clearly in view, however, and he continually sets the context of the visions that he dissects. The crankiest ideas thus become intelligible (if not rational), because Stites roots them firmly in Russian traditions, contemporary conditions, and the personalities of their creators. The only analytical shortcoming in what is otherwise a masterful work of historical scholarship arises when Stites discusses the emergence of Stalinism. He devotes but a few pages to this issue, touching on the personality of the dictator and the broader question of the changing nature of the party during the 1920s. A more sociological, even anthropological, analysis seems in order here. As Stites himself makes clear, utopianism was always vulnerable to assault from the dictators in Russian society because it was both critical and unpragmatic. It was also individualistic, even anarchistic. Banishing utopianism was part of a far larger process of state and community rebuilding that was going on in Russia throughout the 1920s and 1930s at the grass-roots level as well as within the Kremlin. To have stressed this earlier in the book would have deepened the analysis as well as heightened the pathos of the utopians' situation. So, too, would a comparative perspective. Utopianism has often met with repression in Russia and elsewhere, but it has just as often revived when its enemies weakened. A brief look forward to the time of Nikita Khrushchev and Mikhail Gorbachev might have brightened Stites's conclusions.

This is a beautifully written book that joins Stites's

The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia (1978) as a major contribution to Russian studies.

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STEPHEN WHITE. *The Bolshevik Poster*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. vii, 152; 170 plates. \$39.95.

Stephen White's book is at once narrower and broader than its title implies: narrower in that it focuses almost exclusively on posters from the civil war period; broader in that it provides not only a discussion of the posters themselves but also a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding their production and reception.

The book begins with a survey of pre-1917 sources for the postrevolutionary period. White makes a persuasive case for the importance of icons and *lubki* (cheap popular prints), as well as for early twentieth-century advertising posters and the graphic art published in satirical journals at the time of the 1905 revolution.

The heart of the book's argument, however, is contained in the next two chapters, which trace the evolution of the political poster from the immediate postrevolutionary period, when Aleksandr Apsit was the leading figure, to the civil war years, when poster making was dominated by Litizdat, the publishing house established by the Political Directorate of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Russian republic, and by Litizdat's two leading artists, Dmitrii Moor and Viktor Deni. The central chapters of White's book are largely devoted to describing the careers of Apsit, Moor, and Deni and to drawing a contrast between the periods in which they worked. The immediate postrevolutionary period is described as a time of confusion, when artists searching for appropriate symbolism drew indiscriminately on biblical, classical, and French revolutionary symbolism and on Russian folklore. In retrospect, Apsit, in particular, has attracted criticism for producing posters that were elaborate in detail and complex in their allegorical programs. White compares Apsit's work unfavorably with the "urgency, simplicity, and direct appeal to viewers of posters of the years that immediately followed" (p. 38), that is, with the posters of Moor and Deni.

According to White's argument, the posters of the civil war period represent the high point of the Soviet political poster. The difficult conditions under which these posters were produced—under pressure of time and in straitened material circumstances—may even have enhanced their impact. The number of colors that could be used was limited; simplicity and directness were at a premium. Moor and Deni both, it can be argued, gained from working within these limitations. Equally, Vladimir Maiakovskii and the other designer of the Russian Telegraph Agency (ROSTA) windows, the subject of White's next chapter, worked under

pressure, sometimes relaying the news in poster form before it could reach the newspapers.

In general, White concludes that the posters of the Civil War years were a highly effective medium of communication. His arguments unequivocally favor "realistic" posters as opposed to those classified as either allegorical or abstract. (In the examples given, however, it is sometimes difficult to see a compelling difference between the realistic and the allegorical.) The Constructivists make their appearance only in a concluding chapter, which raises the question of the public's sometimes negative reaction to agitational art that abandoned realistic imagery. According to White, the exceptional quality of the posters produced in the Civil War years stemmed from the emotional potency of the themes and images available to artists in that period—the revolution in danger, the old and new orders in direct confrontation—and this was difficult to sustain in later decades, when centralization of the poster-making process and stricter bureaucratic controls also took their toll on creativity.

The book is based on a detailed reading of Soviet sources, including contemporary memoirs, surveys devoted to the political print, and archival sources. The notes and acknowledgments will also serve as a guide to Western collections of Soviet posters. Although White focuses on a narrow range of material, this very limitation makes his book a useful survey of an area of Soviet art that has not been represented with any depth in other Western publications.

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V. V. KABANOV. *Krest'ianskoe khoziaistvo v usloviakh "voennogo kommunizma"* [Peasant Economy in the Conditions of "War Communism"]. Moscow: Nauka. 1988. Pp. 302. 2 r. 5 k.

Vladimir Kabanov is one of the principal Soviet historians of the Russian peasantry during the revolution and Civil War; he has written previously on the cooperatives and the peasant commune during the revolutionary era. His new book is a landmark survey of all aspects of the peasant economy during the Civil War. For each topic, Kabanov tries to provide what is almost a check list of relevant aspects; for example, collective farms are divided into thirteen categories, depending on economic viability. He then tries to provide the best possible quantitative measure of each aspect, often relying on little-known published and archival sources. Especially welcome is the attention to regional differences, particularly to the crucial distinction between grain-deficit and grain-surplus regions. This book will be the first place to look for any quantitative question about the topics treated by Kabanov—land ownership pattern, tax burdens, the underground market, and living standards.

Even though Kabanov uses the term "War Communism," his book in actuality deals another body blow to that outmoded concept. War Communism implies some sort of connection between extra-economic coercion and ideological radicalism, each reaching a climax in 1920 on the eve of the New Economic Policy. What Kabanov's material shows is that, although the relative burden of state-imposed obligations increased as the economy collapsed, ideological radicalism decreased during the period of the Civil War. The wild schemes for collectivization and other topics were proposed in 1918; by 1920, the Bolsheviks had been chastened by three years of governing experience under extremely trying conditions. Previous disputes about War Communism have been about the exact nature of the connection between coercion and ideological radicalism, but, when we see that, in fact, there was no such connection, then, I hope, we will discard the concept altogether. Kabanov does not draw this conclusion from his own argument, but the nuanced material in his book makes the usual stereotypes about War Communism more difficult to sustain. (Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about the last major work in English on this topic, Silvana Malle's *Economic Organization of War Communism* [1985].)

One of the aims of *perestroika* in historical writing is to get away from the dullness of impersonal presentations without the vivid impact of humanity. Kabanov's book makes only a few steps in this direction, partly, no doubt, because of the focus on statistics. What is most refreshing about the book is the rejection of the rigid partisanship incumbent on Soviet historians in the past. This new outlook is even more explicit in Kabanov's recent informative article on the newly rehabilitated Alexander Chayanov (*Voprosy Istorii*, no. 6 [1988]). Chabanov rejects some of Chayanov's ideas from a Marxist standpoint but also argues strongly that Chayanov was not an enemy of the revolution and that his expression of the peasant outlook on socialism was (or should have been) legitimate. In the book under review here, the accusation of "falsification" is aimed not at "bourgeois" Sovietologists but at Stalinist historians. On more substantive matters, Kabanov's less partisan attitude is revealed in his willingness to grant that the underground market helped preserve Russia's economic unity during the Civil War. This new outlook lifts a psychological burden from the Western reader of Soviet scholarship. Although disagreements remain, there is now the feeling that we are disagreeing with a person rather than with an imposed general line.

This book goes well beyond any of the very few Western treatments of this extremely important topic. It is essential reading for any serious student of the early years of the Bolshevik revolution and indeed for any student of peasant society under stress.

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WILLIAM J. CHASE. *Workers, Society, and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow, 1918–1929*. (The Working

Class in European History; Studies of the Harriman Institute.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1987. Pp. xviii, 344. \$29.95.

Among students of Soviet history, the term "revisionism" has lately been applied to a reconsideration of the Stalin era's "revolution from above." In William J. Chase's case, this means treating the 1920s as a tale of two revolutionary "agendas." On one side was the party and state apparatus, committed to building socialism but preoccupied with problems of economic reconstruction after seven years of warfare and devastation. On the other, workers had their own vision of socialism in which autonomy, material security, and shop-floor control of production were central concerns. Chase's insightful, provocative study examines wages, working conditions, patterns of authority, and competition at the workplace—the "centrifugal and centripetal forces that simultaneously worked to divide and unite the proletariat" (p. 5).

Chase presents the working class as an amalgam of young and old, skilled and unskilled, men and women, whose private and public interests sometimes coincided but often diverged. Workers competed with one another, and with the peasantry from which so many workers had been recruited, for the scarce resources that were available. Scarcity, though, was only one-half of the story. The problems of city and countryside were so intertwined that addressing any one of them meant exacerbating others. To raise capital for reconstruction and economic expansion, for example, the regime could boost the prices of factory goods, but this would lead peasants to withhold their crops from market. It would also increase the rate of rural-urban migration, thereby worsening the problems of urban unemployment. Another alternative was to improve industrial productivity, but this meant laying off workers and imposing stricter discipline at factories, measures likely to produce labor unrest and fuel the antagonism between workers and managerial personnel.

Chase portrays the mobilization campaigns of 1924–29—the "Lenin levy" to recruit proletarian members to the Communist party and the production meetings of 1926–28—as an attempt to cut through this Gordian knot. The party "once again placed itself in the vanguard of the proletariat. But . . . workers [proved] more radical than the party and . . . pushed it beyond its intended role" (p. 287). The cultural revolution that followed was a period of industrial expansion but also one of chaotic disruption in which the goals of enhanced productivity and labor discipline proved impossible to achieve.

Focusing on the grass roots of Soviet society, Chase argues persuasively that ordinary citizens—workers, peasants, rank-and-file party members—had a history of their own apart from the decisions, policies, and intrigues of their leaders. Repressive as the system would become, it still reflected forces and tensions from below as well as from above. Decisions and policies, moreover, produced unexpected results as

they were refracted through the prism of lower-level party organs and mass organizations.

The differences between "productivists" and radicals, Right and Left, Stalin and Trotsky loom in the background of the study, but their outlines are often unclear. At times the leadership appears as an undifferentiated entity: "The Communist Party led the way" (p. 247).

Chase's approach to the period is boldly innovative, and he should not be severely faulted if he sometimes neglects what was happening "at the top." His book's greatest strength is its meticulous examination of everyday life: the squabbling in over-crowded apartments, the ebbs and flows of migration, the expenditures of time and money that kept households going. He cites an impressive range of published sources—from E. Kabo's sketches of worker households to statistical studies of unemployment and labor unrest—and is particularly ingenious in interrogating them. To assess Muscovites' rural ties, for example, he compares the seasonal patterns of births in city and countryside; he also uses model life tables to determine whether males over age fifty returned to the villages.

This nuanced and critical use of sources is, however, less apparent when Chase discusses mobilization and class struggle. Party and trade union leaders had more on their agendas than economic efficiency or popular support; if some of their slogans were enthusiastically received, this does not mean they can be taken at face value. The vocabulary of resolute struggle against class enemies, of "control of the whole apparatus on the part of the [working masses]" and "elimination of undemocratic methods" (pp. 281, 261), must be treated with utmost care. Undoubtedly many writers have taken 1984 too literally, but George Orwell's strictures on the corruption of language are still worth recalling: "Political language . . . is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind."

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N. IA. GUSHCHIN and V. A. IL'INYKH. *Klassovaia bor'ba v sibirskoi derevne 1920-e—seredina 1930-kh gg.* [Class Struggle in the Siberian Countryside from the 1920s to the mid-1930s]. Novosibirsk: Nauka, Sibirskoe Otdelenie. 1987. Pp. 330. 3 r. 70 k.

Given the past close association of Soviet historical interpretation with political developments, the Western observer expects a continuation in the present climate of *glasnost*. A reappraisal of the Stalinist collectivization campaign might reasonably follow Mikhail Gorbachev's questioning of the efficiency of collective and state farms. Such expectations are disappointed in N. Ia. Gushchin and V. A. Il'inykh's study of the class struggle in the Siberian countryside during the revolutionary and formative years of the Soviet state. The authors echo the conclusions of Soviet historians of the 1960s,

who, after Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech at the Twentieth Party Congress, condemned the Stalinist cult of personality, acknowledging for the first time that excesses and mistakes were committed during the collectivization drive, while insisting on the necessity and correctness of collectivization. Gushchin and Il'inykh take great pains to demonstrate the ideological and political struggle of the 1920s and early 1930s, portraying the Soviet Union as besieged by a powerful kulak (bourgeois peasant) cabal that threatened to lead the middle stratum of the peasantry against Soviet power and ultimately against the construction of socialism.

Gushchin and Il'inykh have chosen Siberia (excluding the Far Eastern regions) to study class struggles of the postrevolutionary period because of its unique capitalist development before 1917. Siberia's peasantry was more prosperous than the peasantry of central Russia and had developed a larger cohort of wealthy kulaks. Kulak exploitation of peasants, although lessened by the leveling processes of the Bolshevik revolution and Civil War, continued throughout those years and intensified during the New Economic Policy (NEP) from 1923 to 1927.

Gushchin and Il'inykh argue that War Communism and NEP were absolutely necessary, the first to save the proletarian dictatorship from the monarchist Whites and foreign interventionists, the second to improve the peasantry's economic position, allowing more and more poor peasants to advance into the ranks of the middle peasantry. Despite the economic successes of NEP, however, the class struggle continued, manifesting itself in various counterrevolutionary activities by kulaks, who in Siberia were joined by religious forces and former White officers. In 1928–29 the Communist party adopted what the authors deem an aggressive and more effective class policy. By encouraging the establishment of cooperatives and collective farms and squeezing the kulaks further through discriminatory taxation, it limited capitalist elements in the village. The kulaks reacted by sabotaging the state's grain procurement system, forcing the state to pursue mass collectivization and liquidation of the kulaks.

In order to justify the violent expropriation of kulak property in the collectivization campaign, Gushchin and Il'inykh argue that the kulaks were determined to sabotage the collective farms from within and without, hoping to plunge the Soviet Union into civil war. Gushchin and Il'inykh take at face value party communiques that insisted that the initiative in liquidating the kulaks came from hard-working peasants voluntarily entering the collective farms and petitions from poor peasants beseeching the authorities to punish and exile kulaks. They unconvincingly argue that, although the kulaks were by and large liquidated by fall 1931, they remained powerful, resulting in the state taking further repressive measures. They conclude that the government's policies toward the kulaks were humane, intended not so much to punish, as bourgeois historians have claimed, as to reeducate.

Until Soviet historians acknowledge the full extent to which collectivization was undertaken by force and the degree to which opposition came from all ranks of the peasantry, the best that can be expected is continued ideological blaming of bourgeois kulak elements for forcing the Soviet government to take repressive actions in its attempts to build socialism.

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BORIS KAGARLITSKY. *The Thinking Reed: Intellectuals and the Soviet State, 1917 to the Present*. Translated by BRIAN PEARCE. New York: Verso; distributed by Routledge, Chapman, and Hall, New York. 1988. Pp. x, 374. \$29.95.

"Nowhere and never have such efforts been made by a government to create an unfree culture as in Russia, but our country's experience has proved that this is impossible" (p. 310), asserts the young, self-described Marxist scholar-politician Boris Kagarlitsky in his history of the intelligentsia under Soviet rule. This book, which was written during Leonid Brezhnev's repressive and corrupt "epoch of drunken stupor" (p. vii), seems to affirm that optimistic contention. If, as Kagarlitsky insists, "miracles do not occur in history" (p. ix), then the grounds for hope need to be located in social reality. Precisely such an exploration of the class structure of Soviet society and of the social bases for freedom constitutes the heart of this book.

The book is organized, inescapably, as a parallel and interactive history of both the politically weak, but supple and morally powerful, cultural intelligentsia (analogous to Blaise Pascal's "thinking reed") and the morally bankrupt, but seemingly omnipotent, ruling "statocracy" (p. 77). Through six chronological chapters Kagarlitsky charts the stormy and at times mortally adversarial relationship between the two groups. Each chapter is a mine of keen insights and fresh information on the historical emergence of a radically politicized educated stratum in Russia and on its traditions; on the rise of a postrevolutionary Soviet bureaucracy, or statocracy, and its developing attitudes toward the creative and scientific intelligentsia and on the intelligentsia's attitudes toward the statocracy; and on the Stalin period; on the era of Nikita Khrushchev's "thaw"; on the ideological "crisis" among critics of the regime during the Brezhnev period; and on the rise during the 1970s and 1980s of new political perspectives seeking a way out.

Although any attempt to distill Kagarlitsky's book to a few paragraphs is unfair to its author's lines of argument, a very rough summary might read as follows. Avoidable mistakes on the part of Bolshevik leaders (notably gratuitous infringement on democratic freedoms by early 1918), not revolutionary ideals, were the cause of a breach with the creative intelligentsia as early as the eve of the Civil War. Embracing Moshe Lewin's argument, Kagarlitsky sees

the exigencies of the Civil War as leading not only to the recrudescence of an authoritarian political culture but also to the emergence of the bureaucracy as the strongest organized social force. "The Bolsheviks did not take into account the indivisibility of democratic principles," notes Kagarlitsky, "the fact that *one cannot restrict the political freedom of one class of society without at the same time restricting that of the others*" (p. 65). Although V. I. Lenin, at the sunset of his rule, did see the growth of the bureaucracy as a threat to his socialist ideals and attributed its overweening social position to the general cultural underdevelopment of the rest of Soviet society, he failed to understand the importance of democracy or of the creative intelligentsia to the process of culture building.

As the embodiment of the bureaucracy in power, however, Joseph Stalin understood that relationship perfectly well, and he spared no effort to eliminate the threat of cultural subversion to the proprietorial power of the statocracy. Despite police terror and the imposition of dogmatic canons of thought and cultural expression designed "to create the 'optimum' moral and psychological climate for subjecting the masses to barracks-Communism" and to "bring the creative thinking of the intellectual down to the level of ordinary bureaucratic thinking" (pp. 120–21) so as to facilitate bureaucratic control, the intelligentsia remained a subversive force. Paradoxically, the anti-Semitic campaign against "cosmopolitanism" during Stalin's last years, which Kagarlitsky believes was actually aimed at obliterating generic cultural autonomy, brought to the surface discontent among the intelligentsia. That discontent had been previously submerged by a faith in Stalin personally and by a befuddling official image of the intellectual as politically unstable and ontologically inferior to the industrial worker. Kagarlitsky chronicles in absorbing detail the push for freedom that was expressed by the intelligentsia immediately after Stalin's death.

The new faith of the intelligentsia in Khrushchev's reforms blinded its members to the limits of those reforms imposed by the class interests of the statocracy. Kagarlitsky wryly observes that "people who were Marxists when they analyzed the West seemed to forget class analysis when they turned to their own country" (p. 180). It took another two decades of ideological confusion before it was understood that the moral critique of Stalinist society had to be supplemented with an economic and social one and, more importantly, that the intelligentsia had to find allies among the mass of the urban population to achieve deep and successful change, argues the author.

This book also includes two appended recent articles by Kagarlitsky, a political manifesto of the Federation of Socialist Clubs (which he leads) and an interview. The work derives much of its interest from Kagarlitsky's nondogmatic Marxian framework of analysis. It is therefore strange that Kagarlitsky does not attempt to explain how it happened that the titular leader of the statocracy, Mikhail Gorbachev, with support from a

significant segment of that elite, has apparently embarked on the almost unprecedented subversion of the interests and power of his own class.

There is a more serious problem with the book, however, which stems precisely from its self-described Marxian perspective. I wonder whether Kagarlitsky is simply trying to replace the "wrong" vanguard with the politically "correct" one. I fear that the author, in continuing to speak of the mission of "the intelligentsia" as bearers of democratic and socialist ideals (as if a "class" had a world-historical mission), is only recycling the trope of the messianic intelligentsia once again.

One other quibble. What about cultural figures and *intelligenty* who were fellow travelers or even active collaborators with the Bolsheviks and, later, with Stalin? Does that automatically banish them from the status of "true" *intelligenty*, a term that then becomes tautologically synonymous with resistance to the regime? Can we really make such a clean division between the "creative" and the parasitical? If not, we need to revise our definitions.

All considered, however, Kagarlitsky has given us a fascinating and illuminating picture of the Soviet intelligentsia that deserves a wide readership.

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JAAN VALSINER. *Developmental Psychology in the Soviet Union*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 398. \$37.50.

This "case history of the relations between a science and its cultural-historical framework" (p. 1) was intended to challenge conventional beliefs about science and the Soviet system. In the conventional view, scientific knowledge transcends the particular cultural contexts within which it emerges and becomes truth everywhere, while Soviet authorities have been notoriously nativistic or "anticosmopolitan" and therefore in frequent conflict with scientists. Jaan Valsiner argues against the privileged universality of science and for the internalization of official values by Soviet scientists, yet much of the evidence in his richly informative book will strike readers as supporting the conventional view. He describes the way in which Soviet authorities tried to push Soviet psychologists away from participation in world-wide trends of thought, but he also demonstrates how the psychologists stubbornly persisted in their cosmopolitan ways, as they revealed quite plainly once Joseph Stalin died and his successors began to back away from nativism. In psychology as in other disciplines, specialists seemed to be distinctively Soviet only while they were obliged to put on a show. Berthold Brecht epitomized the pattern in his Keuner tale concerning a wise man whose home was entered by an official, asking "Will you serve me?" The wise man served the official for thirty years, until the official died.

Then the wise man dragged the body out of his house, straightened up, and said "No."

Yet that conventional view of Soviet cultural history is a simplistic distortion. Valsiner argues that psychological science, if not science in general, is shaped to satisfy social expectations everywhere, not just in the Soviet Union. In the United States, behaviorist, reductionistic, quantified psychology has prevailed because it suits the manipulative practicality of the dominant culture. My brief summary of this theme is starker than Valsiner's version, but not much. He is opposed to the prevailing American trend, for he learned psychology in the Soviet Union and taught at the University of Tartu until 1980, when he emigrated. He has been teaching at the University of North Carolina, still committed to the qualitative, antireductionist, antbehaviorist approach that he absorbed in the USSR. So he is admirably equipped to strip away the official pretense that Soviet psychologists have been overwhelmingly Pavlovian. For a long time they pretended to be so, and Valsiner tries to explain that submissive hypocrisy by pointing to a Russian tradition of individual subordination to an all-powerful state.

Approximately two-thirds of this book reviews the distinctive achievements of the psychologists whom Valsiner most admires: L. S. Vygotsky and his school, for the most part, who are already fairly well known among Western specialists, and Mikhail Basov, who has been entirely neglected outside his native land. Specialists imprisoned in their disciplines will assume that those parts of the book are for psychologists, or for developmental psychologists in particular, while the chapters of historical background will be tagged for use by historians of Soviet culture. Valsiner tries to bridge such fissures in the study of a single subject—the human mind in its development—by telling psychologists that their discipline would benefit from understanding of its historical pattern. "It is the history of psychology that can modernize the present state of the discipline, by enlightening it for further advancement" (p. 328). Unfortunately, he does not develop that theme at sufficient length to show how he would reconcile two visions of the discipline, which are both apparent in this book: psychology, singular, as a unified cumulative science of the mind, and psychologies, plural, which are adapted to the cultures, the periods, and the particular needs that shape them.

Valsiner's book is less attentive to divisions of opinion among historians who seek, he assumes, understanding of "society as a whole" and may therefore find the history of psychological science "too narrow a sphere." He himself ventures widely in trying to explain the protracted Soviet assault on psychological science, which he perceives as part of the assault on the *zamknutost*, the "shut off" or ivory-tower quality of all of the learned disciplines. Valsiner aligns himself with those who point in explanation to Leninist ideology as an outgrowth of Russian tradition; he pays scant attention to the presence of countervailing tendencies within that tradition and that ideology. So the decline of thought

control and the reassertion of intellectual autonomy since the 1950s are taken for granted, as if they have been self-explanatory processes in need of no historical examination.

Historians of Soviet culture will find much of interest on a variety of subjects in this substantial book. For example, Valsiner's sensitivity to the differences between Russians and other nationalities within the Soviet context has yielded fascinating information on studies of that delicate issue by psychologists of Vygotsky's "historico-cultural" school. Unfortunately, the studies are overwhelmingly clustered in the 1920s, before the triumph of the Stalinist mentality sharply restricted such psychological inquiry. Perhaps *glasnost* will bring a full-fledged revival.

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ROBERT V. DANIELS. *Is Russia Reformable? Change and Resistance from Stalin to Gorbachev*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1988. Pp. x, 141. \$28.95.

Robert V. Daniels has devoted his scholarly life to understanding the Russian revolution and its aftermath. This book contains his reflections on the subject of the Stalinist system and efforts since Stalin's death to reform it. The volume consists of seven chapters that first appeared in the form of articles in various journals, five in Italian socialist or communist publications, which serves as additional evidence of the relative breadth and flexibility to be found in the Italian Left. The articles have been slightly revised but do not go beyond the summer of 1987 in content.

The book has more unity than its heterogeneous origins might lead one to suspect. It begins with the essay "The Foundations of Stalinism," by which the author means the institutions rather than the ideology of the man, and Daniels explains Stalinism partly as Stalin's "egomaniacal despotism" (p. 3) and partly as the heritage of Russia's past. Daniels points out that, despite Khrushchev's attempt to dismantle it, "the essential features of the Stalinist system" (p. 3) remained after 1956: totalitarian government, the command economy, political control of every form of organized social activity, and the manipulation of cultural values and historical truth. The author comments that the classical exposition of totalitarianism by Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski leaves it "accurately described but poorly explained," and he argues that the term "still applies to the Soviet Union today" (p. 11).

Here and subsequently Daniels brushes aside Marxism as a factor in Stalinism and declares, for example, that in World War II "Russian nationalism was the main propaganda theme" (p. 15)—quite true but only after a stunning reversal symbolized by the change on *Pravda*'s masthead from "Workers of the world, unite!" to "Death to the German invader!" Next comes a persuasive discussion of "the military model of socialism" (p. 19) that Stalin practiced. In an essay originally

composed as a commentary on Edward Keenan's piece in the *Russian Review* (April 1986) on Muscovite political culture, Daniels associates himself with Keenan's view that the Russian past was predominantly one of autocracy and despotism in which the century of political and economic change that preceded 1917 was merely an "aberration" (p. 45). (Why, one may ask, should Muscovy and Stalinism seem more "Russian" than pre-Mongol Rus, the late empire, and the period of the Provisional Government?) Two chapters follow: "The Intelligentsia and the Failure of Reform," which covers the period under Khrushchev, and "The Intelligentsia and the Success of Reform," which covers the Gorbachev era. And there is an interesting essay on the demography of the *nomenklatura* that traces how almost all leaders over thirty-seven were eliminated in Stalin's purges and how the survivors hung on from 1938 to 1981, getting older and older.

There are few points to quibble over. Eric Voegelin was not a Catholic or even an orthodox Christian (p. 6); *Vekhi* was published in 1909, not 1908 (p. 57); the author discusses the fate of de-Stalinization without even mentioning the XXII Congress in 1961 that climaxed it (p. 69); it is impossible to make sense of the contention that the Slavophiles were "more Orthodox than the Tsar" or the implication that they were fascist (p. 122). But all in all, this book is thought-provoking, intelligent, and perceptive.

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NEAR EAST

F. E. PETERS. *Jerusalem and Mecca: The Typology of the Holy City in the Near East*. (New York University Studies in Near Eastern Civilization, number 11.) New York: New York University Press. 1986. Pp. xi, 269. \$42.50.

F. E. Peters seeks to establish a new typology for the holiest cities of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Peters's choice to compare Jerusalem with Mecca may at first seem surprising because the two cities contrast in their physical form, development, and religio-political relationship to the outside world. Peters explains that this comparative study is an outgrowth of his previous book on the three religions, *The Children of Abraham: Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (1982). The object of his present work is to examine the way in which religious traditions and institutions are expressed in "the earthly vernacular of places, buildings, and streets, of buying and selling, and finding bed and board" (p. ix). Peters steers away from the more familiar theme of what constitutes the Muslim or Near Eastern city, focusing instead on precisely those aspects of urban life that can be identified with a holy city, a kind of "subtype" of Near Eastern urbanism.

Unlike other preindustrial cities whose very success depended on the extent of their commercial networks, the holy city was typified by its "pilgrimage network," generated by the sanctity of its shrines. Although

familiar features of Near Eastern cities are found in either Jerusalem or Mecca, such as the *madrasa*, *khan*, *khanaqa*, *ribat*, *waqf*, and so forth, it is the unusual ways in which these institutions were used that set the holy cities apart. The typology of the holy city is identified by six characteristics, and to each one of these a chapter is devoted: the central shrine, secondary shrines, functionaries of the holy places, endowment and investment, public institutions, and secondary service industries.

All of these categories are interrelated because of the importance assumed by the central shrine of each of the three religions. Peters dispassionately traces the history of the sacred places in Jerusalem and Mecca, demonstrating how the central shrine of each religion—the Temple (and later the Western Wall), the Holy Sepulcher, the Haram al-Sharif of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and the Ka'ba and its *haram* in Mecca—evolved, taking on new symbolic significance as the political control in the hands of often distant rulers shifted. The sanctity of the central sanctuary radiated out to other parts of the city and its environs, creating secondary shrines that were part of the pilgrims' itineraries. The investment of wealth as perpetual religious endowment (*waqf*) was by no means specific to the holy city. But, for political reasons, more was invested in the shrines and in institutions that lodged pilgrims than in buildings used primarily for commercial purposes, as was often the case in other Islamic cities. And, although other Near Eastern cities had charitable institutions endowed by both rulers and the wealthy, Jerusalem and Mecca attracted such large numbers of foreigners that specific ethnic or sectarian groups formed their own institutions. Most important, so much of the investment in the two cities came from rulers whose political capitals were elsewhere.

Peters treats Near Eastern cities in an innovative way with a remarkable breadth of over two millennia of urban history. The book could have been significantly enhanced by the inclusion of maps, which would have helped illustrate more clearly how a city as socially and religiously diverse as Jerusalem (as Peters suggests) integrated topographically as an urban unity. The success of this urban paradigm needs to be measured against comparisons with other cities that served as regional shrines and whose "pilgrimage networks" may have given rise to similar institutional and spatial forms. Peters does make some comparisons with other holy cities, but the reader might still be left with the impression that, as the primary centers of the three religions, Jerusalem and Mecca do represent cities somewhat distinct from other Near Eastern holy cities. Yet, in convincingly identifying the ways in which the ideas of the sacred are translated into spatial configurations, Peters has succeeded in linking his impressive knowledge on the history of the three religions with some of the important literature on Near Eastern urbanism.

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CARTER VAUGHN FINDLEY. *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. xxiv, 399. \$55.00

This study is a sequel to Carter Vaughn Findley's *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789–1922* (1989), although the time span in this volume concentrates almost exclusively on the latter half of the nineteenth century. Findley finds it convenient in this work, apparently because of his sources and interpretive framework, to end with the Young Turk revolution of 1908. Like the first study, this one is largely based on the 366 files of career officers in the foreign ministry of which 29 files came from the interior ministry collection.

There are eight chapters, an introduction, and an appendix that discusses the author's reasons for studying Ottoman bureaucracy, his methodology, and the problems of analysis that he confronted. I would have preferred appendix A incorporated into the introduction. The chapters deal with the social origins, education, intellectual patterns, and career patterns of the 366 career officers whom Findley studied.

One of the most valuable schemes of the author is to place the officers into three categories: two for the Muslims and one for the non-Muslims. The Muslim categories distinguish between those officers with a traditional education and those with a modern education. The non-Muslim group is subdivided into Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Arabs, and Europeans.

The subdivision of the non-Muslims is, apparently, important to the author in order to proffer statistical evidence of the significant role that non-Muslims played in the modernization of the empire. This is important as nearly all non-Muslims were categorized as modernized. Such categorization of non-Muslims also allows demonstration of their role during the period of reform, especially during the *Tanzimat* period (1839–78). Findley is also able to use the statistics of his categories to gauge the intentions of various Ottoman governments toward reform. Findley relies on the non-Muslim categories to suggest the drift away by the 1870s from what he calls "Tanzimat egalitarianism" (p. 90). In doing so, he must be referring to the fewer numbers of non-Muslims in the foreign ministry beginning in the 1870s and in the Hamidian period (1878–1909). In *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire* (p. 220), however, the author made it clear that the leaders of the *Tanzimat* had no intention of creating a rational-legal bureaucracy; rather they wished to use *Tanzimat* reform to increase their discretionary patrimonial powers. Findley also notes (p. 90) that, during the Hamidian period among the non-Muslims, the Jews' position became stronger, a trend that, as recent studies have shown, continued into the Young Turk period.

One of the most valuable contributions of Findley's study is the suggestion of the prevalence of Sufism, at least among the traditional Muslims, for example Aşci

Dede Ibrahim (1828–1910), and the great influence of Muslim Brotherhoods (*tarikats* networks) right up to 1908. Findley's study is the first of its kind to demonstrate the pervasive influence that *tarikats* membership still wielded right up to the Young Turk revolution. This discovery gives more credence to Kemal Atatürk's abolishment of the *tarikats* in 1925 and his recognition of them as a great impediment to the reforms he wanted to implement. It is possible that Sufism and the *tarikats* networks were even more influential than Findley suggests and not just among the officials categorized as traditional Muslims. Perhaps this is also one of the reasons that the reforms of the *Tanzimat* remained as "Ottoman" as they did "European" (p. 292).

Findley also suggests that the deterioration of the officers' salaries and other emoluments between 1894 and 1907 contributed to the officers' acquiescence and sometimes outright support of the Young Turks and of the new Turkish republic. Findley makes it clear that he is a proponent of James C. Davies' "J-curve" theory of revolution. The support of these same officers for Abdülhamid II's regime, at least up to 1894, raises the question for me of the depth of their support for genuine modernization. It also suggests that the same officers were not especially bothered by the reduction of the *Tanzimat* egalitarianism that Findley, throughout both of his studies, seems to think the best yardstick to have enabled the establishment of a rational-legal bureaucratic system and, one supposes, the possibility of a bona fide modernization resulting from such a bureaucracy. It further raises the question whether Abdülhamid II should be characterized as a "modernizer" to the extent that he has been in recent studies of his rule. In this study Findley does not make it clear that this is his intention. If so, then I must disagree. Recent studies on Ottoman and Turkish bureaucracy with which Findley is familiar demonstrate clearly that such a rational-legal bureaucracy could have materialized in Turkey and in many other Third World countries only in the post-World War II period. In Turkey a rational-legal bureaucracy is still struggling to maintain itself.

Although Findley seems to be a proponent of many of the world-systems theorists and especially dependency theory advocates, his study does not fully embrace the findings of historians of the Ottoman empire who have embraced these theories. The author clearly demonstrates that there were great internal and bureaucratic impediments to modernization and industrialization other than European imperialism and exploitative capitalism. In this regard Findley's study has made a fundamental contribution to the history of the nineteenth-century Ottoman empire and twentieth-century Turkey. Advocates of world-systems and dependency theories will have to take his findings into consideration in future studies.

Findley's two studies on the Ottoman bureaucracy are major contributions to the study of nineteenth-century Ottoman history. Their completion allows

Findley to be ranked as one of the outstanding Ottomanists of his generation.

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JOHN S. GUEST. *The Yezidis: A Study in Survival*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1987. Pp. xviii, 299. \$35.00.

This is a carefully researched and richly documented book. John S. Guest has drawn on information scattered in a multiplicity of sources. In addition to a very large number of articles, monographs, books, official documents, and even unpublished dissertations, he uses a mass of data gleaned from British, French, Russian, and Ottoman archives as well as from the records of the Vatican and various Protestant missionary societies in the United States and Britain.

This book deals with the origins, beliefs, way of life, and history of one of the most oppressed and systematically persecuted religious minority groups in the world. Yazidī history has been a litany of suffering and sorrow in which murder and rapine have often culminated in determined attempts at converting or liquidating the entire community.

The Yazidī religion developed as a result of the fusion of Sufi Islam, as embodied in the teachings of Shaykh 'Adī ibn Musāfir al-Umawī (d. 1162), with the beliefs and practices of earlier religions and cults still prevalent at the time among the Shaykhān Kurds of the Mosul region. This fusion appears to have produced a remarkably stable religious amalgam that has withstood the test of time.

In 1849 the Yazidīs found a powerful champion in Sir Stratford Canning, the British ambassador in Istanbul who, at the instance of Sir Henry Austin Layard, brought the wrongs suffered by them to the attention of the Porte. As a result, the Ottoman government issued an imperial decree that guaranteed the Yazidīs security of person and property and freed them from a variety of illegal impositions, such as the capture and sale into slavery of their women and children.

This well-written and beautifully produced book is marred by a number of inconsistent and sometimes incorrect transliterations. Thus, the name "Mu'āwiyah" appears as "Mua'wiyah" (p. xiii), as "moawiya" (pp. 10, 11, 13, 197, and 294), and as "Muawwiyyah" (p. 218). The first name of the noted Iraqi authority on the Yazidīs, Damlūjī, appears erroneously as "Sadiq" (pp. 160, 167, and 287) instead of "Ṣiddīq." Had the author adopted any one of several widely accepted transliteration systems he would have enhanced the book's readability and spared the reader a certain amount of confusion.

A few historical, geographical, and typographical errors appear here and there: for example, Abdullah ibn az-Zubayr was not the nephew of the Prophet Muhammad (p. 11) but the son of his first cousin, az-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām, whose mother, Ṣaffiyya bint

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was Muhammad's paternal aunt. The Yazidī villages of Bashika and Bahzani are located to the south and not to the east of the Yazidī sanctuary of Shaykh 'Adī at Lalish (p. 36). The term "Dahr al-Harb" (p. xv) should be "Dār al-Harb" (the Abode of War).

Guest provides much interesting information on Mayān Khātūn, a remarkable woman in whom intelligence of a high order was combined with great ambition and an iron will. After the assassination of her husband, Mīr 'Alī Beg, in 1913, she had their twelve-year-old son, Sa'īd Beg, proclaimed mīr and herself appointed guardian and administrator of the princely revenues. Mayān Khātūn never relinquished these prerogatives and completely dominated the thirty-one-year reign of her son and the first thirteen years of the reign of her grandson, Mīr Taḥsīn Beg. Thus, for nearly half a century, until her death in 1957, this masterful woman was the de facto ruler of the Yazidīs.

Incidentally, one looks in vain for corroboration of Princess Wansa's account of her violent quarrel with her husband Mīr Sa'īd Beg (p. 183) in the work of such well-informed authorities as Lady Drower, Damlūjī, and al-Ḥasanī.

The book includes a list of illustrations, a preface by the author, a foreword by Allan Cunningham, thirteen chapters, an epilogue, two appendixes, a list of abbreviations, chapter notes, a bibliography, fifty-one illustrations, a diagram of the Chol family genealogy, and endpaper maps showing the Asian provinces of the Ottoman empire and the Upper Tigris Valley.

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BYRON CANNON. *Politics of Law and the Courts in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1988. Pp. xv, 329. \$30.00.

Byron Cannon begins by noting that, although the study of the Mixed Courts of Egypt has been one of the most popular subjects in modern Middle Eastern history, the history of Egyptian law per se has by comparison suffered a lack of scholarly attention. This is certainly true for the nineteenth century. This situation leads the author first to a survey of Egyptian law in the nineteenth century and then to several case studies of legal-political crises, treated in some detail. The work's sources include government documents from England and France as well as articles from nineteenth-century Egyptian newspapers.

Although colonial occupation and foreign control limited local initiative, a close look through the politics of law at the interactions of prominent Egyptians and foreigners reveals a high level of infighting as well as many instances of collaboration in pursuit of mutual interests. The framework as well as the actual context is reminiscent of the one found in the well-known article by Alexander Scholch pinpointing similar local maneu-

vers in Cairo, by seemingly obscure personalities, that ultimately forced the British to invade Egypt in 1881.

An example of such maneuvers is revealed in a controversy in the 1890s over the question of the extension of the judicial system of Cairo and the Delta to Upper Egypt. Mustafa Riadh, whose ministry was in power from 1888 to 1891, hesitated, as did ultimately Lord Cromer; reformers such as Qasim Amin and Ahmad Fathi were anxious to create a unified national legal system. Underlying this controversy, one dividing both the English and the Egyptian elites, was the rather complicated question of whether Upper Egypt was to remain a Sicily or a "Southern Question," to borrow a term from Italian history, or be allowed to develop along with the rest of the nation. A glance at the previous decade shows that this controversy was already underway on a smaller scale. In that period, the famous Nubar Pasha was on the side of caution against the influential legal aide Octave Borelli.

The principal contribution of the book is thus new information about the relatively undeveloped field of the politics of Egyptian law, especially for the period of the occupation after 1881. Previous books have concentrated on the institutions of law more than the politics of law. For a generation of students of Middle Eastern history committed to social history, this book will at first be hard reading. One must follow the vicissitudes of Lord Cromer and company, as in the older studies of elites, but the payoff is a more subtle grasp of politics. This the field as a whole needs. Social history without politics has become boring.

PETER GRAN
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PHILIP MATTAR. *The Mufti of Jerusalem: Al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni and the Palestinian National Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 158. \$25.00

Since the so-called rise of Islamic fundamentalism, it is impossible to read any book on the Arab mandated states without remarking how Britain and France helped propel Arab political life into religious channels. In Palestine, Britain supported the creation of the Supreme Muslim Council: "It practically gave the Mohammedans self-government in regard to Moslem affairs . . . and has no doubt done much to reconcile Mohammedans to the Mandatory regime with its unpopular Zionist flavour" (p. 28). The president of the Supreme Muslim Council was al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, a young nationalist and slightly trained cleric from one of the leading families of Jerusalem, whose appointment as mufti of Jerusalem had been secured by Britain.

Britain reasoned that nationalism could be controlled through patronization and that Hajj Amin would "use his family's prestige and influence to maintain tranquility" (p. 27). With the financial backing and prominence afforded by his religious positions, he

emerged as the leading figure in the Palestinian nationalist movement. Twenty years later, Winston Churchill approved plans to assassinate him, an action to be carried out by the Irgun. The job was bungled, and he lived on to see his country disappear, swallowed up by Israeli ambitions on the one hand and Jordanian ambitions on the other.

Philip Mattar's book carefully sets forth this shift in political fortunes. Hero to some, devil to others, Hajj Amin has not, until now, been the subject of a dispassionate contextual study. The context as sketched by Mattar places Hajj Amin securely in the tradition of the politics of notables as conceived by Albert Hourani. A carry-over from the late Ottoman empire, the urban group called notables was patronized by a distant power on the one hand and representative of local interests on the other. In Palestine, as a result of British policy that encouraged Jewish settlement against the wishes of the majority Arab population, the middle ground necessary for a politics of notables was very narrow. Nonetheless, Hajj Amin skillfully maintained his balance by urging moderation and compromise on all sides until 1936. Then, with numbers of Jewish immigrants burgeoning rapidly because of the rise of fascism in Europe, the middle ground disappeared. Britain's decision in 1937 to partition Palestine and the resulting Palestinian rebellion meant that conflict with Britain could no longer be contained by the subtle negotiations characteristic of the politics of notables. After 1937, Hajj Amin was exiled from Palestine and drifted into positions more and more extreme and ineffective, including a controversial period in Berlin during the war.

This biography is an important addition to a growing body of work on political leadership under mandatory rule. But the period between 1936 and 1949 should have been more fully developed. The story of the Palestinian rebellion needs fuller treatment. The propaganda battle resulting from the mufti's dealings with Nazi Germany is fully discussed, but no new analysis of the mufti's activities in Berlin is offered. Why did the author not use the "captured German documents [which] could elucidate the role of the Mufti in Germany" (p. 107)? Finally, the circumstances and role of the All-Palestine government created in Gaza in 1948 need much greater attention.

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LAURIE A. BRAND. *Palestinians in the Arab World: Institution Building and the Search for State*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 286. \$35.00

The history of the Palestinian Arabs during the decades that followed the end of the British Mandate over Palestine has received a lot of attention from historians. Works on the subject, however, have tended to address the development of Palestinian Arab nationalism, the

relations between Israel and its neighboring Arab countries, and these countries' policies toward Palestinian issues. Laurie A. Brand deals with the Palestinian story from a new perspective. She explores the sociopolitical and institutional development of the Palestinian Arab Society in three host countries—Egypt, Kuwait, and Jordan—and assesses the significance of such a development to the story of the Palestinian Arab national movement.

In her research Brand combines the tools of the social and political historian. Although she makes use of available published and unpublished research material in Arabic, English, and French, her most important source of information is interviews with leaders of the Palestinian communities of the Arab countries that she analyzes and with the major participants in the Palestinian national organizations. Thus, the author uses a most valuable historical resource that was previously untapped.

Absent from the book's list of sources, however, are the official archives of the host countries as well as the Palestine Research Center in Beirut, the single most important depository of recent Palestinian historical material. Although political considerations prevented Brand from consulting the archives of the Palestine Research Center during the course of her fieldwork, another visit to Beirut after November 1983, when the material was returned to the Palestine Liberation Organization, would have been worthwhile.

Brand begins her study by tracing briefly the development of the post-1948 Palestinian experience. She emphasizes the interruption of the social and political institutions that evolved in the Arab community during the British Mandate and the need for a new framework to help revive the destroyed sociopolitical structures. The history of the development of such a framework within the Palestinian communities in Egypt, Kuwait, and Jordan constitutes the main emphasis of Brand's study.

Although the author recognizes that feelings of shared identity coupled with available resources (p. 221) provide a motive for Palestinian reorganization, she concentrates on opportunity as a key element in that reorganization. Her study uses the legal status of the Palestinians in each host country as the factor determining the growth of the Palestinian political organization. On that basis she divides Arab host countries into categories. To the first belong Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon, countries that did not enfranchise Palestinians. Kuwait and other Gulf states, where Palestinians migrated for economic reasons, represent the second category. Jordan, where Palestinians were fully franchised, is a category by itself. Egypt, Kuwait, and Jordan are examined as representatives of their respective categories.

In dealing with these three countries, Brand maintains that the most important concept for understanding the growth of institutional infrastructures within the Palestinian diaspora communities is that of "marginality" (p. 223), which she defines as the absence of Palestinians' integration into the political and economic

structure of a host country. The central argument of the study and its main thesis involve the relations between a Palestinian community and a host country: the stronger the extent of political or economic marginality of the Palestinian community to the host society, the greater the possibility that independent Palestinian institutions appear.

In developing her thesis, Brand could have given a more detailed treatment of the growth of Palestinian institutions in Lebanon, particularly during the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the Lebanese state authority began to collapse and the Palestinian communities were able to mobilize more effectively.

Brand's contribution to Palestinian historiography is considerable. She has produced a book that deals with a topic not previously addressed—the sociopolitical development of the Palestinian Arabs in the diaspora—and she used untapped sources of information to analyze that development.

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AFRICA

JOSEPH C. MILLER. *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1988. Pp. xxx, 770. \$35.00.

The slave trade in the South Atlantic accounted for approximately 40 percent of the slaves carried to the New World—a little more if we count African departures, a little less if we assess arrivals in the Americas. The historiography of the slave trade, on the other hand, is overwhelmingly focused farther north. Joseph C. Miller's long, modestly priced new book will do much to correct that imbalance of scholarly attention. Miller concentrates on the middle period of the traffic from Angola, although he also provides commentary on the periods before 1730 and after 1830 as well as on the Atlantic economic system as a whole. Although an African orientation predominates in Miller's account, one of the strengths of the book is a firm Atlantic perspective: less than half of the text is devoted to Angola, and the rest is divided among discussions of Brazil, Portugal, and the seaborne phase of the slave trade.

Summarizing and evaluating an eight-hundred-page book in a short review is, no doubt, unfair. Baldly put, Miller argues that the traffic in slaves linked northern Europe, which had a "capacity for material production [in excess] of its home market's ability to consume," and west central Africa, where "children [were born] at rates that exceeded the long term capacity of . . . agriculture to feed" (p. 674). Although the annual number of slave departures was modest relative to the total population and probably had a small numerical impact, the impact of the trade on African societies was huge. It altered sex ratios and created social stratification, political centralization, and new forms of slavery. Not

least, it encouraged "materialist values" (p. 206) in African societies that had previously valued people above all. A slaving frontier developed, the eastward movement of which was occasioned by drought and warfare. Periods of the frontier's advance were interspersed with periods of peace during which trading networks were consolidated. Societies overtaken by the frontier were transformed, and their elites became dedicated to the "production" (p. 105) of slaves and dependent on credit extended from the Atlantic.

The Atlantic end of the trade was characterized by struggles among the Luso-Africans of the Angola *conquista*, Brazilian traders, merchants based in Portugal, and eventually the British. The first group had the ability to survive in a hostile disease environment, the second had Brazilian produce and geographic location, the third had the support of Portuguese policies, and the fourth had capital. Each had periods of dominance. The losers in the struggles—usually not the British—were those who could not avoid owning slaves (and experiencing the financial risk of the slaves' high mortality rate) during the trading process. Mortality rates rose rapidly from the moment of initial enslavement to a peak at the Atlantic littoral and declined during the "middle passage" and "seasoning" in the Americas. South Atlantic trafficking was marginal because it formed only a small share of total international commercial transactions in the area (surely true for all Atlantic slaving regions) and because the trade was usually dominated by merchants in Rio de Janeiro rather than by Europeans. It thus remained "on the fringe of the main commercial circuits" (p. 531). The Portuguese, backed by British credit, finally assumed control of the trade after the shift of the court to Rio de Janeiro, but by that time the trade had become, according to Miller, a "risky anachronism" (p. 651)—an odd assessment of an activity that brought more slaves to south central Brazil after 1810 than before and allowed Brazil to supply nearly half of the world's coffee exports by mid-century without giving up any of its share of global sugar production.

Although this study is based on extensive archival research on four continents, it is Miller's frequent use of analogies and his speculative forays that account for the book's length and obscure its central thrust. Miller is not at home with economic analysis. He usually equates debt with weakness and dependency, and he does not always recognize the full implications of market adjustments. For example, slave prices surely would have adjusted to the death rates that supposedly made everyone in the business keen to avoid slave ownership. Illegal slave traders after 1830 and those in the northern branches of the traffic throughout the era of the slave trade showed no such reluctance in the face of much higher shipboard mortality than occurred in the South Atlantic before 1830. Indeed, many readers will be struck by the similarities between the North Atlantic and South Atlantic slave trades rather than by the differences. A tighter presentation and the inclusion of more data, especially on the crucial issue of

mortality, would have been useful. Only a fraction of the data supporting this study has yet appeared.

Miller's book will not resolve any debates, but it may trigger new lines of research. It has one of the most comprehensive bibliographies in the literature and an excellent index, and the University of Wisconsin Press continues its fine tradition of providing many full and clear maps.

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JOSEPH E. HARRIS. *Repatriates and Refugees in a Colonial Society: The Case of Kenya*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press. 1987. Pp. ix, 201. \$17.95.

The emergence of African elites during the colonial period and their role in independence movements are well-known and widely studied aspects of African history. As teachers, mission workers, interpreters, and other functionaries in the public and private sectors, members of the elite gained a Western education and a heightened consciousness of the inequities of the colonial state. Whether radical or reformist in their attitude toward European rule, they promoted a vision of an African future more just than the exclusionary colonial system. Their understanding of the European world meant that they would naturally gain positions of leadership in movements for political change. African discontent thus achieved sharp focus as it was articulated by a sometimes restive, astute cadre possessing the skills essential for effecting change and functioning within a modern political order.

Joseph E. Harris admirably explores those themes in the experiences of two uncommon groups of Africans on the Kenyan coast: repatriated slaves and migrants to Kenya from the African interior. The record of their distinctive experiences adds an important chapter to the history of elites in the African movements for independence and modernization. Harris primarily traces the development of a group of former slaves of diverse ethnic origins, particularly in Freretown and Rabai, two towns settled by Africans liberated from servitude in Asia. His brief discussion of the slave trade across the Indian Ocean, which antedates the Atlantic slave trade by centuries, reminds the reader of how little is known about that flourishing, Arab-dominated commerce in people. More germane to his purpose is the portrayal of political and economic developments on the Kenyan coast from the period before the establishment of the East African Protectorate in 1895 until Kenyan independence. Coastal events during those early years of Kenyan history are extremely important because the coast represented the focus of colonial control, development, and missionary effort until the center of colonial attention shifted upcountry following completion of the railroad to Uganda.

During the final decade of the nineteenth century, the people of Rabai and Freretown returned to Africa

from depots in Asia, where they had lived at mission stations following their liberation. As a result of the experience of slavery and their exposure to Europeans, Asians, and other African people, the liberated Africans were often fluent in several languages, including English and Swahili. Additionally, they were usually converts to Christianity, were well educated relative to other Africans, and were unconstrained by narrow tribal loyalties. Thus, they were capable of serving as intermediaries between the European authorities and the populace. Gravitating to responsible posts in missions and the civil service, they provided leadership and served as exemplars for an evolving African political opposition. Harris illuminates the difficulty of their position in the conflict between reformist and radical strategies of political change. Those struggles led to the assassination of the important coastal politician and committed moderate Tom Mbotela.

Harris deftly traces the interstitial role of the elites of Rabai and Freretown, depicting them as closely linked to European missionaries yet possessing an African identity unrestricted by narrow ethnic loyalty. They shared a broad-based sense of collective grievance and an incipient nationalism. The elites defended African interests and belonged to organizations in which radical sentiments were voiced, but they embraced political moderation, Christian ideals, and nonviolence. They identified, although not uncritically, with the missionaries and benefited from a privileged position in the colonial order. The absence of an ethnic base for these coastal groups ultimately limited their political effectiveness as colonial development increasingly turned to the interior, where rising African politicians came to depend on strong ethnic constituencies that often had radical agendas.

Harris's study is a welcome addition to the literature on Kenyan political history. It will prove important as a valuable record of an unusual African elite and its complex relationship to European power and emergent African nationalism.

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CATHERINE NEWBURY. *The Cohesion of Oppression: Clientship and Ethnicity in Rwanda, 1860–1960*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 322. \$38.00.

A revolution in Rwanda from 1959 to 1961 resulted in the abolition of the monarchy, the installation of representative government, and the coming to power of the Hutu majority. If those events are known at all in the English-speaking world, it is usually in terms of "tribal massacres." In this thoroughly documented and carefully argued analysis, Catherine Newbury convincingly shows that the upheavals that preceded independence from Belgian colonial rule (in 1962) were not a sudden occurrence to be understood simply in terms of ethnic rivalries but the result of gradual transformations that had occurred in Rwandan society over a

century. "The real 'revolution' took place slowly, almost imperceptibly, before the political transformations at the national level came about" (p. xiv).

Newbury rejects the most influential explanation for Rwandan political development, that of Jacques Maquet, written over thirty years ago. Maquet proposed that the Rwandan state was based on a caste system, that inequalities were accepted through state ideology, that a patron-client relationship based on the distribution of cattle moderated the exploitative tendencies of the ruling caste, and that change was only made possible through outside agencies. Newbury criticizes that model of political development as an ahistorical and functionalist interpretation that assumes an unchanging, traditional Rwandan state.

Newbury focuses her account on a peripheral area of the kingdom where relationships with the central government changed radically during the century before independence. During the late nineteenth century, the Rwandan state extended its control in the region through the growing presence of the central administration, which appropriated cattle and land. Rural populations gradually became aware of separate ethnic identities as they lost out politically and economically to the ruling class and saw their culture treated with disdain. The process intensified during the twentieth century, as the Tutsi rulers collaborated with the Belgian colonial administration to impose a "dual colonialism" (chap. 4). The Tutsi were treated as a Christian African elite and were chosen to be the recipients of Western education. For Hutu farmers, on the other hand, oppressive conditions intensified as harsh labor control policies, forced production, and taxation were imposed by the Tutsi on their own account and on behalf of their colonial masters. By the 1950s a rural political consciousness was matched by a growing ethnic consciousness. That new consciousness was articulated and channeled by leaders who were educated in the Catholic church and were encouraged by external agencies such as commissions of the United Nations to seek democratic rights. The uprising against the Tutsi minority on the eve of independence was a long time in the making.

Newbury's study is well worth reading by a wide audience, for the broad issues that are addressed—state building, the creation of ethnicity, the changing nature of patron-client relationships, the impact of colonial state and church policies—are common features in African political development. Newbury has spent several years in the region and has been working out her ideas and interpretations for almost twenty years. She draws on an impressive array of unpublished and published sources and integrates them in an admirable manner with the testimony of over two hundred informants. This book is a model for anyone embarking on field work in Africa, whether a novice or an old hand.

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PAUL KENNEDY. *African Capitalism: The Struggle for Ascendancy*. (African Society Today.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. x, 233. Cloth \$44.50, paper \$14.95.

Paul Kennedy's book is a timely intervention in the burgeoning debate over the development of capitalism on the African continent. The very existence of such a debate is noteworthy. Fifteen years ago authors attempting to understand the then-contemporary scene were preoccupied with "African socialism." With hindsight it is possible to date the beginnings of a change in orientation from 1973, a year notable both for dramatic oil price hikes, which delivered at least a temporarily decisive blow to socialist hopes across Africa, and for the publication of a seminal article by the late Bill Warren in the *New Left Review* entitled "Imperialism and Capitalist Industrialization," which formed the basis of his last work, *Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism* (1980). In these works Warren presented a challenge to the "dependency school" of writing on Africa that, although vigorously attacked, has had the effect of putting the question of capitalist development in Africa high on the scholarly agenda. Few would deny that it is now capitalism and not socialism that commands the African present. Consequently, debates over questions arising out of the nature of capitalist accumulation have displaced volumes devoted to the thoughts and practices of such "African socialists" as Nyerere of Tanzania or Senghor of Senegal.

Kennedy's contribution to this literature is problematic for several reasons. First, there are a number of historical ambiguities in the text. Early on Kennedy tells us that, as a result of British colonial policy in West Africa, "communal land rights were safeguarded" (p. 17), when, indeed, in areas such as northern Nigeria such communal rights were the creation of colonial officials who deliberately outlawed private property in land. This difficulty is compounded when we are told that "normally communally owned land" and the consequent absence of real property in African hands hindered would-be African entrepreneurs in their search for bank credit (p. 40). In reality, the Bank of British West Africa, among others, repeatedly attempted to cajole the British Colonial Office for permission to make loans to Africans whose land would stand as collateral. For forty years the Colonial Office was adamant in its refusal. The whole policy of promoting the "invented tradition" of communally owned land was designed to have precisely this result. On page 65 we are told with regard to state-run boards for the marketing of African produce on a world market that these were "introduced during the Second World War" and that "one of the principal reasons for continuing to operate such boards is that they provide a vehicle for deliberately reducing the profitable business opportunities available to overseas companies in favour of local enterprise." Well, yes, marketing boards were introduced during the war, but they were a response to the commercial crises, which turned political, of the 1930s.

And, yes, a number of African states have rationalized the continued existence of marketing boards via calls to patriotic sentiment, but it is clear that their continued existence has had much more to do with topping up government coffers by way of marketing board surpluses—a hidden indirect tax on peasant producers.

Second, I am not really sure what the author means by the term "capitalism." In some chapters "capitalism" seems to be used in the sense of Schumpeter or Marx as a name for a particular system of social organization; elsewhere it seems to be used synonymously with the term "enterprise" in a manner that many neoclassical economists may find agreeable. More problematic still is Kennedy's idealization of the good capitalist and the good capitalist state as opposed to what he sees as actually existing in most of the continent. Kennedy writes of the plight of "bona fide capitalist entrepreneurs" (p. 79) and the "true African commercial class" (p. 69) and argues that "what all countries seeking to undergo industrial transformation require, in addition to a strong indigenous capitalist bourgeoisie, is a disciplined, highly competent and patriotic class of bureaucrats and professionals who supervise the offices of the state. This has always been the case" (p. 80). I think not. Despite the wishful thinking of modernization theorists and some ahistorical Marxists, corruption and accumulation have marched arm in arm from the days of the "rotten borough" to Ivan Boesky. And I cannot agree with Kennedy's argument that a "strong national capitalist class" is more "directly accountable for the consequences of their actions in relation to national need and interest" that are "foreign managers and technicians" (p. 61).

It should be clear to the readers of this review that the above concerns are as much matters of interpretation as of fact. That they exist is itself partial testimony to the vibrancy of the historical debate to which Kennedy has ably contributed. Despite my disagreements, indeed because of them, I will use Kennedy's work as a text. In short, this book amply fulfills the promise of the editors of the Cambridge series "African Society Today" to "provide scholarly, but lively and up-to-date books, likely to appeal to a wide readership."

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ASIA

CHO-YUN HSU and KATHERYN M. LINDUFF. *Western Chou Civilization*. (Early Chinese Civilization Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xxiv, 421. \$45.00.

Unlike other volumes on the civilization of ancient Chinese dynasties in the series published by Yale University Press, which are almost exclusively oriented toward artifact provenance, this book is much more comprehensive in scope. In addition to arts, crafts, and aspects of daily life, two-thirds of the book is devoted to

history, institutions, religion, thought, and so forth. It thus better conforms to what historians consider to be history. It is an improvement over the original Chinese edition published in 1984, thanks to Katheryn M. Lindoff's effort to make the exposition more lucid. Although the attempt to integrate archaeological finds and Chou literary records is by and large fruitful, the book is not without problems.

Without consulting the works of the leading scholar of Shang oracle texts, Hu Hou-hsuan, Hsu Cho-yun insists that the supreme Shang deity, *Ti* (God on High), was merely a Shang tribal god and that only the Chou had an all-ruling deity, *T'ien* (heaven). Hsu does not fully understand the risks of "argument for silence." His broader views on Shang religion and institutions are ultimately related to the theme of the late Tung Tso-pin that a focal problem in late Shang was a conflict between the "conservatives" and the "reformists"—a theme that has been proven wrong by the majority of Shang specialists. In using *The Book of Documents*, Hsu commits the sin of double standard: citing certain passages from the sayings of the "ancients" (that is, deceased Shang kings and statesmen) to suit his purpose but avoiding important passages that would have established the interchangeability of *Ti* and *T'ien* and the overall continuity between Shang and Chou religions (pp. 101–11). In assessing military and cultural expansion, Hsu seems to have exaggerated Western Chou's achievements (pp. 186–226), for his picture is drawn only with inscriptions and odes that eulogized the Chou royal house, while the real situation in the vast spatial and temporal gaps remains little known. Extremely dubious is Hsu's contention of a tendency toward "specialization and professionalization" in the Western Chou government and army (pp. 249–57). Recent in-depth studies show that the rank and file of the fourteen divisions of the royal Chou army alternated between farming and military service, yielding no trace of "specialization and professionalization" (Shen Ch'ang-yun, "Chou-tai ssu-t'u-chih chih pien-fei," *Chung-kuo-shih yen-chiu*, no. 3 [1985]: 12–17; Hsu Hsi-ch'en, "Chou-tai ping-chih ch'u-lun," *ibid.*, no. 4 [1985]: 3–12). Devoid of necessary manifold scientific tools and hazy about the scientific content of the etymology of certain technical terms in the ancient Chinese farming system, Hsu perpetuates the common error of slash-and-burn origin and fails to understand that the northern Chinese agricultural system has been self-sustaining ever since its very inception millennia before the rise of Chou (pp. 345–54). But the greatest oddity is Hsu's extreme reluctance to come to grips with chronology, a most crucial factor in the writing of ancient history. The only reference to the inception of Western Chou is hidden in a sentence that mentions the initial successful attack on the Shang capital, which "must have taken place sometime between 1122 B.C. and 1027 B.C." (p. 95).

There are two very minor points. If viscount is used for the Chinese noble rank *tsu* of Chou times, there is no need to translate *nan* into the almost unheard of

"vice baron" (p. 171). Lang-ya (p. 171) is a wrong transliteration; it should be Lang-yeh. Space does not permit a discussion of a number of errors and inaccuracies in the background chapters, nor does it allow a discussion of some serious underrepresentation of mainland Chinese scholarship in the bibliography.

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DIETER KUHN. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Volume 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*; part 9, *Textile Technology: Spinning and Reeling*. Edited by JOSEPH NEEDHAM. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xxxiv, 520. \$110.00.

One loses count of how many volumes of Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China* have appeared or are on the way. This one, authored by Dieter Kuhn, falls under the topic of chemistry and chemical technology. Although lacking Needham's literary felicity, Kuhn is admirably thorough. Here the subject is textile fibers and yarn production (a companion volume on weaving technology is forthcoming).

There are four main sections in this book. The first deals with bast fibers; the second and third discuss two key tools for spinning and twisting, namely, the hand spindle and the wheel spindle; and the fourth section treats sericulture and silk yarn. Every type of source and monograph is called upon, from traditional technical treatises, which appeared rather late, to archaeology, philology, literary representations, rituals, comparative technology, and so on.

If one excludes silk (the luxury fabric for elites), bast fibers, especially hemp and ramie, were the main textile sources until the spread of cotton after 1300. Kuhn describes hemp and ramie and how their fibers were extracted and worked into yarn. After treating two lesser textile plants, the vine creeper and the banana, he briefly discusses the appearance and dissemination of cotton in China. (In a later section, he takes a "short excursion" [p. 52] into cotton ginning, bowing, and spinning.)

Kuhn considers the hand spindle the most important invention ever made in spinning technology. Used around the world for joining or twisting fibers, this device is represented in archaeological excavations dating from 6000 B.C. in the Middle East and 4500 B.C. in China. The Chinese finds consist of pottery or stone spindle whorls. Although from the beginning most hand spindles were probably made of wood, none of these has survived, and bronze or iron examples do not appear until much later. The author has constructed three interesting maps that display the sequential distribution of these artifacts. Not surprisingly, they seem to show a diffusion outward from the Yellow River and lower Yangtze River core areas. Kuhn then analyzes general types and the incidence of whorls from the Shang and later periods.

One of Kuhn's own important contributions to textile history is his argument for the Chinese provenance of the wheel spindle. His third section treats the structure and uses of this improvement over the hand-held tool. He concludes, on the basis of archaeological and economic considerations, that it was invented, probably by women, between 500 and 200 B.C. Its original purpose, however, was not spinning but doubling and twisting already formed threads. He further concludes that the treadle-operated spindle wheel was invented in China between A.D. 0 and A.D. 200 and that the multiple-spindle, treadle-operated wheel came along around the tenth or the eleventh centuries. The final subject in this section is the water-powered apparatus for twisting multiple ramie threads. This almost industrial machine has been studied in connection with the problem of whether China could have generated an indigenous technological revolution. Kuhn's discourse on the device's limitations sheds important light on this question.

The book's largest section covers sericulture and the production of silk yarn. After reviewing the traces of silk going back to 2850–2650 B.C., Kuhn examines every aspect of production, from mulberry trees and silkworms to sericulture practices, the handling of cocoons, and the evolution of reeling devices. He includes a brief discussion of the economics of silk production in the Song period and sketches the dispersion of silk technology to the West.

Two smaller topics are interspersed among these four larger sections: rope making and the religious rituals connected with sericulture. Kuhn's discussion of ritual is a fascinating introduction to official and popular worship of silk-related divinities as a human response to the great risks and uncertainties of raising silkworms.

This book, beautifully edited and produced and including a thorough bibliography, is a worthy addition to Needham's series. Its major strength lies in the author's lucid reconstruction of technologies and his detailed description of early artifacts. It leaves the reader less satisfied in its economic and social interpretations. Although Kuhn emphasizes the importance of economic relationships and notes the central role of women in textile making, his discussions of these subjects are tantalizingly sketchy.

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R. KEITH SCHOPPA. *Xiang Lake: Nine Centuries of Chinese Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. xx, 284. \$30.00.

The main character in this book is an artificial lake just across the Qiantang river from Hangzhou, in Xiaoshan county of Zhejiang province, whose history over nine hundred years serves R. Keith Schoppa as the vehicle for analyzing an enduring theme in the political and economic history of China. That theme is "the relation-

ship between population, land, and water." In south China, "water nourished the rice paddies, which in turn supported people. As the population increased, land per capita decreased and more land was sought; but as land was reclaimed [from the lake bed] . . . , water to nourish the rice paddies decreased" (p. 19). Stated broadly, the issue is the relationship of *gong* and *si*, the problem of accommodating common and private interests, which is faced by every society but which takes on particular urgency in China.

The creation of Xiang Lake in the eleventh century appeared to be a triumph of action for the common good. Five times as large as the celebrated West Lake in Hangzhou, the new body of water helped control floods and irrigated some 22,500 acres of paddy land. Unfortunately, the sources do not allow Schoppa to reconstruct the complex political compromises that must have been struck between those who wanted land and those who wanted water, though we do know that the government's only concern was that land-tax revenues not be lost.

Although a well-maintained reservoir might serve the long-term interests of a large community, individuals could make short-term private gains by encroaching on the lake: stealing water through illegal sluiceways or reclaiming lake-bed land for crops. Pressure was increased when the Song court moved to Hangzhou in 1127, bringing refugees and officials whose encroachments were shielded by court connections.

Only a strong central power could curb such official abuses, and during the early Ming period a vigorous central administration intervened to save the lake. Yet subsequent history made it clear that connections with the center were, on balance, a threat because they often provided officials the license to encroach on the lake in the face of local opposition. Over time, Schoppa concludes, the most reliable guardians of their own common long-term interests were the people who depended on the lake, organized by lineage. The lineage, he finds, was the only "social network or grouping beyond the family" that possessed "the material and sociocultural cohesion and strength to sponsor effective, long-term historical actors" (p. 69).

As Schoppa's narrative approaches the present, it becomes clear that the vexing problem of what Mancur Olson (to whom Schoppa refers) calls "the logic of collective action" is still unresolved in China. The final gobbling up of the lake began during the republican period, with a more complex cast of players than in earlier eras. Brickmaking and other industries had developed on the margins of the lake, and industrial interests clashed with those of the farmers, the fish raisers, and the users of irrigation water. Zhejiang University and the provincial government's reconstruction bureau got involved. Finally, in 1955, when it was thought that the use of diesel irrigation pumps diminished the lake's role in providing water, the decision was made to reclaim the entire lake as farmland. But the wisdom of that action was still controversial in 1986, when Schoppa did field work in China. Sadly, as is so

often the case in China, *mingcun shiwang*—the name survives after the reality has disappeared: “a forty-meter-wide canal running through what was formerly the lake” is today officially called Xiang Lake (p. 230).

The story of Xiang Lake is a fascinating one. Schoppa's presentation, like those of an increasing number of social and economic historians, is perhaps too embellished: Schoppa places verses from W. B. Yeats across from the dedication, and he divides the exposition into a series of “views,” which are brief and rather literary sketches, paired with “chapters,” which contain the more down-to-earth narrative. Antiquarian local detail often threatens to overwhelm the argument, and one wishes analysis had been more emphasized. But the book is nevertheless important as a specific contribution to understanding, in the Chinese case, a set of questions that have abiding importance for historical study in general.

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C. MARTIN WILBUR and JULIE LIEN-YING HOW. *Missionaries of Revolution: Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China, 1920–1927*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 904. \$65.00.

This volume comprises two books, each about four hundred pages. Book 1 is a detailed chronological account of the Chinese revolutionary movement between 1920 and 1927. Book 2 consists of documents produced by the Russian advisers who attempted to guide the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang during that revolution. The documents in book 2 constitute the heart of the work, and the history in book 1 provides the detailed context that illuminates the documents and gives them meaning.

The documents first came to public attention on April 6, 1927, when a group of Beijing metropolitan police entered the offices of the Soviet Military attaché in Beijing, arrested a number of Chinese and Russians there, and carried off truckloads of documents. Thereafter, translations of selected documents were published, individually and in collections.

In 1956, Columbia University Press published *Documents on Communism, Nationalism, and Soviet Advisers in China, 1918–1927*, which contained English translations of fifty of the documents seized in the 1927 raid, edited and with introductory essays by C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How. The volume was widely praised for the historical value of the documents, the critical care with which Wilbur and How presented them, and the helpful introductory essays that the editors provided. Since its publication, that volume has been one of the basic published sources of the history of the Kuomintang during the 1920s, the creation and early years of the Chinese Communist party, and Russian activities in China in those years.

During the decades since the publication of that volume there has been an explosion of publications

relating to Russian activities in China during the 1920s, including diaries, reminiscences, scholarly monographs, multivolume collections of documents, biographies, and other items. This additional material has thrown much light on the Beijing documents, clarifying authorship, motives, context, and implications. Wilbur and How began to prepare a new edition using these new insights. In the process, they discovered about fifty documents from the 1927 raid that they had not seen before, most of which had never been published. All of this material ultimately became the basis for the new edition here under review.

Thus, although in one sense the current volume is a new edition of a book published over thirty years ago, it is much more than that. Book 2 of the current volume contains eighty-one documents. About half of them appeared in the original edition, and half are new documents, most of them discovered in the Public Record Office and American government archives. And even those documents published in the earlier volume are here presented with details about authorship, pseudonyms, and other circumstances that were not known at the time the earlier volume was prepared. Moreover, several of the documents published in the first edition were excerpts that are here expanded by inclusion of some or all of the portions hitherto unpublished. All of the documents in the earlier edition are represented in the current book, except seven that relate to Russian advisers in Feng Yu-hsiang's army; those were omitted from this work because all of the updated and additional material on Feng Yu-hsiang, originally intended to be part of the revised volume, was published separately in 1985 by Julie Lien-ying How (“Soviet Advisers with the Kuominchun, 1925–1926: A Documentary Study,” *Chinese Studies in History*, XIX, 1–2 [1985–86]).

The documents are organized in nine categories, defined by time and place (for example, developments in Canton, 1924–25), organization (for example, the Chinese Communist party in 1925), and event (for example, the Northern Expedition, April 1926–March 1927). There are reports, letters, minutes, instructions, regulations, plans, and various other documents. They concern primarily military and political subjects, of course, but within those categories the documents relate to a broad range of specific topics. Many of the documents are quite fascinating, and all are valuable sources that will be widely used by specialists on modern China.

Book 1 deals with the political history of China from 1920 to 1927 in the form of an extremely detailed, chronological history of the Communist party, the Kuomintang, and the Russian advisers in China. The history focuses on the documents in three ways. First, it relies heavily on the documents as source materials. Second, the authors' extensive research is devoted to highlighting the immediate specific context in which each document was produced and within which the reader should interpret it. Finally, the history constitutes an extensive gloss on the documents themselves,

explaining their significance, clarifying ambiguities, elaborating implications. The authors provide extraordinary detail about events, individuals, and organizations with the result that the volume will prove an extremely useful reference work for anyone seeking reliable information on any of a myriad of subjects in the political history of China in the 1920s.

This new volume supersedes the 1956 edition. With its fascinating documents, its comprehensive and meticulous scholarship, it will be, even more than its predecessor, a standard source for many years to come.

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DAE-SOOK SUH. *Kim Il Sung: The North Korean Leader*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 443. \$45.00.

This is a major book about an important figure in postwar Asia. Although it is a relatively small state with little intrinsic economic importance in world affairs, North Korea ranks among the most significant actors in contemporary international relations. As Suh Dae-sook demonstrates, its importance is largely a consequence of the leadership of its longtime president, Kim Il Sung. Under the "Great Leader Kim Il Sung" (the honorific title and Kim's name long ago melded into a whole), North Korea has imposed itself on the world's consciousness. Through the North Korean aggression that precipitated the Korean War, the postwar reconstruction of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea into a harshly Stalinist exemplar of totalitarianism, the maintenance of a heavily armed social order geared toward the liberation of southern Korea, and the creation of an Orwellian polity in which big brother Kim is uniquely powerful, Kim Il Sung fostered a state that had to be taken seriously by many, including all the major post-World War II powers.

The Kim regime in Pyongyang has played a major role in shaping strategic perceptions of the United States regarding Asia by compelling American leaders to be concerned about the spread of communism to all of Korea and about what that would mean to American interests in Japan and to American credibility regarding commitments to the rival Republic of Korea. As a corollary, the Kim regime has kept both the Republic of Korea and Japan dependent on the United States for support. More important to Seoul and Tokyo, the Kim regime forced the Republic of Korea and Japan to worry about additional North Korean aggression, terrorism, and fifth-column activities. On the other side of the geopolitical spectrum, the Kim regime has forced its two putative friends and allies, the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China, to be anxious about the volatility and unpredictability of North Korea. Furthermore, North Korea has long been able to play off the competing ideological and strategic interests of the USSR and China by straddling the fence between them. Though often troubled by Kim's "loose cannon"

characteristics, each communist giant has been stuck with him and his regime.

The importance of the North Korean state's ability to shape developments in northeast Asia and among the major powers appears superficially to have been reduced by the changed dynamics that have evolved since late 1987, yielding greater pluralism and less rigidity in relations within and around Korea. Pyongyang retains, however, the crucial ability to be a spoiler, throwing aside all the gains made to date, by engaging in more hostile acts.

North Korea might have behaved the same way without the leadership of Kim Il Sung. Be that as it may, North Korea today bears the strong and overwhelming imprint of Kim the person, the cult of Kim as an ideology, and the uncertainties of "Kimism" without Kim Il Sung as the day inevitably approaches when Pyongyang sycophants must refer to the "Late Great Leader." Although Kim Il Sung has outlived virtually all other major national leaders of the early postwar years and is the only one still in office, he is not—regardless of the seeming belief of his followers—immortal.

Despite the importance of Kim Il Sung in modern Korean and world history, there has been a dearth of accurate information about him. That is not to suggest that little is written about him. The North Korean propaganda mill spews out endless paeans to him, and South Korean critics add volumes of misinformation and disinformation. The result is a person scarcely known to outsiders. As important, the political system he symbolizes and, in a sense, embodies (Kim, far more accurately than Louis XIV, could say "*L'état c'est moi!*") is not well known either.

Into that comparative vacuum steps Suh Dae-sook. There are few other scholars who are capable of undertaking the formidable task of culling the facts from the mythology surrounding Kim. A careful scholar who is well versed in the pertinent languages and who seems to have no ideological ax to grind, Suh has performed a valuable service to the Asian studies scholarly community. In this volume he traces impartially Kim's origins, his guerilla and political struggles, his climb to leadership and handling of the competition, and his management of North Korean domestic and international affairs. In short, Suh provides great detail about and careful analysis of the roles Kim Il Sung has played in bringing North Korea the prominence and notoriety it possesses today.

If North Korean scholars and officials could learn to appreciate Suh's objectivity and not be too perturbed by the inclusion of the word "North" in the title of this book—for, to them, Kim clearly is the leader of all Korea—they, too, would recognize that Suh has written a definitive study on North Korea's greatest leader. This book presents Kim to the world in a credible manner and enables foreigners to pay him the attention he deserves.

Scholars in modern Korean studies certainly should regard this book highly, but scholars in modern Asian

studies and contemporary international affairs should also pay attention to it. Policy makers in the United States and other countries concerned with Korea should consider it required reading. This book is essential for anyone interested in contemporary Korea, in how that divided nation's rival states may eventually deal with their frictions, and in how Kim's legacy may shape the postsuccession issues in Pyongyang.

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M. N. PEARSON. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 1, part 1, *The Portuguese in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xviii, 178. \$29.95.

C. A. BAYLY. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 2, part 1, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 230. \$29.95.

P. J. MARSHALL. *The New Cambridge History of India*. Volume 2, part 2, *Bengal: The British Bridgehead*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1987. Pp. xv, 195. \$29.95.

The original *Cambridge History of India*, five massive, multiauthored tomes published between 1922 and 1937, with its set chronology and detailed descriptions of government structures, has long since been overtaken by events and superseded by new research. The new series, divided into four parts, is to consist of thirty volumes published over the next five years. Each volume is short, self-contained, and written by a single author and is designed to take full account of changing conceptualizations of South Asia's past and to conclude with a comprehensive bibliographic essay for nonspecialists. The first volumes of what is planned as a balanced set of complementary monographs are presented in an attractive and uniform format. They are also clearly Indocentric in focus, emphasizing the limited nature of European impacts and spurning previous Eurocentric perspectives and preoccupations. Through these volumes runs a common thread, namely, that for all of their lofty pretensions and their vaunting of superiority over stagnating cultures and societies, Europeans (*Farangi's*) quickly discovered the limits of their power and found themselves constrained by conditions in India to study the arts of accommodation, collaboration, compromise, and consensus.

Reading M. N. Pearson's excellent summation of scholarship pertaining to the Portuguese in India, one is soon encouraged to see things from an Indian point of view. Pearson argues that the Portuguese, despite their myth of ascendancy, were much more bound by local circumstances than has previously been supposed. Their king's grandiloquent claim to be "Lord of Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce . . . of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India" (p. 30) masked a deep and fundamental failure: the inability to make significant

changes in the sophisticated trading system of the Indian Ocean. The "*Estado da India*," whatever its ambitions and bravado, could not command enough manpower or raise enough money to do more than alter some surface features of Indian Ocean commerce. Even when the Portuguese did manage to skim off customs from some shipping, their officers were so profligate, rampant, and spendthrift that their authority sank out of sight in the backwaters of Goa and their diaspora settled down in widely scattered coastal enclaves. Thus, local interaction and reciprocity became far more prevalent than alien imposition, and India remained largely undisturbed. Pearson goes well beyond his ostensible subject, focusing our attention on a wider Indian context and on themes of broader, more general historical interest than can be surmised from the title of his book.

The next two volumes bring us to India during the rise and establishment of British power. Again the establishment of a European power in India is seen as a quintessentially Indian event. From the earliest expansions of the East India Company out of enclaves in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay to the final abolition of the Company in the aftermath of the Indian Revolt (or Mutiny) of 1857, the story of the construction of the Indian empire is one of the most complex and interesting developments in modern history. The history of the rise of this India, with all of its intricacies, has been made all the more fascinating by the number of first-class minds now engaged in arguing over its various features. Long gone are the days of the old, simplistic, Anglocentric, and Eurocentric assertions about prowess, superiority, and all that.

C. A. Bayly, among the most brilliant younger scholars in the field, has produced a book of wonderful intricacy and sophistication. Broad in scope and grand in conception, his study is a masterly synthesis of recent scholarship and amazingly complex interpretations of India's past. In rich detail Bayly explains the emergence of the Company's Raj, stressing the importance of those social elements and forces within the continent that enabled and facilitated large-scale processes of economic and political integration. Deep interactions between powerful local interests, both Indian and European and both inside and outside the Company's organizational structures, generated common understandings and long-term bonds of alliance and collaboration. Without such slowly evolving interactions, the growth of the huge, elaborate imperial structure could not have gained such momentum, nor could its machinery have been made to function. The complexity and variety of indigenous responses, together with the vitality of many local elites, were crucial factors in gradually drawing the Company into successively larger bids for imperial dominion—providing both the means, in manpower and money, and the motivation. The foundations of the Raj, in other words, were Indian—from the bankers and scribes who served its commissary and administrative engines down to the rich, yeoman-warrior communities of peasant-lords

whose sons served in its advancing armies (or who sold hundreds of thousands of bullocks for its logistic support).

What happened was neither radical nor spectacular. Only gradually, after indigenous notables who had held higher positions in running the empire were displaced, after important segments of the economy were commandeered, and after more arable land was cleared and opened to settled agriculture, did caste, class, and communal constraints harden and other deep changes begin to disrupt the countryside. Steadily deteriorating conditions of life among nomadic and pastoral peoples, Bayly argues, led to their displacement by more sedentary forms of "Hindu" life. With insight and originality such as this, it is not difficult to understand why Bayly, just recently elected to the British Academy, is considered by many to be one of the best of the younger Indian historians of our day.

Finally, we come to the more narrowly focused work by P. J. Marshall. In this superb study, Marshall also puts heavy emphasis on India and sees the emergence of the empire as an Indian event. He begins his history in 1740, a year after the sacking of Delhi by Nadir Shah, when Alivardi Khan, the last effective surrogate of Mughal rule in eastern India, began his reign. The circumstances by which the British eventually gained power and the indigenous heritage that so powerfully enabled their rule did not harden until after 1765. Even that heritage precluded the possibility of the British doing very much to transform the highly complex, rich, and sophisticated peoples with whom they dealt. Marshall finds it ludicrous to think that somehow, while making decisions from London and yielding to demands from incipient industrial interests, Britain could have imposed imperial rule on India. Six months away by ship, Company servants in Bengal had long ago adapted themselves to local conditions, acting autonomously as necessity required. Like other rulers around them, they worked with local agents, arranging contracts and forming alliances of mutual advantage. If revenues could be diverted from Delhi and channeled into trade, so much the better. Working carefully in a society where commerce had long flourished and where survival required compromise and negotiation, the British of Bengal were never in a position to set many large or sudden changes in motion.

Seen in that context, the great Permanent (or Zamin-dari) Settlement of 1793 appears as only another in a chain of immediately necessary and practical actions, more a reflection of British limitations than any grand or sinister design to transform Bengal. The Company simply did not have enough loyal manpower, in local servants, to meet the demands of its overextended rule. Hence, huge blocks of the countryside were turned over, in perpetuity, to intermediary notables in return for their loyalty and support. The long-term impact of that turnover on the Bengal "peasantry" was a by-product of this event. By the 1820s, dominion over Bengal had long been firmly established. But the larger process by which the British gradually gained influence

and consolidated their power was one that took far longer than the seventy-five years focused on in this study. Marshall ends by suggesting that, by the 1820s, deeply rooted continuities were beginning to give way to a new pattern of cultural and economic relations between Britain and Bengal.

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ROBERT H. TAYLOR. *The State in Burma*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1987. Pp. xvi, 395.

One of the more revealing aspects of this much-needed study by Robert H. Taylor is the extent to which it is devoted to political processes outside of or directed against the state. The early portions of the volume focus on the weaknesses of precolonial administrative structures and the techniques Burmese monarchs used to collect enough revenue and compel sufficient obedience to give some semblance of reality to their grandiloquent claims to rule. The middle chapters and the bulk of the study are devoted to the imposition of colonial rule in the late nineteenth century and growing Burmese opposition to the British presence. Despite their own pretensions and the rather elaborate bureaucratic apparatus that the British imposed on Burma, it is difficult to conceive of the colonial regime as a state in any meaningful sense, particularly because Burma was administered as a subsection of, a single province in, the larger Indian empire. The later chapters cover the utter collapse of state power from 1942, when the Japanese drove the British from Burma, to 1962; until then, Taylor argues quite persuasively, state authority was not genuinely restored.

Although these patterns are somewhat familiar, the specialist's knowledge and analytical insight that Taylor brings to them render this volume the best survey we have to date on the political development of Burma up to the recent crisis of the military regime headed by Ne Win. For this alone the work is a major contribution. But Taylor does much more than provide an able survey; he identifies key themes in each of the stages of Burmese political development and weaves them into a series of general arguments about the process of state formation and maintenance in Burma. Particularly in the sections on early Burmese political development, the work may be difficult for the nonspecialist to follow because Taylor assumes a familiarity with Burmese dynastic history and basic chronology that the general reader is not likely to have. Relying heavily on important recent work on the precolonial era by scholars such as Victor Lieberman, Michael Aung Thwin, and William Koenig, Taylor builds a synthesis that strikingly illustrates how far Burmese and Southeast Asian scholarship has advanced in the past two or three decades. Rather than battles, dynastic lists, and tales of royal excess, Taylor explores the complex interaction between the patron-client-based Burmese state system

and both internal and external rivals for political authority, including the Buddhist *Sangha*, regional and local notables, and rival monarchs of neighboring kingdoms. His analysis underscores a number of chronic weaknesses that not only rendered the Burmese state vulnerable to European colonial conquest but have persisted into the present era.

The analysis of the precolonial state and its competitors for power serves as a prelude to the main focus of the book, the struggle to establish governmental authority and legitimacy in the colonial and postindependence periods. In his discussion of the establishment of the colonial "state," Taylor again combines synthesis with original analytical insight. His fine comparison of Burmese and British concepts of the roles of government and their approaches to the organization of administration provides the basis for the best discussion available of the political dimensions of British rule in Burma. Here, as in his earlier discussion of precolonial patterns, he neglects the strong and continuing impact of Indian precedents on approaches to statecraft and specific policy decisions, but the complexities of the imperial impact on the patchwork of peoples in Burma are convincingly and often innovatively handled. Particularly noteworthy is Taylor's analysis of the rise of Burmese nationalism, which goes far to explain the ideological and factional fragmentation that dominated late colonial and early independence politics.

Although it provides a good deal of useful information culled from Burmese documents, the final section of the book on the postindependence era is less analytical than the portions of the study on the earlier periods. Its cautious tone and at times its quality of a "handbook of politics in Burma" may reflect both the difficulties of getting information on the workings of the Ne Win regime, beyond the position papers of the ruling "party," and the understandable concern of one of the few scholars of contemporary politics who has been able to work within Burma for a meaningful length of time not to expose valuable sources of inside information or demolish all of his bridges to the current regime. On the face of it, his unfortunate timing also appears to detract from this portion of the study. Taylor's work was in press when the recent upsurge of popular unrest shattered the apparent, but obviously deceptive, calm established by the Ne Win approach to the problems of Burmese statecraft. His chapter on the Ne Win era does little to help us understand the specific sources of this dissent, although it tells us a good deal about the failings of the military regime. But to stress such present concerns in evaluating the book is to miss the point of the volume. If the current crisis is set in the context of the approaches to statecraft and limits to authority that Taylor has so ably traced over nearly a millennium, one can gain great insight into present political struggles in Burma and the ways these relate to its long-term political experience. For those concerned with historical dynamics and underlying themes rather than just current events, Taylor's study, even without an epilogue on the recent crisis, is the best

place to begin an enquiry into the political history of Burma.

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KERMIT L. HALL. *The Magic Mirror: Law in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 404. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

Kermit L. Hall borrowed the title for this excellent survey of American legal history from Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., who once compared law to a magic mirror that reflects the lives of all those who have lived in the past. "This book is about what that magic mirror reveals to us; it is about law, constitutions, legal institutions, and the idea of the rule of law as separate subjects and as part of our social history" (p. 30). Hall has not written an account of the development of legal doctrine. Nor does he deal only with court decisions. Both in its focus on the relationship between law and society and in its concern with statutes, executive orders, and administrative regulations, as well as with judicial pronouncements, this work reflects the influence of J. Willard Hurst. In its emphasis on legal culture, it echoes the writings of Lawrence Friedman.

What sets this book apart from earlier works on American legal history is its comprehensiveness. In the pioneering synthesis that Friedman published in 1973, he disposed of the entire twentieth century in an epilogue. Even in the second edition of his *History of American Law* (1985), he gave that period only passing attention. Hall rushes in where Friedman feared to tread, attempting to write a complete account of the evolution of this country's legal culture from colonial times to the present.

The results are impressive. What Hall has to say about twentieth-century constitutional development is not particularly novel, but his analysis of changes in private law since 1900 is. Given the raw material he had to work with, his chapter on law and society since World War II is a remarkable achievement. He effectively weaves together such diverse strands as zoning, no-fault divorce, and critical legal studies. Hall even explicates the role of the American Law Institute, although doing that required him to use an unpublished paper by N. E. H. Hull.

As his exploitation of such a source suggests, Hall has an impressive command of the literature on legal history. Although his bibliographical essay does not purport to be comprehensive, most readers will find it enlightening. Hall not only identifies those scholars on whose work he relied heavily but also illuminates gaps in existing scholarship, alerting readers to the dearth of writing on the twentieth century and to the fact that "historians know next to nothing about the evolution of substantive criminal law" (p. 372).

As is perhaps inevitable in a work of such breadth,

Hall sometimes errs on minor details. For example, he puts the unconscionability section of the Uniform Commercial Code in the wrong article, calling it 3-302 rather than 2-302 (p. 295). And Earl Warren was not the governor of California when he campaigned to remove persons of Japanese ancestry from that state; he was California's attorney general (p. 252).

The magnitude of Hall's undertaking explains not only such small errors but also his heavy reliance on secondary accounts. Although he cites numerous cases and some statutes, constitutional provisions, and presidential messages, he bases much of what he has to say on the work of other scholars. Although it is a synthesis, this book is an outstanding one. Hall makes extremely judicious use of the secondary works on which he relies. After agreeing with Morton Horwitz that the judiciary facilitated economic development through legal instrumentalism, he goes on to explain why, to him, the "Horwitz argument seems overdrawn" (p. 127). Although generally closer to the consensus perspective of Hurst than to the more radical position of Horwitz, he acknowledges, "Yet, our legal past is studded with injustice. Neither wealth, political power, social standing, nor civil liberties and civil rights have ever been equally distributed" (p. 335). This is a very balanced account.

Its balance along with its comprehensiveness and relative brevity make this work suitable for use as a textbook. Its value as a teaching tool is enhanced by a useful glossary of technical legal terms. Instructors teaching two-term courses may be reluctant to adopt this book because it is not neatly divided at the Civil War. Hall points out, however, that, although that breaking point makes sense for constitutional history, with respect to other matters (such as race, criminal justice, and domestic relations) "considerable thematic and interpretive unity bind the eras before and after the Civil War" (p. 376). Besides, he subdivides the chapters in which he traces topics through the nineteenth century in ways that make it possible to assign only those parts that deal with events before or after 1860. The book is well designed for use as a text, and, one hopes, it will be widely adopted. It is precisely the sort of interpretive survey of the evolution of American legal culture that students and teachers have needed for years.

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LOUIS P. MASUR. *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776-1865*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 208. \$29.95.

In recent years the work of Michel Foucault, Pieter Spierenburg, and other scholars has enriched our understanding of the history of punishment and deviancy. Louis P. Masur's book is an important addition to that body of scholarship. Masur explores important

changes in the ways Americans viewed and treated criminals during the period 1776 to 1865.

Masur begins by analyzing the multiple functions that public executions served in postrevolutionary America. He stresses that the executions were communal rituals designed not only to punish criminals but to affirm civil and religious authority. Public hangings of criminals dramatized a community's conformity to social order and warned spectators against violating that order.

Masur also examines the movement to abolish capital punishment during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He discusses how various factors, including Enlightenment ideals, republican ideology, and especially liberal Protestant ideology, promoted condemnation of capital punishment and experimentation with the incarceration of criminals in penitentiaries.

Fortunately, Masur is sensitive to chronological shifts in the arguments and strategies of opponents of capital punishment. He notes that postrevolutionary reformers, such as Benjamin Rush, condemned capital punishment because it failed to reform criminals. By the turn of the century, however, Rush's optimistic belief in the reformation of criminals waned. The antebellum movement against capital punishment stressed that it was an ineffective deterrent against crime and that executions brutalized spectators and aroused their passions.

Those arguments often promoted the modification, rather than the abolition, of capital punishment. Masur discusses the trend toward private executions during the 1830s. He links that development to a heightened middle-class concern about privacy. By making the ritual of execution private, middle-class Americans sought to ensure that such rituals would be orderly events and would not arouse public sympathy for the criminal.

Masur illustrates the trend toward private executions by analyzing important changes in the iconography of the gallows. Whereas eighteenth-century woodcuts stressed spectators witnessing an execution, mid-nineteenth-century illustrations emphasized the solitary criminal. By examining the iconography of executions, Masur uses an important body of evidence that historians of punishment have often neglected to use.

Masur also enriches our understanding of the antebellum debate over capital punishment by discussing the defenders as well as the opponents of such punishment. Through the analysis of specific debates over capital punishment, such as the one between noted editor John L. O'Sullivan and Presbyterian minister George Barrell Cheever in 1843, he shows that conflicting views about human nature and society ultimately fueled the controversy over executions.

Throughout his book Masur focuses on particular events and people to illuminate major concerns. He effectively explores the motivation of critics of capital punishment by focusing on the career of Charles Spear, a Universalist minister who led the campaign

against capital punishment during the antebellum period. Masur also powerfully dramatizes the rituals surrounding public hangings by describing the executions of specific criminals.

In his analysis of the controversy surrounding the public execution of black seaman Washington Goode in 1849 for the murder of another black sailor, Masur suggests how the issues of race and class affected the public's response to capital punishment. Then as now, members of racial minorities and economically disadvantaged individuals were likelier to suffer capital punishment for their crimes than their white, middle-class counterparts.

This study is an important book that addresses major issues in the history of punishment. I would have liked, however, more detailed discussion of the reform context in which the movement to abolish capital punishment occurred. Masur notes that opponents of capital punishment were active in other reform movements, especially pacifism and abolitionism, but he does not adequately discuss that fact. He also neglects to examine the resonance between the movement against capital punishment and the movements against corporal punishment and cruelty to animals. Detailed analysis of the campaign against capital punishment in the context of these other reform activities would have strengthened Masur's argument that there was a heightened sensitivity to pain and suffering among antebellum middle-class Americans.

Those criticisms notwithstanding, Masur's book is an excellent piece of scholarship. It merits a wide audience and is required reading for anyone interested in the history of deviancy, crime, and punishment.

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EDWARD K. SPANN. *Brotherly Tomorrows: Movements for a Cooperative Society in America, 1820-1920*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 354. \$43.50.

In nature and scope, Edward K. Spann's study falls somewhere between Robert H. Walker's *Reform in America* (1985), a broad, multicentury survey of numerous types of reforms, and John L. Thomas's *Alternative America* (1983), an intricate and original period study. Spann's time focus is 1820 to 1920; his reform focus is the urge to transform an "excessively" competitive and "individualistic society into a cooperative one" (p. xiii). His approach is typically descriptive, although he does routinely use his knowledge of secondary works to place most of the reform efforts within biographical, intellectual, and economic contexts. Unlike Walker, who used his material to develop a theory for understanding American reform movements, or Thomas, who offered a complex analysis of the "adversary tradition," Spann is light on theory and does not analyze his two unifying terms, "culture of dissent" and "radical social idealism," to any great extent.

The obvious contribution of this book is Spann's

convincing demonstration of the existence, in the land of individuality, of a long and variegated tradition of the cooperative temperament expressed in communal experiments, intellectual currents, reform movements, businesses, workers' groups, fiction, and political parties. Spann begins his chronological survey with brief glances at religious communities (Shakers and Harmonists) but concentrates primarily on middle- and upper-class secular groups, movements, and books: New Harmony, Brook Farm, the many theoretical and experimental forms of Americanized Fourierism, single-tax groups, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and Nationalism, voluntary business and workers' associations, and socialist politics.

In a study that surveys so many types of cooperative impulses, omissions are to be expected. Still, I was concerned about some specific omissions: for instance, a discussion of King Camp Gillette and his drive toward a people's corporation would have fit nicely into Spann's interesting examination of business cooperatives. Several key secondary works are not mentioned, including Walker's book and Robert S. Fogarty's *American Utopianism* (1972) and *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (1980). Most of all, I would have liked more discussion indicating the significance of the precursors (for example, the Puritans) and the descendants (for example, several New Deal programs) of Spann's cooperative reform groups.

Despite those omissions, Spann offers a series of concise and balanced portraits that trace an important cumulative process. American Christian millennialism and idealizations of open space and the small town helped shape religious and secular communes and the nature of American Fourierism. All those elements and an antipathy for theories of class conflict molded Henry George's single-tax utopia, Bellamy's Nationalism, and the business-workers' associations of the late nineteenth century, which in turn influenced responses to Eugene Debs's American Railway Union and the socialist political movement. An awareness of that cumulative process helps us to understand how reform movements as "foreign" as socialism were Americanized, why cooperative ideologies often gained support in the land of individuality, and why social security, health insurance, and other cooperative institutions that might have seemed radically un-American in the nineteenth century are part of the American way today.

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MAREN STANGE. *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America, 1890-1950*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 190. \$34.50.

Maren Stange's clear-sighted and compact work re-frames and challenges core assumptions about the history of the documentary mode of still photography.

Investigating photographs, as well as their integral captions, texts, and "presenting agencies," Stange discovers frequent manipulation of images through control of contexts. She charges that documentary photographs have always been rather more (or probably, in her view, less) than precisely descriptive. She argues that since the 1890s social documentary images have been used "to help legitimize the ideological underpinnings of the reformist vision" (p. xiv), and she finds that vision to be a privileged, middle-class one.

Stange's argument—which accords with the revisionist debate of such scholars as Allan Sekula, Sally Stein, and Alan Trachtenberg—posits that the "liberal corporate state" has long "managed not only our politics but also our esthetics and our art" (p. xv). She charges that such well-known purveyors of the documentary tradition as Jacob Riis and Roy Stryker emphasized those photographic images that could be perceived, in John Dewey's phrase, as "symbols of ideal life." Beginning her historical analysis with a discussion of Riis's work in the 1890s, Stange joins other revisionists in their evaluation of Riis's documentary intention by arguing that Riis employed "the idea of photography as surveillance, the controlling gaze as a middle-class right and tool" (p. 23). Stange dismisses the older notion of Riis as the compassionate observer; she instead states that his "surveillance" photography inherently denied his subjects "whatever dignity and individuality they might muster in the extraordinary situation that the camera's presence has created for them" (p. 24).

Stange finds herself in greater sympathy with Lewis Hine's photographic documentation, explaining how Hine and the Pittsburgh Survey went beyond documenting the ethnic "types" that Riis captured. Yet, she argues, ultimately the survey's social science purpose overwhelmed the photographic description; although Hine's work "set forth workers' humanity, politics and autonomy," his work was overridden by the survey ideology associated with corporate capitalism and the theory of benign social engineering (p. 86).

The massive interjection of corporate capitalist interests into the documentary mode, Stange contends, increased over time. Indeed, during and after World War I, the centralization of decision making among business leaders, academics, the military, and government officials reinforced reformers' beliefs that the levers for social change were within the "management structures of large corporations" (p. 89). So pervasive were those beliefs, Stange argues, that Roy Stryker was already "working in corporate public relations" (p. 108) while heading the New Deal photographic sections, a decade before his move to public relations with Standard Oil of New Jersey.

Stange concludes her survey by stating that the documentary mode died when the photographic section of the Farm Security Administration was transferred over to the Office of War Information in 1943 and became little more than a propaganda arm of the war effort. With the death of that mode, Stange argues, came the final triumph of the corporate capitalist

investment in photography as a public relations tool; photography unites "government, corporations, and cultural institutions in ways that even today ensure those agencies' cultural hegemony" (p. 135).

Stange's work touches on regional and national policies and issues, on public and private institutions, and on more general urban, social, and photographic history. Her range is to be commended, for surely her subject intersects with all of those topics. Yet her chapters are handicapped by their brevity. Writing in a new field (at least for most mainstream historians), Stange should have detailed more of the historical background to her period and should have related the whole with greater simplicity of style and language in order to make her conclusions more accessible—and more obviously applicable—to scholars both inside and outside her discipline. Indeed, her conclusions themselves could also have been more detailed. In the final paragraph of her first and last chapters, for instance, she introduces questions raised by the photographic work of Robert Frank. She teases her audience by stating that Frank's photographs in the 1950s offered a "subversive alternative" to the century's consumer culture and by declaring that his work displaced "irrevocably the world view that had enabled the documentary mode" (pp. 147, xvi), but she gives little or no explanation of what his photography examined or of what his overthrow of the previous "world view" entailed.

Yet, despite the shortness of her book, Stange has provocatively addressed the chief points of discussion in the field of social documentary photography. Her insightful, challenging work will be a starting point for all future discussion.

SUSAN MOELLER
Princeton University

ALLEN WOLL. *Black Musical Theatre: From Coontown to Dreamgirls*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 301. \$29.95.

Although the American musical stage has served as one of the most visible avenues of black upward mobility, white cultural chauvinism and black aversion to demeaning theatrical stereotypes have caused the Afro-American contribution to that entertainment form to remain undervalued. Along with scholars such as Genevieve Fabre, Leslie Catherine Sanders, and Mance Williams, Allen Woll seeks to establish a place for black theatrical achievement within the broader context of American cultural life.

In fifteen brief chapters liberally spiced with illustrations of playbills and period publicity shots, Woll offers a useful and well-researched chronicle of musicals "by, about, with, for and related to blacks" (p. xiii). He concludes that, despite its beginnings as a separate and unequal stepchild of white musical theater, the black variant has slowly been integrated into the musical comedy mainstream and has helped bring important

political issues to an art form often dismissed as escapist.

In this study Woll reveals the almost cyclical nature of the popularity of black musicals, highlights major shows and talents from the 1890s to the early 1980s, discusses the differing notions of blacks' "proper" role in the theater, and is especially helpful in tracing the continuing struggle over creative control of black stage imagery. One need not have a special interest in cultural history to benefit from Woll's treatment of efforts to desegregate New York theaters and to surmount the many barriers to backstage employment.

Ultimately, however, the study is less useful than it could have been because Woll seldom probes beneath the surface of his chronology. Effort expended in assembling snippets of reviews of plays that no contemporary, black or white, seemed to care about could have been directed toward answering compelling questions raised only in passing. Why, for example, were certain literary lights of the Harlem Renaissance era embarrassed by the musical comedies, while other black critics complained that the shows were not "colored" enough? Did black theatergoers heed—or even read—the commentary of white critics? Exactly what was it that motivated individual creative artists to break with traditional portrayals—to begin "to envision a new direction" (p. 35)? In cases such as Bob Cole and J. Rosamond Johnson's *The Red Moon* (1909), how can one account for the fact that white audiences "rarely objected" (p. 27) to such iconoclasm? How and why did light skin color become the standard for black female leads? What was the relationship between the images presented in stage productions and those entering the popular culture through films and television?

Many such questions could have been addressed if Woll had given his study a more inclusive historical focus. As it stands, however, the book contains only a brief introduction to the black musical theater's minstrel roots, and Woll rarely provides any detailed notion of how external events might have influenced theatrical trends. Without that broad historical sensibility, the book's promise remains unfulfilled. Woll makes a convincing case for the wider recognition of Afro-America's theatrical heritage, but it remains for other interpreters to place that history in a meaningful sociocultural context.

WILLIAM L. VAN DEBURG
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

MARY H. BLEWETT. *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780–1910*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. xxii, 444. \$29.95.

Despite the excellent work of several labor historians on the New England shoe industry in the nineteenth century, Mary H. Blewett breaks new ground in her study of the relationship of women workers to produc-

tion and protest. In this book she demonstrates how gender analysis provides the tools for revising traditional categories of labor history.

Beginning with an understanding of how shifts in the sexual division of labor changed the process of production, Blewett details the interaction of women's work and the dynamics of the shoe industry. During the late eighteenth century, artisans came to involve their families in the making of shoes, assigning to women the task of stitching the uppers. When merchant capitalists began to take control of the shoe industry during the early nineteenth century, they continued to rely on women as stitchers, or, as they were also known, binders. As these capitalists subdivided the process of production, they turned increasingly to women outside the homes of male shoemakers to supply uppers. Before mid-century, shoe bosses created a network of outworkers in rural areas to provide materials for assembly by male shoemakers working in centralized locations. Then, as mechanization spread, they shifted their strategy, drawing women into centralized factories to sew uppers on machines.

Women workers, however, were never a homogeneous group. As Blewett brilliantly details, their gender and class experiences were shaped decisively by their distinct social roles within the family, dividing resident daughters and wives on the one hand from migrant single women and female heads of household on the other. Their differences took on increasing significance during the mid-nineteenth century when women in the former group remained primarily outworkers, while those in the latter category entered factories. The coexistence of both modes, however, allowed all women shoeworkers to claim an identity as "ladies," commanding the moral powers of womanhood to support struggles for decent wages and respectful treatment—both for themselves and for their male coworkers.

Yet the boundaries of gentility were regularly tested in calls for mobilization. As Blewett deftly points out, notions of womanhood, which gave primacy to familial status and moral power, contradicted the artisan rhetoric of equal rights, which suggested autonomy and political power. Splits in the labor force between wives and resident daughters on the one hand and self-supporting single women and widows on the other provided tangible evidence of such tensions. Across that divide, women workers debated the merits of suffrage, autonomous organization, self-support, and the sexual division of labor. Nonetheless, during the second half of the nineteenth century, they drew together in gender solidarity in the female union locals and assemblies of the Daughters of Saint Crispin and the Knights of Labor. In such organizations they sought recognition of the legitimacy of their claims from both their brother workers and their employers. Yet, despite strikes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both "lady stitchers" and "union maids" were ultimately defeated by the introduction of

immigrant men into the process of production during the second decade of the twentieth century.

Blewett brilliantly illuminates the history of distinctive patterns of women's activism wrought from the experiences of women mediating their labor through familial configurations. As she intelligently documents, women shoebinders' work and protest, originating in their understandings of gender and family relations, had a significant impact on their own lives and those of male coworkers, as well as on the contours of an important American industry. This book is a model of scholarship in which Blewett demonstrates the centrality of gender in the relations of production and protest.

CAROL LASSER
Oberlin College

WALTER LAFEVER. *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1989. Pp. xx, 759. \$25.00.

It is legitimate to ask why this journal should review a textbook on the history of American foreign policy when textbooks are synoptic by definition with little to distinguish one from another. Moreover, there are numerous useful books on American diplomacy already on the market, including one cowritten by Walter LaFeber. The answer must lie in the anticipation of a text with a difference, one that is written in a particularly compelling style or that offers particularly valuable insights into the subject. LaFeber fulfills expectations on both counts, even as he treads familiar ground. This text is the product of a master historian reviewing the sweep of the American past.

His conclusions are not startling; they have been expressed by many others in this and other generations but rarely more eloquently. To understand American foreign policy requires an understanding of its special links to domestic affairs. A sense of American exceptionalism, with all of its concepts, informs every part of the book. The good fortune of a nation that could enjoy its pursuit of "mission and money" (p. 5) free from the constraints of the Old World helps account for its rise to superpower status and the resulting frustrations as its freedom is increasingly restricted. The term "American Age" might characterize most of America's history, but the "American Century" so confidently predicted less than half a century ago did not last more than a quarter of a century. How to cope with relative decline requires, LaFeber notes, a coming to terms with history, particularly the paradox of desiring a continental and then a world-wide empire without sacrificing the benefits of a bygone isolationism.

LaFeber's narrative is spiced with appropriate references to song and film that enliven as well as illuminate the subjects he touches. But what will attract teacher and student alike is his command of the literature of American diplomatic history. Pending a new edition of Richard Dean Burns's *Guide to American Foreign Rela-*

tions since 1700 (1983), he has provided a remarkably thorough annotated listing of the major studies of books and articles on the history of American foreign relations published in the 1980s. The insights in these studies are worked into the narrative. Most of his sources are drawn from the current literature. The price paid for this emphasis is inevitably the absence of major contributions of earlier decades. Not that they are wholly ignored. But, by concentrating on the most recent scholarship, he has passed over such important works as Max Savelle's monumental *Origins of American Diplomacy* and Robert H. Ferrell's classic account of the Kellogg-Briand pact. Given the proliferation of significant scholarly additions to the field in the last decade, he had choices to make, and for the most part he has chosen wisely.

LaFeber's personal judgments are less distinctive than his style. They are usually convincing without being intrusive. How to write a text that is neither too bland nor too polemical is always a difficult task. In a book of more than seven hundred pages, I could find few caveats to offer. In his justifiable preoccupation with American policy making during the cold war, there is too little sense of the demonic aspect of Stalinism in the dictator's last years. It is questionable whether the U-2 affair damaged "the most promising era of U.S.-Soviet relations since 1945" (p. 543). The volatile Khrushchev playing with Berlin in this period was hardly a reliable partner under any circumstances. But, in this or on other issues where a reader may differ with the author, the author's case is never without merit.

Among the many virtues of this book is LaFeber's look backward to the Founding Fathers for a prescription for America's behavior in a world it can neither escape nor control. He opens the book with a quotation from John Adams, a statesman who tempered his hopes for the American experiment with lively skepticism about human nature, and closes it with a reference to James Madison's cautious optimism about the future of the nation.

LAWRENCE S. KAPLAN
Kent State University

CECIL V. CRABB, JR. *American Diplomacy and the Pragmatic Tradition*. (Political Traditions in Foreign Policy Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1989. Pp. 302. \$37.50.

For Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., pragmatism is the DNA of American foreign policy, the key to deciphering the conceptual code of U.S. statecraft. "A pragmatically based explanation," he insists, "serves better than nearly all other available theories to make the behavior of the United States intelligible" (p. 144). Although he attempts to ground his claim in a "scientific standpoint" by devoting a chapter to extracting the distilled essence of pragmatic philosophy, in the last analysis pragmatism's significance derives from its grounding in Amer-

ican culture, whence foreign policy derives. Pragmatism, he argues, was "particularly congenial for Americans and, at many points, formed a link with their traditions and customary behavior patterns" (p. 8).

In making his case, Crabb draws numerous connections between philosophy and practice. Pragmatism's opposition to monism and a bloc universe is mirrored in America's pluralistic policy-making process and corresponding yearning for a pluralistic world environment. American anticommunism embodies pragmatic empiricism, inasmuch as it is based "on the observable consequences of communist ideology as they have been expressed in the record of the Soviet Union's behavior" (p. 82). The Jekyll-and-Hyde swings between idealism and realism, the rejection of both romantic idealism and *realpolitik*, and the acceptance of paradox exemplify the pragmatic tolerance for ambiguity and inconsistency. Indeed, "Americans have not hesitated to embrace dissimilar and sometimes antithetical principles and attitudes as they believed circumstances dictated in responding to global problems" (p. 179). On the other hand, America's intolerance of revolution reflects the pragmatic preference for reformist gradualism.

Space precludes thoroughgoing criticism, but a few comments may be ventured. Crabb's exposition of pragmatism's basic principles is a model of conciseness and clarity, but its links with policy seem tenuous. The pragmatist philosophers themselves, who were notable critics of American foreign policy, present one embarrassment, but Crabb does not show that policy makers had any understanding of or reliance on pragmatic philosophy. As for their adherence to pragmatic cultural values, it is not clear that America in fact has developed, as John Dewey hoped, a culture of pragmatism, unless perhaps one holds muddling through to be a version of pragmatism. There are logical difficulties, too. It is one thing to say that pragmatists are tolerant of paradox and messiness and quite another to suggest, as does Crabb in his assertion that "a pragmatic view accepts the paradoxical quality of American foreign policy as a norm of diplomatic behavior" (p. 143), that the pragmatic standard of truth is congruent with the concept of paradox.

There are also some significant omissions in Crabb's historical examples. Despite his emphasis on "moderation, flexibility, restraint, and reliance on common sense" (p. 169) as hallmarks of U.S. foreign policy, Crabb never comes to grips with Wilsonianism or with the apparently nonpragmatic globalism associated with the Truman Doctrine and the subsequent interventionist precepts of the cold war era.

Finally, one wonders how new all of this is. Crabb says that given its "New World mentality . . . the diplomatic role of the United States is unique" (p. 96). This and other statements like it recall the problematic "end of ideology" orthodoxy of the 1950s in which American democracy's commitment to the search for truth

marked it as the ideal model for universal human development.

Although one may be pardoned for concluding that the attempt to squeeze all of American foreign policy into a single pragmatic shoe is itself a very monistic and unpragmatic exercise, this is a lively, well-written, and stimulating work that deserves the attention of readers interested in the intellectual foundations of American foreign policy.

FRANK NINKOVICH
St. John's University

H. BRUCE FRANKLIN. *War Stars: The Superweapon and the American Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. 256. \$22.95.

In 1940, H. Bruce Franklin relates, Ronald Reagan starred in a movie as a secret service agent who blasted a spy's plane out of the air with a new super weapon, a ray machine that would "make America invincible in war" and thus the "greatest force for world peace ever discovered" (p. 202). So did the former president find his inspiration for a space defense shield, or Star Wars. But the notion of an impregnable defense—absolute security through the power of absolute destruction—goes back much further and runs deeper than old movies. It is, according to the author, part of the very fiber of American culture.

In a study that cuts boldly across science and technology, literature and films, Franklin seeks to show more than that people sought safety through improvements in the instruments of warfare. They justified the ever-greater power of their weapons, he maintains, as the means by which war itself would be eliminated. Weapons of mass destruction would become the instruments of utopian transformation.

One can see this logic particularly in the career of Robert Fulton, with whom Franklin begins this suggestive study. Inventor not only of the steamboat and thus the steam warship but also of the submarine and the torpedo, Fulton was an idealist who sought to bring about a just and peaceful world by making weapons so terrible that war would be considered irrational. His "purely defensive" weapons would be an "effectual cure" for the disease of militarism, he explained, and their use in warfare would actually be "humane experiments" of great educational value (p. 16).

Aside from the crackpot utopianism of such a view, one can see here the lineaments of every other weapons system that would presumably make war impossible: from poison gas and the devastation of civilian centers to lasers in outer space. But for Franklin the problem is not merely a quest for utopianism through annihilation but the "fusion of the ideology of emerging industrial capitalism, marked by its faith in mechanistic, teleological progress, with the 'improvement' of weapons as the means to achieve the goals of this ideology" (p. 18).

Although the author does not fully delineate this "fusion," he does provide intriguing examples and

makes imaginative connections as he explores the fantasies of apocalyptic destruction in the future-war fiction of the years between the 1880s and World War I, Thomas Edison's answer to H. G. Wells in the form of atomic ray-beams that destroy alien civilizations on other planets and demonstrate the boundless ethnocentric energies of the expanding American empire, the literary fantasies of the 1930s with their espousal of genocidal warfare against Asians, General Billy Mitchell's propagandizing of war to end war through the annihilation of civilians, and the wartime selling of carpet bombing as the antiseptic way to eradicate evil opponents.

Franklin is clearly fascinated by popular culture and delves deeply into every manifestation of it, from comic books and futuristic novels to television miniseries and cartoons, to buttress his argument that cultural images both defined and influenced the use of weapons of mass destruction. Occasionally he pushes a bit too hard in an effort at wider significance, for example, in his speculations on the links between weapons of annihilation and the spirit of capitalism (p. 18) and particularly in the last fifty pages of his book, which are a shrill and dubiously relevant denunciation of U.S. cold war policies. But these digressions do not seriously detract from a work that provides striking insights into the fantasies and Faustian creations of the national subconscious.

RONALD STEEL
University of Southern California

DAVID H. BENNETT. *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1988. Pp. x, 509. \$29.95.

This book is a lively narrative history of right-wing extremism in the United States from colonial anti-Catholicism to the 1980s New Right. David H. Bennett wants to establish the existence of a distinctively American tradition, a single "party of fear," and to show that it took three different historical forms. Each of these claims is at once convincing and problematic.

Distinguishing right-wing from left-wing extremism and confining himself to the former, Bennett is silent about why the radical Right has played so much greater a role in American history than the radical Left. Separating right-wing extremism from mainstream and elite politics, Bennett (perhaps for that reason) has nothing to say about anti-black and anti-Indian hysteria. (The Statue of Liberty wears a Ku Klux Klan robe on the cover of his book, but no anti-black Klan will be found in its pages.) He does notice anti-Asian movements in the late nineteenth century and the Japanese-American internment during World War II, however; what counts as right-wing extremism turns out to be difficult to determine. The distinction between elite and fringe politics is equally hard to maintain, as A. Mitchell Palmer, Harry Truman, Francis Cardinal

Spellman, Hollywood executives, and university administrators all take their places in red scares.

Bennett also distinguishes the party of fear from European right-wing movements. European left-right divisions fail to account for American politics, he argues, for the American Right neither defends entrenched privilege nor mobilizes for class revolution. America is the promised land, for Bennett's protagonists, and trouble comes only from intruders in the garden. In a culture that holds individuals responsible for their fate, enemies of the American way of life account for disappointments. Enemies also "unite a disparate people in a lonely land" (p. 20), Bennett claims, providing targets around which isolated individuals can cohere. Sometimes Bennett's right-wing movements defend preexisting community ties; sometimes he treats them, in classic mass society analysis, as brought together only by their foes. Some of Bennett's most prominent subjects were the agents of modernity and not its victims, moreover. Samuel F. B. Morse, who invented the telegraph, warned against the many-tentacled Catholic conspiracy. Henry Ford, "billionaire pioneer of mass production" (p. 205), blamed the destruction of traditional values on the Jews. But whether communal or anomic, wholly or only ambivalently antimodern, the right-wing extremists in this book organize around not conflicts of classes but threats to community.

These threats have changed, however, and Bennett also distinguishes American from European right-wing movements by the particular contexts of American history. The first party of fear, nativist, responded to the unprecedented migration of tens of millions of Europeans to the United States. The second, anticommunist, responded to the Bolshevik revolution at the end of World War I and to the post-World War II cold war. The third, the New Right, responded to "the social upheavals of the 1960s and the economic and political setbacks of the 1970s" (p. 407). Right-wing extremists confronted something real in each case, as social scientific accounts have not always seen, but assigned their targets a responsibility for evil out of all proportion to their power.

Bennett's periodization has many virtues. It points to the shift of perceived menace, with the end of mass immigration, from blood and physical appearance (nativism) to mind (anticommunism). It links the 1950s "new American right" to the post-World War I Red Scare, locating the genuinely New Right in the Reagan era. At the same time, although Bennett makes the 1919 Red Scare transitional between nativism and anticommunism, he minimizes the red scare component in late nineteenth-century nativism. Since "nativism is dead" (p. 401), he insists that contemporary hostility to illegal aliens and bilingual education has nothing in common with historic anti-immigrant hysteria.

The pages on the New Right are the most problematic. Having extruded racism from right-wing extremism, Bennett fails to see the role of the civil rights

movement and the ghetto uprisings in generating the New Right, denies that George Wallace's presidential support had anything to do with race, and ignores the racial polarization of post-1968 American politics. Although the New Right defends "traditional family values" (p. 383), Bennett makes it a reaction against youth revolt and not women's liberation. He overlooks the emergence of feminism, mentions the right-to-life movement only in passing, and does not recognize that the independent woman is as much a core target for the New Right as were the alien and the communist for its predecessors. Anxious to establish the New Right's anti-elitist, "Populist" character, Bennett averts his eyes from the extent to which, especially in the executive and judicial branches, it has reshaped the governing class. But, if the book's recent history is inadequate, placing extremism in history is a corrective to abstract, social scientific accounts of social movements, and the new periodization makes a valuable contribution.

MICHAEL ROGIN
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VYNOLA BEAVER NEWKUMET and HOWARD L. MEREDITH.
Hasinai: A Traditional History of the Caddo Confederacy.
Foreword by ARRELL MORGAN GIBSON. College Station:
Texas A&M University Press. 1988. Pp. xvi, 144.
\$16.95.

This handsomely produced, small volume presents a survey of Hasinai (Caddo) history and culture as perceived by the modern Caddo tribe. Based on the oral traditions of the Hasinai people, insights provided by Vynola Beaver Newkumet, and more traditional historical research conducted by Howard L. Meredith, the volume briefly covers a broad spectrum of the Hasinai experience. A series of short chapters focuses on subjects such as tribal clothing, health, agriculture, and "contemporary affairs."

Each chapter is introduced by a description of a modern Hasinai dance or ceremony that is related to the chapter's focus—for example, the Bear Dance, hunting; the Corn Dance, agriculture—and, although the chapters vary markedly in the quality of their description and analysis, they do illustrate certain facets of Hasinai life. Newkumet and Meredith's discussion of Hasinai politics indicates that the tribe retains a hierarchical political tradition that can be traced to its Mississippian past. In addition, the authors' analysis of the conflicts between the "cah-des," or traditional tribal leaders, and the "nit-tso-sah-dos-ch-ah," or the federally sanctioned chairmen of the tribal council, illustrates that, although the Hasinai have adapted to the constraints of federal Indian policy, they still adhere to certain traditions from the past.

The structure of the chapters and the authors' discussion of Hasinai attempts to retain certain facets of their traditional culture (tribal language programs, the establishment of the Whitebread Hasinai Cultural Cen-

ter) indicate that the Hasinai experience exemplifies the dilemma of other contemporary Oklahoma tribes. Although the tribal communities and administrative offices remain near the site of their original nineteenth-century Indian agencies, economic opportunities in these rural regions are limited, and tribal members have been forced to relocate outside the old reservation boundaries. Such demographic diffusion has resulted in a decreased retention of certain traditional values. Yet the regular and periodic return of these sojourners to the old communities to participate in tribal ceremonies renews both their personal sense of tribal identity and their acceptance by other members of the tribe. Throughout the twentieth century, "being Indian" in Oklahoma has often differed markedly from the cultural adaptation practiced on many of the reservation communities in the West. Undoubtedly, for the Hasinai and their Indian neighbors in Oklahoma, this definition will continue to evolve.

Ethnohistorians and anthropologists will not like this book, for its discussions of tribal culture and history are too brief and selective. But for nonspecialists the volume provides a quick introduction to Hasinai culture and life. More important, it also provides a good example of how a contemporary Indian community perceives its experiences, both in the past and in the present.

R. DAVID EDMUNDS
Indiana University,
Bloomington

ALBERT L. HURTADO. *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*. (Yale Western Americana Series, number 35.)
New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xix, 246.
\$25.00.

When Hispanic and Anglo streams of European civilization rushed together on the California frontier, writes Albert L. Hurtado, "native people were soon nearly obliterated" (p. 210). Indian population dropped from two hundred thousand in 1821 to thirty thousand in 1860. Yet the major theme of Hurtado's study is the way in which, through adaptive strategies such as trading, raiding, and laboring for whites, small numbers of California Indians "somehow quietly persisted, living in a land that was radically transformed during the course of a single lifetime" (p. 210).

Employing dependence and modernization theories, along with the concepts and methods of social and family history, historical demography, and statistical analysis, Hurtado displays an ethnohistorical sensitivity to non-Western cultures. He analyzes the complex, sometimes symbiotic, sometimes violent relationships that developed between Hispanics, Anglos, federal and local government agencies, and the Indian peoples of California, especially in the interior. Hurtado examines the numerous and changing forms of family and economic organization among the different cultures. He delineates the varied, but ultimately disastrous,

effects of the gold rush of 1848 on Indians. Using twentieth-century studies of sexual violence to illuminate its prevalence in nineteenth-century California, Hurtado argues that the victimization of tribal women contributed to the drop in Indian birth rates. The catastrophic population decline was also a product of war, hunger, and disease and of labor systems that, by offering individual tribal members the chance of survival and dependence within the white economy, weakened Indian group life.

Hurtado grounds his impressive analysis in a variety of archival and published primary sources, and he employs critically a wealth of secondary works. Statistical tables and clear maps assist the reader. Prints and photographs bring Indians—and white illusions about them—alive.

Concentration on the early and mid-nineteenth century is justified, but Hurtado might have added an epilogue sketching Indian population trends into the twentieth century. More comparisons would have strengthened his claim for the uniqueness of interracial labor relations in California: that, at least until the influx of Anglos after 1848, whites were more interested in exploiting Indians economically than in removing them. Despite clarity of writing and organization, the great number of groups and names is sometimes confusing. And, no doubt because of the white origin of most documentation, Indians rarely emerge as individuals. Pioneer-adventurer John A. Sutter dominates much of the book.

But enough pedantic carping. Hurtado has produced a sophisticated study that, by suggesting both the typical and the distinctive in Californian race relations, should force scholars to question their generalizations about Indian experiences in the United States. And, if he occasionally strains in his reminders of Indian initiative, adaptability, and even manipulation of dominant invaders, Hurtado is right to acclaim the tenacious struggles of the few against the many.

MICHAEL C. COLEMAN
University of Jyväskylä,
Finland

MARGARET CONNELL SZASZ. *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 333. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$16.95.

Margaret Connell Szasz in a previous volume investigated American Indian education in the twentieth century. The present work, covering an entirely different era, continues her interest in the topic of Indian education and maintains the same high scholarly standards and understanding of Indian cultures of her earlier book.

The author sets the tone of the work in two introductory chapters describing, first of all, the traditional Indian method of educating the whole person to function culturally, spiritually, and vocationally in the com-

munity and in the environment. For the development of this chapter, she has depended heavily on George A. Pettitt's pathbreaking study, *Primitive Education in North America* (1946). The second chapter deals with the varieties of education in the colonies. In the succeeding chapters, Szasz considers the interactions and tensions in these two contrasting methods of educating children as colonial schoolmasters, ministers, and missionary societies attempted to remold Indian young people into a white image.

The book is then organized chronologically and geographically in relation to colonial areas of settlement, beginning with Virginia and Maryland, then proceeding to seventeenth-century New England, the Carolinas and Georgia, and southern New England in the early eighteenth century. There are separate chapters on the impetus that the Great Awakening gave to Indian education endeavors, Eleazar Wheelock's program for educating Indian girls as well as boys, and the work of Wheelock's Indian schoolmasters among the Iroquois.

Szasz rightly understands both the strengths and the weaknesses of the formal, institutionalized, culture-bound colonial education that was offered to Indians. It worked best among those Indians who had long lived closest to whites and who were familiar with their culture and who had already begun to adapt to it. The denigration of Indian society that was common among almost all colonial educators and missionary societies invariably tended to undermine the confidence of Indian pupils in themselves and not infrequently resulted in emotional conflicts and relapses in deportment on the part of young Indians confused about who they were. The education provided for Indians was patterned after the same curriculum given to white children and was obviously oriented toward preparing young people to function in a white society. Often it was of minimal value, or no value, to Indians who intended to return to their own people. Because of colonial prejudice, there were few opportunities for educated Indians to integrate and function with dignity in white society. There were, however, throughout the colonial period, numerous Indians eager to obtain the knowledge possessed by the whites and who themselves became educators and prominent leaders. One could mention Wheelock's two most illustrious pupils, Samson Occom and Joseph Brant.

In the chapter on the Iroquois, Szasz makes only passing reference to the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and devotes her whole attention to Wheelock and his Indian schoolmasters among the Oneida and Tuscarora. As valuable as this exposition is, one could have hoped for more on the Anglicans, who had significant success in converting the Mohawk and who also reduced their language to writing. As a result, the Mohawk maintained a continuing interest in the education of their own people.

With this one caveat, the book is extraordinarily well

researched and well written and is highly recommended.

BARBARA GRAYMONT
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PHILIP J. SCHWARZ. *Twice Condemned: Slaves and the Criminal Laws of Virginia, 1705–1865*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 353. \$37.50.

Philip J. Schwarz's volume is a valuable and detailed exposition of Virginia's criminal laws as they pertained to slaves over a period of some 160 years. The fundamental premise of the book is based on the old Roman epigram "as many slaves, so many enemies" (p. ix). From that reality arose an a priori conflict between the enslaver and the enslaved that, when studied, reveals much about the institution of slavery and about southern society.

What happened when slaves, held in slavery by the law, broke the laws? Schwarz answers that question through an exhaustive investigation of over four thousand trial records. His research reveals the prevalence, longevity, and variety of "criminal" behavior by slaves and the ways in which the master class, through its evolving legal and judicial system, sought to deal with the stark reality of its black "internal enemy" (pp. 267, 268). As slavery developed from an inchoate, rather vague form in the seventeenth century to a hardened yet flexible form in the nineteenth century, so, too, did the phenomenon of slave crime and the legal system to control it. Schwarz presents numerous tables to demonstrate the variety of crimes committed by slaves, crimes that ranged from stealing, arson, and murder to insurrection, seditious speech, and writing. He also presents data demonstrating the punishments for such crimes.

As the slave system and white fears grew, slave codes and special courts for accused slaves were instituted. The judicial system became another tool for the control of the enslaved black race. In an insightful chapter titled "Deadly Relationships, 1785–1831," Schwarz explains the black response to enslavement. He argues that murders and arson, for example, were not the mere violence of a "savage" race. Rather, he suggests that such crimes might be seen as having political connotations, as ways of striking back at the system of oppression. The Gabriel Prossers and the Nat Turners were particularly odious to the slave system because they threatened to undermine the legal foundation of slave society. The full force of the government, therefore, was used against such "criminal" activities.

Schwarz is an indefatigable researcher whose writing style is riveting. His exhaustive knowledge of sources and data is instructive and rewarding for the student of legal history. He seems to have read everything, and he presents his research in an absorbing and lively fashion. His work is highly significant.

He makes several important contributions to the

field of legal history. Of great significance is the success with which he has demonstrated that the centerpiece of the peculiar institution was its legal system. The historiography of slavery in the United States benefits from that contribution. By showing that law played a fundamental role throughout the long history of slavery in the United States, Schwarz throws new light on and offers challenges to the existing interpretations of slavery in the United States. Generally, historical writings on the legal aspects of slavery have been top heavy, focusing on the great judicial decisions of the federal courts—particularly the Supreme Court. By focusing his study on the illegal acts by slaves in Virginia, Schwarz successfully demonstrates the complexities of the slave system and its diverse dynamics. He adds much to the literature on slavery and to a greater understanding of the magnitude of problems white authorities faced as they sought to make the system work correctly, though not justly. And by studying the dynamics of slavery on the state level, he has added another important building block to the literature. I anxiously await his next study.

OLIVE A. TAYLOR
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ANDREW DELBANCO. *The Puritan Ordeal*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 306. \$30.00.

Yet another book on seventeenth-century New England Puritanism, this volume includes much that is familiar, but Andrew Delbanco's focus on conflicted feelings within Puritanism and their historical development gives it originality and freshness. The book, bristling with brief quotations, is distinguished by two original and subtle arguments, one presented painstakingly and persuasively, another more speculatively and less convincingly. The major argument, oversimplified, is that the Puritans of New England left home on an errand from the wilderness of contemporary England, to escape the acquisitive life. (A somewhat similar argument appears in Theodore Dwight Bozeman's *To Live Ancient Lives* [1988].) Some leaders, notably John Cotton, believed that in America they could create a community of saints, but, after the Antinomian controversy, the dominant concern of the Puritan clergy was discipline. The controversy resulted in the repudiation of the transcendent vision of the possibilities of human life, identified with the "heretic" Anne Hutchinson. Instead of offering the ecstatic experience that might come from intimacy with God, orthodox preachers demanded constant introspection, self-examination, which "often increased . . . anxiety because it transferred authority over the self to the self" (p. 3). Before long, the events of English history and the political status of New England destroyed any remaining hopes for social fulfillment there. An unusually thorough investigation of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Puritan attitudes toward contemporary England is provided. In America, the period covered

extends only to about 1650, except for a look ahead at the Puritan legacy.

Delbanco's argument is centered on conflicting notions of the nature of sin: sin as stain and as corruption, sin as deprivation, as alienation from God, and, by extension of religious meditation, sin as a mental exercise focusing on religious truth and as an introspective exploration of the nature of the self. John Cotton's emphasis on the mysteries of grace is contrasted with Thomas Shepard's emphasis on "an acutely heightened sensitivity to the invasive and chameleon nature of sin" (p. 163). For Delbanco, the fact that John Cotton's side lost was the source of enormous impoverishment, ideological and psychological.

To this argument about the early years of New England is grafted a secondary and much more speculative argument about Americans as immigrants. Delbanco identifies Americans as immigrants with the "extraordinary tenacity . . . with which Americans have clung to the belief that their lives can be radically renewed" (p. 251). Joan Didion, Saul Bellow, and Gertrude Stein are invoked, and the presentation becomes not so much argued as suggested. Because Delbanco is not satisfied to provide, as he ably does, "a contribution to the history of what the Puritans called affections" (p. 1), the importance of the book is decreased rather than increased. He hoped this decidedly secondary thesis would make his study a contribution to an understanding of "the ideological origins of contemporary culture" (pp. 3-4); he might have chosen to call it "The Puritan Origins of the American Self," if that title had been available to him. Perhaps because of the intertwining of the theses, the relationship of some of the extensive evidence to the arguments was clear, to me, only in retrospect.

The sympathetic portrayal of John Cotton in this book increases the Boston minister's significance substantially and is thus in keeping with much recent scholarship. Delbanco does not, however, take advantage of the notion of Jesper Rosenmeier in his "New England's Perfection" (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 1970)—a work that Delbanco cites—that Cotton taught distinctive concepts on the role of the Holy Spirit in conversion and the consequent nature of the regeneration. Perhaps Rosenmeier's thesis did not fit into Delbanco's schema.

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DAVID D. HALL. *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1989. Pp. 316. \$29.95.

During the past decade or so, students of American Puritanism have turned increasingly from examining high doctrine to exploring the Saints' spirituality. Now David D. Hall extends that concern with personal experience in a major study of New England's popular

religion that reconstructs the ways of all New Englanders, not just the devout, tracking their beliefs and practices to the influence of Reformed Protestant tenets, folk wisdom, and the transatlantic book trade. In Europe popular religion flourished outside the church, a counterculture traducing elite standards, but Hall disputes the relevance of applying that model to New England, where the people's faith derived substantially from the clergy's creed and existed comfortably beside it. Ministers directed their congregants without dominating them; villagers listened closely to their preachers but mediated clerical concerns through studying the Bible, reading sacred and profane literature, gauging prodigies, heeding conscience, and, *in extremis*, joining a dissident sect. Hall also challenges the notion that God engaged but a restricted few. Although only a minority of settlers became zealous Saints, many others accepted the ideal even if they failed to meet it, and unknown numbers of "horse-shed Christians" worshiped contentedly as spiritual also-rans. One of Hall's many achievements is his careful description of New England as a religious culture organized around the elders' Protestantism yet exhibiting various devotional styles, substantial lay autonomy and degrees of dissent.

New Englanders fashioned their piety by sifting through Scripture, gazing at extraordinary events that disclosed God's will, pondering their worthiness to take the sacraments, and smoothing over anxieties about salvation through ritual, all the while, Hall maintains, tacitly negotiating the extent of ministerial control. The Bible's paramount authority elevated the importance of reading, which took on devotional significance: learning words revealed the Word. Families taught their children to read, which resulted, Hall argues, in the majority being literate. Such widespread literacy reinforced clerical pronouncements but also nurtured dissent by both encouraging individuals to peruse the Good Book on their own and exposing them to secular works hawked by merchants with pecuniary motives. Churchgoers leavened theology with the lore of wonders gleaned at pulpits, bookstores, and country fences. Eager to gloss portents orthodoxally but unable to win an interpretive monopoly, ministers criticized the public's fascination with portents, claiming it encouraged fanciful speculation, yet advertised them anyway as tokens of divine judgment. Lay people voiced their spiritual experiences in the preachers' idiom, but, if overly legalistic sermons engendered confusion or doubt about assurance, discontented individuals might shun the Lord's Supper, join the Quakers, or toy with witchcraft. By dramatizing themes of sin and repentance, however, fast days, confessions, and executions helped mitigate doubt ritually. Most colonists did feel a special fellowship within the meetinghouse and strove to secure its benefits for their progeny; parents avid to have their offspring baptized were instrumental in instituting the Halfway Covenant. After setting down the elements of popular religion, Hall uses Samuel Sewall's diary to illustrate that faith in operation. Literate, credulous, and obsessed with preserving himself

and his family from harm, Sewall embroidered dogma to suit his spiritual ends. In sum, New England's lay faith merged Reformed precepts with popular concerns to uphold a moral community and protect loved ones by invoking divine power through both official and extraecclesiastical means. Ascendant throughout most of the 1600s, the system began unraveling at the end of the century but recrudesced during the Great Awakening and resonated into the nineteenth century.

Hall's arguments occasionally need elaboration. He details the dynamics of the booksellers' world and of family devotionism incompletely, and he neither fully explains why New England's popular religious culture declined around 1690 nor suggests what supplanted it. His evidence for a widespread ability to read is suggestive, not definitive. Nevertheless, he provides the most authoritative treatment yet of both the pervasiveness and the quality of New England's religiosity. Puritanism permeated village life despite never capturing everyone's allegiance, and it sustained spirits against life's crosses even while plaguing some with despair. Historians have overdrawn the strictness of Reformed piety, Hall shows; overwhelmingly, believers died confident in their salvation. Puritanism's appeal, one may suggest, grew from a practical flexibility, underappreciated until now, that allowed adherents choices of how to empower themselves in and by the faith. Rendering this sensibility sensibly, Hall has accomplished a wonder.

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CLYDE A. HOLBROOK. *Jonathan Edwards, the Valley and Nature: An Interpretive Essay*. Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1987. Pp. 151. \$29.50.

The success of Perry Miller lay in his creation of topics and a methodology for other historians, litterateurs, and theologians, and, although Clyde A. Holbrook usually deems Miller "surely mistaken" or "carried away in his claim," (p. 75), Holbrook's book is yet another ripple in the sea of literature that Miller inspired. More theologian than historian or litterateur, Holbrook in his five chapters argues that "nature contributed far more to [Jonathan] Edwards's philosophy, theology, and ethics than has usually been allowed by his interpreters" (p. 11). Born, reared, and employed lifelong as a minister in the Connecticut Valley, Edwards was *prima facie* "much affected by nature," where he found "secret places in the woods by himself for religious exercises" and discovered that "God's excellence, wisdom, purity, and love appeared in everything about him." Edwards's teleology, however, was not solely the result of his geographical, cultural, and intellectual isolation but rather part of a "similar tendency common in Britain in the same period," as evidenced by the writings of Francis Hutcheson, Henry

Needler, Bulstrode Whitelocke, and Vicenius Knox (pp. 22-24).

From this historical context in chapter 1, Holbrook adeptly employs Edwards's writings to analyze his views on natural philosophy, including such theories as the Great Chain of Being, philosophical idealism, and Neoplatonism, as well as the principles of polarity, deformity, consent, excellency, harmony, proportionality, and analogy. Edwards's search, however, for these "naked ideas" had stripped nature of its remarkable diversity and effectively anatomized it. . . . [T]he nature of the Valley seems to have become only a distant memory for Edwards" (p. 54). The same is true of Holbrook's essay, for only theologians, philosophers, and the most rarified of intellectual historians will venture further than this first chapter into the analysis of Edwards's idealistic phenomenalism.

Simply put, the idealistic phenomenalism described in chapter 3 holds that "all existence is perception," and the "universe was 'a coexisting and successive' set of perceptions connected by the 'wonderful methods and laws of the deity'" (p. 57). Holbrook's explanation of how Edwards accepted or rejected the related ideas of John Locke, George Berkeley, David Hume, and Thomas Hobbes is more complicated, as is his sorting of the "lively debate" among commentators from Perry Miller to Bruce Kuklick over who influenced whom (p. 56). Beyond these difficulties loom the nuances of causation, perception, existence, consciousness, externality, atomic theory, universals, and, above all, the principle of "duplicity" to reconcile the doctrine of the Incarnation with Edwards's idealistic epistemology.

Litterateurs, especially those writing on typology, will enjoy chapter 4 on the "three forms of what is loosely called typology that appear to have been favored by Edwards" (p. 76). Again one of Perry Miller's views is amended (p. 81), and others, such as those of Bruce Kuklick and Norman Fiering, are confirmed (pp. 88, 96). Above all, the focus is on what Edwards's typology did to nature: "The Valley's beauties and order stand condemned, having done their work in inspiring images and types that far excelled anything that they possessed in their own right" (p. 97).

In "Nature, Morality, and Holiness," Holbrook's final chapter, many of the concepts in previous chapters, ranging from the Great Chain of Being to the principle of consent "writ large over all of God's creation," are brought to bear on Edwards's ethical theory (p. 103). British thinkers like Berkeley once again appear to highlight similarities and differences with their Connecticut counterpart. In the end, for Edwards, "true virtue was not simply a higher kind of morality on a scale of ethical achievement, it was . . . transformed consciousness" (p. 122).

In sum, Holbrook's book is not for everybody, but it will interest Edwardsean scholars, intellectual historians, and theologians. It is well grounded in primary sources, attentive to the secondary literature, cogently argued, and gracefully written. Unfortunately, the footnotes rely on a dreadfully obscure abbreviation

format, which is probably more a reflection on Bucknell University Press than on Holbrook.

GEORGE SELEMENT
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ALLEN C. GUELZO. *Edwards on the Will: A Century of American Theological Debate*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 349. \$35.00.

When theology was king of American intellectual life, few texts were as imposing or influential as Jonathan Edwards's *Careful and Strict Inquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of that Freedom of Will*. Yet modern historians, who pay homage to the treatise's literary import, have been generally reluctant to engage its theological arguments or to explore either the context from which it arose or the long series of rebuttals and revisions it provoked. Allen C. Guelzo effectively tackles those formidable tasks and in so doing adds significantly to the study of Edwards and his theological legacy.

Edwards ostensibly developed his theory of the will during the mid-eighteenth century as a defense of Calvinist determinism against charges that it was no different from Hobbesian materialism and against the libertarian schemes of Arminians and "half-hearted" Calvinists. But Edwards had an even broader agenda for *Freedom of Will*, according to Guelzo. Edwards intended that his treatise "speak to the deepest urges of Puritanism and of New England's collective memory of its own uniqueness" (p. 15). Specifically, Edwards's implied prescription of churches composed only of visible saints, derived from his emphasis on individual choice, fundamentally challenged the model of the church-in-society that had dominated colonial Congregationalism since the 1660s. The book thereby generated long-term debate over far more than the sovereignty of God and the free will of individuals. At stake was the very survival of the New England Way and its conception of community.

Edwards's disciples, the New Divinity men, aggressively championed the notion of a pure church and other principles that were both implicit in *Freedom of Will* and at odds with traditional New England Calvinism: moral perfectionism, the ineffectualness of the sinner's use of the means of grace, and a governmental model of the atonement. The defenders of the inherited orthodoxy, the Old Calvinists, waged a counterattack against the New Divinity that bore little fruit until the early nineteenth century. Only when Old Calvinism coopted parts of the Edwardsean image and found an able apologist in the person of Nathaniel William Taylor did it succeed in "silencing the ghost" (p. 240) of Edwardseanism.

Such an interpretation links Guelzo to recent historians who have emphasized the strong continuity between Edwards and the New Divinity and the strong discontinuity between Edwards and Taylor. Guelzo especially follows the interpretive lead of his mentor,

Bruce Kuklick (*Churchmen and Philosophers* [1985]). Still, Guelzo's book is more original than derivative. The author offers fresh insights on a host of topics, including Edwards's critique of the theories of free will put forth by Thomas Chubb, Daniel Whitby, and Isaac Watts; the differences among the New Divinity men on the cause and nature of sin; the ambiguous response of American Presbyterianism to Edwards; and the roles of Timothy Dwight and Lyman Beecher in bringing Edwardseanism to an end. What is more, he does so with the kind of lucid expression and analytical verve usually missing in discussions of philosophical theology.

Guelzo's judgment may be overdrawn when he suggests that "the intellectual progression from Edwards to [Samuel] Hopkins to [Nathanael] Emmons is perhaps the single most interesting phenomenon in the history of American thought" (p. 209). That moment of "enthusiasm" may be forgiven, however, because, on the whole, this book is a judiciously reasoned work that makes a solid contribution to our understanding of Jonathan Edwards and the development of American theology.

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BEVERLY PRIOR SMABY. *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1988. Pp. xix, 271. \$32.95.

Colonial Pennsylvania became home to a variety of sects during the eighteenth century, many of them German in origin, some communitarian in nature. In this impressive book Beverly Prior Smaby looks at the longest-lived and perhaps the most important of the sectarian communities.

Bethlehem was founded in 1741 by the Moravians as a *pilgergemeinde*, a closed religious community whose function was to provide support for missionaries who sought to convert non-Christians, especially American Indians, and to strengthen believers of all types in their faith. The rest of the community labored to support the traveling ministers. In order to keep attention focused on religious life, believers—husbands and wives, parents and children—lived in a series of gender-segregated choirs, which were further divided by age and marital status. Childrearing was a communal responsibility.

During the 1760s that arrangement, known as the General Economy, came to an end. Financial crisis in Europe caused Moravian officials there to order Bethlehem to become an *ortsgemeine*, a closed religious community based on the nuclear family. It was hoped that the reorganization would stimulate economic productivity and provide money to pay church debts. The American revolution brought new troubles: the Bethlehem Moravians found themselves harassed for their pacifism, and their community was turned into a mili-

tary hospital. By 1818 growing dissension had led to reforms, but they could not counteract the social pressures produced by economic change. In 1845 the church gave up control of the town, and by 1860 half of Bethlehem's residents were not Moravians.

Smaby's emphasis, however, is not narrative history but the social implications of the events. Blessed with meticulously kept records of vital statistics, migration, and community decision making, Smaby finds that patterns of births, deaths, marriages, migration, and even building reflected the changes in the community. The stress of the end of the General Economy during the 1760s, for example, led to declining birth and marriage rates, which were only partially offset by a decline in infant mortality as parents assumed responsibility for the care of their own children.

Probably the most fascinating portion of the book is Smaby's analysis of the biographies composed for reading at the funerals of members. She finds in those documents impressive evidence of change in community expectations. During the 1750s biographies dwelt on service to the community and joy at death as a means of union with the Savior, or *Heiland*. By the 1830s death was seen as tragedy, and biographies emphasized family roles and ties.

It is difficult to do justice to the sophistication of Smaby's work in so short a space. Smaby asks imaginative questions of a wide variety of data and arrives at her answers with care and methodological rigor. I have encountered few works that so convincingly integrate and illuminate the seamless web of social, religious, and intellectual history. Specialists in the history of Pennsylvania and in American religious and communitarian history will find this book rewarding.

THOMAS D. HAMM
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DAN VOGEL. *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism*. Salt Lake City: Signature. 1988. Pp. xiii, 237. \$9.95.

The study of Mormon origins has exploded in recent years, making it one of the most exciting areas of concentration in the field. That vitality has been documented in such recent books as Richard L. Bushman's *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (1984) and D. Michael Quinn's *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (1987). Those and other equally stimulating publications have led to a meaningful reinterpretation of Mormon origins. Dan Vogel's book is an excellent contribution to that effort. Vogel, a young independent scholar who has already contributed one important book, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon* (1986), presents an exhaustively researched and clearly written discussion of the influence of Seeker elements on Joseph Smith, Jr., and Mormonism.

Vogel's thesis is both modest and straightforward. He describes and analyzes the position of a small group of early nineteenth-century Americans called Seekers, who claimed that the existing denominations were

corruptions of the primitive Christian church. The Seekers were a subgroup of Christian Primitivism, and, although the influence of the Primitivists on Mormon origins is well known, Vogel goes further to draw attention to the peculiar contributions of the Seekers. They agreed with the Primitivists on many issues, but, according to Vogel, Seekers "believed that ordinances would be inefficacious until there was a new, literal, and evident dispensation of divine power" (p. x).

Vogel sees the Seekers as a truly radical element of Christianity in both America and Western Europe from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. His research moves far beyond traditional bounds to establish that contention. Whereas Primitivists were willing to accept a reformation, Seekers demanded a restoration of divine authority. A reformation of existing religious structures, perceptions, and doctrines would not accomplish that restoration, the Seekers believed; only a complete break with past institutions and the creation of a totally new organization established by God could fulfill that purpose. The authority to act on God's behalf was a critical element that divorced Seekers from mainstream Christianity.

Mormonism offered Seekers the clean break with established churches and the restoration of the gospel that they sought. Smith's background had a strong Seeker influence, according to Vogel, and not surprisingly Mormonism always claimed to be a complete restoration of "the gospel in its ancient purity" (p. 27).

By focusing attention on the Seeker element of nineteenth-century Christianity and demonstrating persuasively its influences on Smith, converts to the church, the *Book of Mormon*, the revelatory process, and the organizational structure and emphasis of early Mormonism, Vogel has performed an important service for all scholars of American religion, particularly for those specializing in the development of Mormonism. His book places a unique twist on Mormon origins that will permanently affect the historical work to follow. It is a benchmark in the study of Mormonism's formative years that points up well the depth and breadth and complexity of the movement's origins and offers intriguing possibilities for further research.

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ROBERT H. WEBKING. *The American Revolution and the Politics of Liberty*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 181. \$25.00.

Historians may well find themselves perplexed by this book. It is not an investigation of revolutionary politics, as the title indicates, but a study of the revolution's political thought constructed on the rather wobbly base of selected writings from six leading revolutionary thinkers: James Otis, Jr., Patrick Henry, John Dickinson, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. Robert H. Webking does not explain why he

happened to choose these six individuals. Instead, he simply asserts their universal recognition "both then and now as the major figures in American Revolutionary thought" (p. 14) in the years immediately preceding the War of Independence.

This book is full of assertions, not the least of which is that historians have persistently misunderstood the essence of the political ideas lying behind the revolution. Attempting to establish his own point of view, Webking begins with a brief historiographical survey. He first castigates Progressive historians, such as Carl L. Becker and Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., for having been blinded to the centrality of political thought by an allegiance to economic determinism. Then he fashions a description of the shortcomings of two prominent revisionist historians, Bernard Bailyn and Gordon S. Wood, both of whom, the author insists, treat revolutionary political thought as a form of "ideological paranoia that gripped" the late colonial populace "and left them incapable . . . of perceiving political reality and of acting politically like rational human beings" (p. 7).

The problem, claims Webking, is methodological. In rushing to compile evidence that will establish their theses, historians too often string together out-of-context quotations. They thereby distort whole arguments. Only the careful contextual analysis of complete documents can establish the true essence of political thought, which is Webking's point of departure in ruminating through the selected writings of his key revolutionary thinkers. The product is a portrayal of rational leaders engaged in the production of deliberative discourse, which the revolutionary populace absorbed and which, in turn, became the cornerstone for a new political regime that secured "the liberty of human beings to act as they might choose" (p. 150). Webking's thinkers drew most heavily on modern as opposed to ancient political philosophy, the latter preferring political regimes that promoted a virtuous citizenry. In contradistinction to the findings of Wood, securing liberty rather than public virtue was the Americans' chief goal, Webking argues with vehemence, and the revolution came about when it did because the colonists functioned with "a prudent understanding of political reality." They did not declare independence because of paranoia, as Webking claims Bailyn would have it, but because "prudence" indicated "the need for swift action to forestall the consolidation of the tyranny" that could someday overwhelm them (p. 172).

The full scope of Webking's arguments cannot be presented in the assigned space for this review. Anyone, however, generally familiar with the writings of the late Leo Strauss and the extent of his influence among leading scholars of political philosophy will know the source of Webking's form of contextual analysis. This book has many other Straussian characteristics, ranging from the use of terms such as "regime" to the division of political philosophy into ancient and modern groupings. It is well known that

scholars working within the Straussian mold, with its emphasis on the search for universal truths, generally disdain such mundane matters as coming to grips with the actual historical circumstances that may have influenced, shaped, or informed what leading political thinkers have had to say in their writings. That is the case with Webking's book, and for historians that will be something of a disappointment.

JAMES KIRBY MARTIN
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JOHN E. SELBY. *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775-1783*. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; distributed by the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville. 1988. Pp. xiii, 442. \$24.95.

A thorough and competent history of Virginia in the War of Independence is overdue, and John E. Selby's scholarly and analytical narrative is most welcome. Selby describes the progress of the war, changes in the economy, and the intricate process of framing a constitution and setting up a new government. He moves from one topic to the next easily and without abrupt change of pace.

Military historians often have paid scant attention to the Virginia theater of the war before 1781, their concentration being on the war in the North and the Carolinas. That preoccupation with the more lively regions of conflict has tended to obscure the fact that in Lord Dunmore, the ousted royal governor of Virginia, there was an aggressive, determined, and persistent supporter of the royal prerogative in eastern Virginia. Defeated at Great Bridge in December 1775, Dunmore, from the vantage of a warship in Chesapeake Bay, remained for fourteen months a serious threat to the success of the revolution. Had he been reinforced, a distinct possibility, he could have been the nucleus of a second front and might have split the continental union.

The last year of active warfare, from Benedict Arnold's invasion of Virginia in 1780 to the American and French victory at Yorktown, has received fuller treatment by historians, but here, too, Selby offers new evidence and fresh insights.

Virginia had a smaller proportion of active loyalists than other states, but there was a pocket of Tory strength in Norfolk and environs, from which Dunmore drew support. He might have been able to maintain more support in the rest of the state—he had earned quite a lot of good will in 1774 by his popular campaign in the Shawnee country on the northwestern frontier—had he not infuriated and terrified the master class by offering freedom and arms to slaves who would desert their masters and join him in defense of the crown. Nor was that an idle threat: he carried it out by creating the "Ethiopian Regiment," composed of several hundred escaped slaves.

The activities of Dunmore, as well as some breakdown of discipline when the royal government was

ousted, persuaded those in power in Virginia that it was futile to try to restore allegiance to Great Britain, and, by the beginning of May 1776, most were ready to countenance separation from the empire. A convention of former members of the House of Burgesses took the reins of government, declared the former legislature dead by action of "the king, lords and commons of Great Britain," and on May 15 unanimously resolved to direct the Virginia delegation to the Continental Congress to declare independence. Thereupon the convention moved rapidly to write and adopt the Declaration of Rights and a constitution for the independent state of Virginia.

With clarity and grace, Selby carries the story of Virginia in the revolution through to the victorious end of the war. He discusses the problem that the de facto government had with the glaring inconsistency between the rhetoric of the Declaration of Rights and the fact of slavery, the troubled gubernatorial administrations of Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, and the demoralization and chaos in 1781 when General Cornwallis's army invaded the state.

Selby has given us a superb account of Virginia during a crucial period of American history.

WILLIAM M. DABNEY
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ORMOND SEAVEY. *Becoming Benjamin Franklin: The Autobiography and the Life*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 266. \$24.95.

Ormond Seavey "attempts to describe Benjamin Franklin's sense of personal and national identity as it appears in his *Autobiography* and as it developed in his life" (p. ix). This is "not a biography in the conventional sense, nor is it purely a literary study" (p. ix); it is "rather a kind of essay, with the essay's freedom to be suggestive rather than definitive" (p. 102).

Questions arise with regard to Seavey's research methods. With few exceptions, the edition of the *Autobiography* cited is the one edited by Leonard W. Labaree and others, published in 1964. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: A Genetic Text* (1981), edited by J. A. Leo Lemay and P. M. Zall, however, "prints in its entirety Franklin's holograph manuscript, showing all the cancellations, revisions, and additions" (p. xvii). Those interested in psychohistory, the fundamental technique employed in this study, and in literary analysis should consider that edition of the *Autobiography* an essential text, not a peripheral version to be consigned to a few notes. And it is incorrectly cited in the notes; on page 246 Lemay's surname is omitted.

Historians accustomed to documentation will find this book frustrating. There is little indication of a serious understanding of the eighteenth century or the context in which Franklin lived and worked. References are inadequate and do not take into account most scholarship published in the 1980s. Unsubstantiated assertions abound. Seavey mixes the Modern Language

Association in-text citation style (primarily for quotations) with standard endnotes (which are in short supply), making it difficult to determine sources. There are problems with the notes themselves. On several occasions the first reference to a work fails to include full bibliographic details, subsequent references often list only author and page and omit the title of the work, and page numbers are omitted in some cases.

There are inconsistencies and puzzling questions. For example, Deborah Read Franklin is described as "unlettered" (p. 154), "illiterate" (p. 155), and "semiliterate" (p. 188). Another question arises concerning Franklin and the Earl of Hillsborough. In early 1771 the two men had a "nasty confrontation" (p. 15), but by late summer Hillsborough insisted that Franklin visit his Irish estate. The problem is discussed again on pages 199–200, but no explanation is given for the speedy resolution of the situation. A further example of the lack of analysis occurs on pages 227–28, where Franklin is transformed from a believer in the potential of America as a sophisticated society to a Jeffersonian agrarian. Why did that change occur?

The book has stylistic problems. The prose is leaden and inelegant, with occasional lapses into slang (pp. 64, 109, 134, 135). Other problems include typographical errors (especially in the notes), the use of an erroneous term (the "loyalists" instead of "loyalties" of the Pennsylvania Dutch [p. 184]), and sentences that do not make sense (pp. 107, 138).

Ultimately, this effort to analyze Franklin as an "exemplar of a particular mode of consciousness" (p. 5) is unsuccessful.

SALLY SCHWARTZ
Marquette University

DREW R. MCCOY. *The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 386. \$29.95.

Drew R. McCoy has given us a biographical history of ideas that has all of that traditional genre's virtues and only a few of its vices. McCoy examines an intriguing and highly revealing subject: the intellectually active retirement of James Madison from 1816 until his death in 1836. During that period this "Revolutionary patriarch" valiantly wrestled with two major problems—the nature of republicanism in an expansive nineteenth-century society and the dilemma of slavery in a polity devoted to freedom and equality—that intertwined to shape the contours of public life in antebellum America. In McCoy's words, the elderly Madison struggled "to accommodate his unshakable commitment to popular government, with all its manifest dangers, to his principled concern for preserving order, upon which he placed all hope of furthering justice and the public good" (p. 44). The story is an instructive one.

At heart, this Virginian, according to McCoy, was a conservative who articulated "a republicanized expression of a Burkean spirit" (p. 60). The "authority of

history," the weight of "cumulative precedent," and "generational bonding" (pp. 78, 82, 83) guided his political thinking and cemented his faith in constitutional order. That reliance on social institutions and stability divided Madison philosophically from his great friend and collaborator Thomas Jefferson, for whom nature provided the great touchstone. Moreover, Madison was a committed compromiser who distrusted political passion of any kind, relied on ingrained Enlightenment values of rationality and balance, and sought the path of moderation and consensus. Political economy, as McCoy demonstrates, often provided a focus for reflection as the mature Madison tried to integrate expanding population, territory, and manufacturing into his vision of republicanism by advocating commercial export to South America and the development of regional market exchange at home.

Slavery, however, increasingly preoccupied and haunted Madison during his later years. With great skill and subtlety, McCoy shows how the Virginian proved agonizingly unable to extricate himself or the South from that horrible entanglement. Steadfastly opposed to slavery in the abstract, Madison worried as early as the 1790s that the institution was making the South more "aristocratic" than republican (pp. 234–35). Insisting that blacks must be seen as humans as well as property, he remained convinced that slavery undermined "America's republican example" (p. 262). Yet, ultimately, Madison's conservatism prevailed. He did not free his slaves on his death for financial reasons, he placed his faith in illusory projects for slavery's diffusion in the western territories and black recolonization in Africa, and he urged a weak political course of consensus midway between the nullifying separation of a John C. Calhoun and the consolidating nationalism of a Daniel Webster. The final failure of Madisonian republicanism became especially evident in his "legatees," as McCoy describes them. That small group of Virginians—Edward Coles, Nicholas P. Trist, and William Cabell Rives—attempted to carry Madison's message into the 1840s and 1850s, but their crusade disintegrated under the pressures of economic failure, abolitionist morality, and an increasingly reactionary sectionalism.

This volume has many strengths. McCoy's elegant and understated prose carries along his enormously sensitive and nuanced exploration of Madison's evolving thought. In addition, the biographical approach to Madison and his legatees adds a rich human dimension to our understanding of transforming southern republicanism during the early and mid-nineteenth century. Finally, McCoy's extended analysis of Madison and slavery not only unearths new material but also casts fresh light on the deep-rooted problem that baffled the republic's most brilliant statesmen and that eventually exploded in civil war.

Only a few problems limit this excellent book. More attention to certain tools used by many modern biographers—a more speculative exploration of Madison's family dynamics and psychological predilections—

might have enriched the analysis of his ideas with a greater appreciation of their emotional context. One also wonders whether "moderate," rather than "conservative," might better describe a man for whom compromise was a creed and republican idealism and social stability twin articles of faith. Finally, McCoy could have defined more precisely the nineteenth-century American world to which the old Virginian responded. Much recent research suggests that democracy was not really at the heart of the acquisitive capitalist society emerging full-blown by the 1830s.

In the end, though, McCoy in this brilliant book highlights an unhappy truth. In contrast to Madison's worshipful legatees, McCoy makes us face "the possibility that the Founders were part of the problem" (p. 345) in their early and tragic linking of republicanism and slavery.

STEVEN WATTS
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Columbia

LAWRENCE FREDERICK KOHL. *The Politics of Individualism: Parties and the American Character in the Jacksonian Era*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 266. \$29.95.

When he reviewed my book *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (1980), M. D. Kaplanoff observed that it was really about "temperament," not culture, and depicted "men of a certain personality type reacting to rapid social change in varied situations" (*History*, 66 [1981]: 461). Lawrence Frederick Kohl also interprets the second party system in terms of character types reacting to rapid social change, although he does so more schematically than I did. Taking over the categories of David Riesman, Kohl argues that the Whigs were "inner-directed"; the Democrats, "tradition-directed." Kohl presumes familiarity with Riesman's 1950 classic, *The Lonely Crowd*, and does not explore the definition or justification of these terms. Instead of providing psychobiographies to illustrate his thesis, he relies on the inference that certain policies and rhetoric must have appealed to certain character types.

The attractiveness of Kohl's approach is the way it promises to make sense out of so much of what we now know about antebellum politics. On the Whig side we have the modernizing, evangelical bourgeois reformers, "inner-directed" and trying to discipline others to become like themselves; on the Democratic side are the dissenters and outsiders, whose traditional communities stubbornly resisted the imposition of any capitalist or evangelical hegemony. Kohl endows the ethnocultural and commercial conflicts of the era with psychological significance and rationality. And his treatment of the elusive concept of "social control," showing that what the Whig reformers were really concerned with was self-control, is right on the mark.

The fundamental paradox of Kohl's interpretation is that the Whigs, whose character was individualistic,

espoused policies stressing community responsibility, whereas the Democrats, whose character was "tradition-directed," favored policies of individualism and laissez-faire. My sense is that Kohl deals more successfully with the Whig side of this paradox than with the Democratic one. The Democrats were an even more complex coalition than the Whigs, and I fear we tend to jump too quickly to the conclusion that all who resisted capitalist centralization did so in the name of "tradition." To demonstrate the "tradition-direction" of the Democrats would require attention to their religious views, which Kohl does not address. Kohl repeatedly rejects (without weighing evidence) the possibility that the Democrats occupied an economic position in society objectively different from that of the Whigs. But is there no connection between social character and social location, between a person's subjective sense and objective position within the social order?

In the light of his argument that the Whigs were the party of modernization and its attendant personality types, it is peculiar that Kohl does not compare the racial views and policies of the two parties, because the greater hostility of the Democratic party to blacks was one of its distinguishing characteristics. (He might have benefited from Jean Baker's book, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* [1983].) Overall, his book is too brief to provide an altogether convincing substantiation of its bold hypothesis. Readers less favorably disposed than I toward the psychological interpretation of politics are likely to remain skeptical. Evidently the author and publisher preferred an arresting proposal to a well-documented reorientation of our understanding enriched with subtlety and detail. This project could have gone either way, and, even in its present form, it deserves to be taken seriously.

DANIEL WALKER HOWE
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Los Angeles

ROBERT D. ILISEVICH. *Galusha A. Grow: The People's Candidate*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 320. \$39.95.

Galusha A. Grow has been neglected by historians. Up to now, the only biography of him was published in 1917 by the executor of his estate. It is a eulogistic work, and its chief value lies in the source materials that it contains. The present effort by Robert D. Ilisevich to provide a more scholarly assessment is therefore welcomed. Grow served six terms in the House of Representatives (1851–63), elected from the district in north-eastern Pennsylvania formerly represented by David Wilmot. A Democrat turned Republican, Grow rose to prominence as chair of the Committee on Territories, leading the House battles over Kansas and pushing most vigorously for homestead legislation. As speaker during his last term, he identified with the Radicals as the Civil War got under way. Defeated for reelection in

1862, he yearned for a return to Washington, but several bids for a Senate seat and for the vice presidency were foiled by the Simon Cameron and Matthew Quay machines in his state. Finally elected in 1894 for the first of four terms as congressman-at-large, he echoed the Republican orthodoxies of higher tariffs, hard money, and imperial expansion. Meanwhile, Grow amassed a comfortable estate through business interests in retailing, lumber, and coal.

The neglect by historians has been in large part because of the loss of Grow's papers in a fire. The present volume, based on public sources, does a commendable job in trying to reconstruct the career of an important figure. Many of its weaknesses, at the same time, stem from the problem of sources. There are admitted gaps in dealing with his private life and business career. The reader gains little understanding of Grow's personality and essential motivations. There are also ambiguities, if not inconsistencies, in the basic argument of the volume. Its subtitle suggests that Grow was an ideologue and a populist, a political man ill at ease with party organization and opportunistic politics. His problems with the state political machines after the Civil War lend credence to this view, but party regularity better explains much else about his behavior during this period, and supremely so during his rise to prominence in the prewar years. Although a radical Free-Soiler, he rejected third-party appeals in 1848 and 1852 in favor of Democratic candidates on the platform of popular sovereignty. Although strongly opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he campaigned for a pro-Nebraska candidate for governor. He lagged far behind others, including his political associate Wilmot, in joining the new Republican party. Insistent on granting homesteads to immigrants, he helped elect as speaker in 1855 an avowed nativist Republican, Nathaniel Banks. He deplored the one-idea passion of proslavery southerners yet rode the free-soil hobby of his party very hard. If he was "the conscience of the Republican party" (p. ix), his conscience was yet mindful of party fortunes and pragmatic considerations.

Ilisevich might also have done more with the available sources. Grow's tenure as speaker at such a critical time is slighted, and no satisfactory explanation is given for his defeat in 1862. Closer textual analysis of his speeches, when informed by the wealth of studies on republicanism, could have thrown more light on his values and vision of the good society. Generally, the bibliography reveals scant use of recent scholarship. Only one article and two books from the 1980s are cited, and most of the works are from the 1960s or earlier. Studies in the new labor and social history, in particular, might yield additional insights into the career of a politician avowedly devoted to the laboring masses. And of special interest would be the question of how a radical Republican from the 1850s grew so comfortable with the regnant values of the Gilded Age.

Despite these limitations, the present volume commences the reassessment of an important political figure and will prove useful to students of the period.

Written in a fairly clear and straightforward way, it will also engage the interest of many general readers.

MAJOR L. WILSON
Memphis State University

JOHN C. SPURLOCK. *Free Love: Marriage and Middle-Class Radicalism in America, 1825–1860*. (The American Social Experience Series, number 13.) New York: New York University Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 277. \$40.00.

In his study of free love, John C. Spurlock claims that in the early nineteenth century the American middle class envisioned the ideal marriage as a relationship based on love and spiritual affinity whose purpose was to stabilize society, promote personal happiness and moral improvement, and provide an environment in which the practice of self-control, the promotion of self-knowledge, and the private reconciliation of separate spheres could take place. The free love movement, he argues, was a response to the perceived incongruity between what people expected from marriage and what they got.

According to Spurlock, visions of equality and harmony found in the philosophies of Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and the transcendentalists as well as religious enthusiasms such as perfectionism, harmonialism (mesmerism and Swedenborgianism), and spiritualism provided a framework for critiquing marriage. By the 1840s the discontented, motivated by the desire to avoid disappointment in their marital relationships and unwilling to compromise their ideals, simply demanded the right to search for alternative ways of fulfilling their expectations. What started out as a reform movement turned into a revolt whose eventual focus was the abolition of marriage as an institution. In the 1850s, free love advocates formed networks such as the Free Love Club, the Progressive Union, and the Rising Star Community. They also founded experimental communities such as Modern Times in New York State and Berlin Heights near Cleveland where they implemented community-sanctioned systems of informal marriage and divorce based on respect for individual sovereignty.

Spurlock maintains that free love challenges to the legitimacy of institutional marriage were tolerated in antebellum America because they reflected middle-class respect for both individualism and the commitment of evangelical Protestantism to reform society. It was only after marriage critics rejected reform in favor of establishing a counterculture and began explicitly to discuss sexual practices that tolerance for their ideas declined. At that point they became marginal and subject to legal harassment by purity crusaders such as Anthony Comstock.

The least convincing part of the book is the section in which Spurlock attempts to explain why people like Stephen Pearl Andrews, Marx Edgeworth Lazarus, James Arrington Clay, Austin Kent, and Mary Gove Nicholas turned from marriage reform to rejection of

institutional marriage. He argues that their commitment to free love was a result of incomplete conversion experiences (p. 200) and ultimately a "rejection of evangelical Christianity" (p. 174). I find this argument flawed. There is little in his description of the backgrounds and personal lives of these freelovers to distinguish them from other middle-class reformers who also rejected the basic tenets of evangelical Protestantism but did not demand the creation of a new social order based on free love. There may have been a correlation between the rejection of evangelical Protestantism and free love advocacy, but the correlation does not establish the cause. Spurlock's study is, nevertheless, an important addition to the already rich literature on reform movements in nineteenth-century America.

SYLVIA D. HOFFERT
Southwest Missouri State University

LACY K. FORD, JR. *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800–1860*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1988. Pp. xiii, 414. \$39.95.

In his fine study of the antebellum South Carolina Upcountry, Lacy K. Ford, Jr., seeks to use the experience of "one important Southern subregion" (p. viii) to illuminate the ever-puzzling question of why the southern white majority, and yeomen in particular, supported secession and Civil War. He begins his examination in the first years of the nineteenth century with an exploration of the transformation of the Upcountry through the expansion of cotton agriculture and slavery and the spread of evangelical Christianity. Ford carefully traces both the economic and the social development of the region, utilizing an exhaustive array of quantitative and qualitative sources. The thrust of his analysis, however, as his central question implies, is political, and he concludes that "the actual political economy" that emerged in the Upcountry "bore rather strong resemblance to the ideal . . . of 'country-republican' theory" (p. 51).

In an important revision of prevailing assumptions about South Carolina politics, Ford reexamines in unprecedented detail the succeeding internal and external crises confronting the state from the time of nullification to the moment of secession itself. South Carolina, he concludes, was not aristocratic or oligarchic; Calhoun was not a dictator within the state. The true substance of South Carolina's political culture was the ideology of republican independence, and its style was "furiously democratic" (p. 134). Neither slaveholding nor other socioeconomic variables can explain the divisions over nullification and the other instances of political turmoil that disrupted the state. Political ideas played the crucial role.

Yet those ideas were not divorced from the influences of changing social and economic realities, as the differing outcomes of the secession crises of 1850 and 1861 suggest. Ford makes important contributions in

economic history, arguing that the pattern of Upcountry life suggests a complex relationship between the ideology of yeomen independence and the actual linements of market relations. Upcountry South Carolinians were, as early as the 1810s and 1820s, deeply involved in the market as well as eager to promote a variety of schemes of economic development. The market, in Ford's interpretation, was not despised but simultaneously desired and feared. Commitment to commercial expansion, however, did not represent a falling off from the ideals of republican independence. Rather, South Carolinians regarded such activities as a means of securing those very values: "traditional Jeffersonian fears about economic development gradually yielded to a growing, but still largely inchoate, Whiggish faith in material progress" (p. 65). The boom of the 1850s, however, challenged that tenuous balance between market forces and republican independence. An "entrepreneurial spirit" (p. 235) seized the region, "sleepy" towns emerged as "bustling" commercial centers (p. 238), railroads dramatically expanded their reach, cotton production increased, and subsistence crops declined. State government grew more active and intrusive in the economic sphere; both expenditures and taxation increased. The Upcountry confronted profound "confusion over how best to protect the independent producer from the vicissitudes of commerce without condemning him to the poverty of a hermetic economy" (p. 324). By 1861 sectional issues were inseparable from inescapable conflict within South Carolina over the best means to "reconcile . . . desire for material progress with the cherished principles of republican political economy" (p. 335). The conflict left Upcountry men angry, frightened, and divided, and yeomen in particular were fearful of the "growing power of capital and commerce in the region" (p. 354). Those fears provided the foundation for secession.

White unity in South Carolina in 1861, Ford concludes, was based not in the dominance of the planter ideal but in the republican ethos of personal independence, a system of values in which nonslaveholding yeomen could fully participate.

Ford's recasting of the role of the market and his portrayal of South Carolina politics as democratic will attract significant and heated discussion. At some level, the issue can only resolve itself into a debate over whether bottles were half empty or half full. Through his exemplary research and carefully constructed book, Ford makes a good case for his position, but I remain less than fully persuaded. When Ford writes, "No one in South Carolina argued that paternalism did or should serve as a model for relations among whites," (p. 359), I must dissent. Surely he is not thinking of James Henry Hammond. And surely when he writes in those terms about "relations among whites," he cannot be thinking of women at all.

DREW GILPIN FAUST
University of Pennsylvania

PHILLIP SHAW PALUDAN. *"A People's Contest": The Union and Civil War, 1861–1865*. (New American Nation Series.) New York: Harper and Row. 1988. Pp. xxii, 486. \$27.95.

In the scope of its content and analysis, Philip Shaw Paludan's book is a remarkable achievement. This social history of the North during the Civil War boldly seeks to link the new economic and social history with traditional political and military approaches to the conflict. Paludan analyzes the confluence of two great events, the Civil War and industrialization, and in so doing demonstrates "what was so desperately at stake" (p. 84) for northerners—the survival of the Union, the life or death of slavery, the affirmation of free labor, and the value of human life itself in the face of total war—while also showing how ordinary life endured.

Paludan's effort to use "every lens" (p. x) possible to illuminate the social fabric of the Union cause, rather than to write narrative, is both a value and a drawback of this book. Paludan is correct in saying that no single plot is possible in such a book and, therefore, that the subject does not lend itself to narrative history. But he does, at times, provide some excellent narrative: by comparing the popular images of Generals William T. Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant ("Frankenstein" and "Everyman") and by beginning and ending the book with the comparative experiences of five representative people. There are other places in the book, especially when discussing the issue of emancipation and describing battlefield campaigns, where Paludan misses opportunities to mingle narrative with his primary focus on the social fabric.

Among the many admirable features in the sweep of Paludan's lens are his analyses of the level of constitutional devotion among ordinary northerners and of the way that political culture—the party system itself—survived and even flourished in the midst of civil war. The Union was not a mere abstraction to northerners. Paludan demonstrates the depth of localism in nineteenth-century American political culture and, therefore, in the way that northern society prepared for and fought a total war. But he also persuasively shows that the experience of war, even with all its sacrifice, could nurture a surging nationalism that ultimately did not crush liberalism. Paludan is especially effective in portraying homefront hardships and human suffering. His chapter on the "scars" of war brilliantly captures the experiences of common soldiers who faced fear and death and of women who labored in loneliness and physical deprivation. Paludan's writing sparkles when he relies on original letters rather than summarizing scholarship. He also makes judicious use of literary sources, from Harriet Beecher Stowe to Herman Melville and Walt Whitman.

Paludan devotes the final section of the book to the search for "meanings" in the Civil War. Paludan offers multiple illustrations of how northerners met the challenges of vast mobilization (of resources, wealth, ingenuity, and the human spirit) to fight a modern war. He

uses Grant and Sherman to illustrate how a cause of limited and conservative aims was transformed into one of organization, dogged will, social revolution, and modern industrial might. The war's "meanings," Paludan contends, lay in those transformations of the economy, the polity, and the people.

Paludan's spirited defenses of the military records of Generals Sherman and George B. McClellan are intriguing. But his blend of military and social history is not always lively, and the book needs at least a few maps. As a good historian, Paludan addresses the problem of ambiguity in this complex story of social upheaval. But especially on questions of political economy—levels of class consciousness among workers, the relationship between government and private enterprise, and the relationship between "profits and patriotism" (p. 141)—Paludan straddles the ambiguity and strives for so much balance that the reader may yearn for a stronger point of view. Similarly, the crucial chapter on emancipation seems to lack a clear voice; its point of view seems to be that of the passive larger society observing blacks as they "proved their capacities" (p. 229) for work, self-discipline, and soldiering. Paludan's argument that northerners' commitment to the idea of equality led to widespread support of the Thirteenth Amendment and to a determination to "destroy all that slavery meant" (p. 382) needs clearer definition and may be overstated. Finally, Paludan's well-chosen emphasis on religious reactions to the war among northerners—to death of young men on a massive scale, "the most profoundly felt fact of the war" (p. 363)—might have been deepened by a discussion of the theological traditions of millennialism and apocalypticism that compelled such reactions. A work of this scope is always open to such criticisms, but they do not mar an otherwise stunning accomplishment of synthetic scholarship.

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DREW GILPIN FAUST. *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*. (Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1988. Pp. 110. \$19.95.

In these lectures Drew Gilpin Faust charges that historians have neglected Confederate nationalism and the South's wartime ideology. She calls for "a detailed inquiry into the structure, substance, and process of Confederate nationalism," which "became synonymous with the effort by leaders . . . to articulate an ideology appropriate to their ends" (pp. 6, 2).

Faust deals primarily with familiar elite figures and focuses on religion, extortion (understood by Confederates as unjustifiably high prices in the marketplace), and the reform of slavery. Her inquiry includes statements by obscure and prominent southerners, lay people and clergy, and touches briefly on songs, paint-

ings, folk art, minstrelsy, poems, and school primers. In each area she finds internal contradictions and problems.

Faust agrees with other recent studies that Confederates saw religion as vitally connected to their enterprise. They not only sought to justify warfare as religious terms. Many church leaders agreed that Confederates would be "the Lord's peculiar people," like the Hebrews of old (p. 26). But identification with God and God's plan implied God's judgment; defeat meant that God was chastising the South for its sins. Clergymen also favored political reaction and antidemocratic constitutional changes, but these ran afoul of society's need to obtain the support of the common people in war.

As suffering mounted in the wartime South, the common people cried out loudly against extortion and profiteering, and many ministers joined them. There were denunciations of greed and covetousness in newspapers, religious periodicals, novels, even children's school books. But church leaders' support of community needs was counterbalanced by their theological stress on the individual, and southerners who demanded interference with the operations of the market were opposed by others who upheld the law of supply and demand.

Arguing that, from the first, Confederates saw slavery as central to their purpose, Faust reviews the movement to reform slavery. Her description covers familiar ground and adds little that is new. She concludes, contrary to Clarence Mohr, that reform "posed little threat to the survival of the peculiar institution" (p. 81). It did, however, give slaves a "symbolic voice" in justifying the institution and empowered church leaders, who in effect told the state, "if you are to use us, you must also listen to us" (p. 81). Both developments were "troubling" and challenging to the prewar arrangement of power (p. 81).

Faust concludes that Confederate nationalism tried to create a unity that simply did not exist in Confederate society. "Confederate ideology was defeated in large measure by the internal contradictions that wartime circumstances brought so prominently to the fore" (p. 84). On this point, as on other major issues, she agrees with much of the literature that she initially criticizes.

PAUL D. ESCOTT
Wake Forest University

GEORGE GREEN SHACKELFORD. *George Wythe Randolph and the Confederate Elite*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 235. \$25.00.

In this book George Green Shackelford attempts to place the Confederacy's third secretary of war on the center stage of that government's brief history. George Wythe Randolph, he argues, played a crucial, but now neglected, role in shaping the Confederacy's policy.

Randolph was the architect of Confederate conscription, he was an energetic and determined administrator, and he advocated many of the measures that have led some historians to label the Southern rebellion an experiment in state socialism.

If all Shackelford had attempted to do in this book was to reevaluate Randolph's career, he would have succeeded. But Shackelford makes large claims for Randolph. He argues that Randolph was a leader of three self-conscious elites that began redefining the meaning of Confederate nationality. Randolph and fellow members of the first families of Virginia felt they had a peculiar right to direct the new Southern republic. Randolph was associated with the literati grouped around John R. Thompson's *Southern Literary Messenger*. Most significant, Randolph, who had studied law and engineering at the University of Virginia, represented the South's technocratic elite. During his nine-month tenure as secretary of war, he established "a technocratic bureaucracy of elites which presided over what amounted to a military-industrial complex" (p. 149). Those technocrats were crucial to Randolph's "successful reorganization of the Confederate military apparatus and war economy" (p. xi).

Unfortunately, those sweeping claims remain unproved. For example, the bureaucracy that Shackelford exalts consisted of thirteen appointees to the War Department. Many of the thirteen were engineers, which is not surprising because during the nineteenth century both West Point and the Virginia Military Institute taught engineering and because the appointees' positions demanded some technological expertise. But the appointment of thirteen technocrats does not translate into the empowerment of a technocratic elite. Nor do the measures that Randolph and the War Department appointees undertook to wage war demonstrate that they intended the peacetime Confederacy to enjoy technocratic planning.

Because of recent emphasis on the Confederate States of America as an embodiment of planter ideology, it is useful to be reminded that the Confederacy hired some smart people, that some Southerners came from cities, and that there was a network of kinship, education, and experience that extended beyond the plantation. Shackelford wishes to reorient our approach to the Confederate experience by reducing the role of class and emphasizing the role of elites.

Surely he is right. Whereas an interpretation of the Confederacy that ignored class would be risible, analysis of class alone is too cumbersome to explain adequately how certain men came to power, why they made the decisions they did, and how they operated the machinery of Confederate government. Although Shackelford makes larger claims for Randolph than I can accept, this book is a valuable contribution to Confederate historiography.

REID MITCHELL
Princeton University

RICHARD M. MCMURRY. *Two Great Rebel Armies: An Essay in Confederate Military History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xvi, 204. \$19.95.

Richard M. McMurry compares the Army of Tennessee and the Army of Northern Virginia and asks why Robert E. Lee's army was more successful than the Confederate army that fought between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. Relying mostly on secondary works, he evaluates the contribution of the state militias of Tennessee and Virginia, describes how uncertainty over Kentucky and Missouri caused delay in the organization of the defense of the West, and compares the generals in each army with their Union opponents. He analyzes the geographic distribution of units and generals and the antebellum military experience of Confederate generals in each region. He discusses the geographic, demographic, and economic factors related to military activity in each theater and studies the policies of the Confederate government toward the two regions. Lee's army had preponderant advantages, including 36.2 percent of the Confederacy's population, 40.8 percent of the railroad mileage, 49.9 percent of the manufacturing establishments, 76.4 percent of the Confederate officers with antebellum military experience, and only 19.2 percent of the Confederacy's land area to defend. The western department had many hindrances, including dependence on a shrinking area for food supply. At times the Army of Tennessee protected farms that provided meat to Lee's commissary.

Revising the traditional interpretation that Jefferson Davis should have transferred more troops to the West, McMurry sets forth the thesis that, because the Confederacy was so weak in the West, Davis should have fought a holding action there and shifted manpower to the East, where the rebellion had its greatest strength. A reinforced Army of Northern Virginia might have captured Washington, D.C., annihilated the Union Army of the Potomac, and won the war. McMurry's thesis is creative, and his comparison of the relative advantages and disadvantages of the two armies is original and valuable. McMurry extends traditional strategic principles and sheds new light on how the South lost the Civil War. His almost complete reliance on the writing of Thomas L. Connelly in describing the commanders of the Army of Tennessee, however, leads McMurry to the conclusion that the western generals were "a kaleidoscopic collection of military misfits, incompetents, poltroons, stumblebums, and buffoons" (p. 115) who were almost criminally incompetent. In contrast, there is a positive portrayal of the eastern commanders based on the sympathetic work of Douglas Southall Freeman. The extremely negative view of Braxton Bragg and the other western generals leaves the reader asking how the Army of Tennessee survived with so many disadvantages and such foolish commanders. McMurry barely mentions the enlisted men, and he could have strengthened his argument by giving greater attention to public support. The writing

is clear and is directed to specialists, who will benefit from McMurry's imaginative approach.

JAMES A. RAMAGE
Northern Kentucky University

FREDERICK A. BODE and DONALD E. GINTER. *Farm Tenancy and the Census in Antebellum Georgia*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1986. Pp. xix, 278. \$27.50.

This book challenges the modern view that farm tenancy arose in the South during Reconstruction. By examining land use patterns as recorded in the 1860 federal census, Frederick A. Bode and Donald E. Ginter have discovered that tenancy was far more prevalent among white farmers in antebellum Georgia than previously suspected. They conclude that "it can no longer be held that tenancy was somehow invented by southerners or emerged suddenly after the Civil War in response to emancipation" (p. 10). Furthermore, the prevalence of tenancy deviates from the standard dual economy model and suggests that landowners used tenancy as an alternative to slave labor in antebellum Georgia.

Farm tenancy was a complex phenomenon between 1860 and 1880. Some tenants rented land and were free to grow whatever they wanted; others agreed to grow a crop and to share it with the landowner. The second practice represented the proletarianization of labor in that the tenants' crops represented wages. Antebellum tenancy took several forms in different regions of Georgia. It existed in cotton counties but was most widespread on the poorest lands. The majority of tenants settled outside the cotton belt in the upland regions, farmed fewer than fifty acres, and had little or no personal capital. The availability of tenancy may have allowed sons to move west but not too far. The Reconstruction period saw the migration of whites out of state and of blacks into Georgia, an increase in tenancy rates, and a new competition for tenancies from freedmen. White and black tenant farmers competed to grow cotton on the poorest lands.

The basis for the authors' challenging interpretation is their imaginative reevaluation of the 1860 federal census. The authors discovered that enumerators frequently reported production but omitted acreage and farm value. They argue that entries indicating production alone actually represented tenants and that such entries resulted in a serious underenumeration of tenancy in the census. Tenants were consequently underrepresented in the sample of southern farms compiled by William N. Parker and Robert E. Gallman.

The bulk of this work is devoted to explicating a methodology to correct the 1860 census material. The authors develop two methods to standardize the data. The long method compares data from schedules I and IV; the short method uses only schedule IV. After collecting and examining the data, Bode and Ginter candidly admit that "our argument for complexity in tenure arrangements is essentially a circumstantial one

and depends upon the conviction that minimal patterns of intelligibility can be detected amidst the variety of enumerator practices" (p. 95). They do not pretend to have the final answer. Indeed, they deal constructively with scholars with whom they disagree and are especially respectful of the early work of Frank L. Owsley. Their primary purpose is to stimulate an awareness of the deficiencies of the census and to improve its reliability.

No student of nineteenth-century southern agriculture can ignore this study. It demonstrates once again that the census should not be used uncritically. The University of Georgia Press should be commended for advancing our understanding of this important topic by publishing what is principally a methodological study.

WHITMAN H. RIDGWAY
University of Maryland,
College Park

KEITH DIX. *What's a Coal Miner to Do? The Mechanization of Coal Mining*. (Pittsburgh Series in Social and Labor History.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 258. \$29.95.

In 1953, thirty years after the introduction of the first mechanical loaders, better than two-thirds of the coal mined in the United States was loaded with the aid of machines. Over the same three decades, labor productivity almost doubled, the wage rate almost tripled, and employment fell by more than one-half. Keith Dix's book, however, is silent about such trends. Some time-series data are provided in an appendix, but only the first decade of the diffusion of loading machinery is covered in the text, as if the story of mechanization was then complete and its full measure taken. The reader must accept Dix's point of view, namely, that central to the history of mine mechanization was the sustained resistance to it by rank-and-file miners, for this highly truncated and idiosyncratic account to have much plausibility.

In the opening chapter Dix provides a clear survey of mining techniques in the pick-and-shovel era. He includes some interesting balance-sheet data containing the only evidence I have ever seen bearing on the impact of a company store on company profits. The claim, however, that those data, which cover one company for several months in 1932, can be taken to typify "thousands of medium-sized mines . . . throughout the coalfields . . . from the Civil War to the 1930's and later" (p. 18) foreshadows the problems of representativeness that afflict much of the evidence presented.

In the next two chapters Dix traces the invention of various mining machines and the development of the mine machinery industry. Only a few pages are devoted to the undercutting machines that began to be introduced in the 1870s and that by the mid-1920s accounted for two-thirds of all the coal mined. Much more space is devoted to the development and diffu-

sion of loading machines. This emphasis is continued in the next chapter where, along with other evidence, interviews with three miners are employed to describe the problems and consequences of the historic change-over from hand to machine loading.

These early chapters are the most original. Many of the source materials employed have not been previously exploited, and a fair amount of the information presented is also new. In contrast, subsequent chapters rely much more heavily on secondary accounts and cover more familiar territory.

Given the focus on mechanical loading, it comes as something of a surprise to be led back to the 1870s and miners' opposition to the introduction of undercutting machines. Only then does it begin to become clear that Dix's argument is designed to hallow the pick-and-shovel era and condemn mining machinery. (There is an antitechnology disclaimer in the preface, but it does not square with what is presented.)

Subsequent chapters trace the policies of the United Mine Workers toward mechanization and contrast those policies with the positions taken by some rank-and-file members. In the process, John L. Lewis is denied any achievements whatever, save for imposing his autocratic rule on the union. An innocent reader might come away with the impression that, if only Lewis had supported a demand for the nationalization of the mines during the Coolidge presidency, public ownership might have come to pass.

The question posed by the song that provides the title of the volume concerns employment—work and income opportunities in the face of technological displacement. In my judgment, Dix has badly confused these very real concerns with ideological and largely artificial ones based on pride of craft and flexible working hours. The result is a romance of pick-and-shovel miners devoid of danger, sweat, aching bodies, and the bitter need to dig coal in order to eat.

H. M. GITELMAN
Adelphi University

WILLIAM G. ROBBINS. *Hard Times in Paradise: Coos Bay, Oregon, 1850–1986*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 194. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$14.95.

In this slender volume William G. Robbins examines the history of the timber industry in the Coos Bay area of southern Oregon from its beginnings to the present. The first sawmill established on Coos Bay in 1853 symbolized the transcontinental migration of timber activity, which began in New England and moved west to the Great Lakes and south to the Gulf Plain before reaching the expansive timber resources of the North Pacific slope. Robbins indicates that the exploitative "cut and run" practices used in other parts of the country also became the practice in the Pacific Northwest paradise of natural resources. Although the practice of sustained yield was proposed in the Coos Bay area as early as the 1920s and initial steps were taken to

begin the practice during the 1930s, the wartime demands of the 1940s and the postwar construction boom in California overrode long-range concerns in the scramble for immediate profit.

Robbins has great sympathy for the timber workers, who were often exploited by their bosses and were at the mercy of developments and decisions far beyond their control. The southern Oregon timber industry is a classic example of economic colonization: it came under the control first of businessmen in San Francisco, then of Wall Street investors, and finally of multinational corporations. In that context, Robbins's book is instructive of the economic situation for other extractive industries in the West, including the mining of metals, coal, iron, and uranium and the drilling of oil. Technological innovations, market fluctuations, development of organized labor and its challenge by business, and family and community life are all topics that invite comparison.

Through the use of oral interviews and his sensitivity to the effect of the economic difficulties of the 1980s on Coos Bay residents, Robbins has crafted a work that should find a receptive audience in southern Oregon and the Pacific Northwest region where other communities are experiencing the same problems. More than singing the praises of pioneers and local heroes, Robbins explains the historical context of today's dilemma, in which lifelong timber workers have lost their well-paying jobs and pensions and have been forced to take work, when they can find it, at minimum wage. The result has been a loss of dignity, an increase in social problems, and a sense of permanent despair.

Although the book is not without some minor flaws, notably repetitious sections and a few places where the quotations from oral interviews confuse more than clarify, historians will find this study useful in its survey of the southern Oregon timber industry, in its indictment of the unwise exploitation of resources in the West, and in its utility as a model for a study that can be read and appreciated by those who matter most—the people who are the history.

ALLAN KENT POWELL
Utah State Historical Society

J. VALERIE FIFER. *American Progress: The Growth of the Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth-Century West Seen through the Life and Times of George A. Crofutt, Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age*. Chester, Conn.: Globe Pequot. 1988. Pp. xi, 472. \$29.95.

It is refreshing these days to read a serious, scholarly work on the American West that is not, in some sense, an accusatory tract. Fortunately, J. Valerie Fifer's study is such a book or, really, several such books. Fifer chronicles the very active life of George A. Crofutt, an almost forgotten American writer. Her book is also a detailed history of transportation in the trans-Mississippi West from stagecoaches and wagons to the ele-

gant transcontinental Pullman Palace cars. In addition, she includes the story of the electric interurban systems of southern California. As if this were not enough, Fifer also chronicles the complex story of the growth of tourism in the West. As her lengthy title indicates, this volume is at least four important stories offered as one.

Any one of the four themes would have been interesting in itself—Crofutt's biography, the story of western transportation, the growth of the western tourist industry after the 1870s, and the detailed description of the promotion through advertising of the West as a land of opportunity. Given these various complex themes, one scarcely knows which "book" to review. Perhaps the most important aspect of the work stems from Fifer's background as a geographer. Her richly layered book presents a whole series of western geographies (not frontiers) that are seldom addressed by western historians. In presenting these geographies, Fifer at once clarifies the way in which we should look at the post-Turnerian West. In fact, the term "geographies" instead of "frontiers" would have made Turner's work far more useful.

With regard to historical strategies, the problem that Fifer faces in presenting these western geographies—real, mythical, and resultant of calculated advertising—is how to tie these layers of types together. Her basic strategy is to resurrect and concentrate on the life of George A. Crofutt of Danbury, Connecticut, the West's most active publicizer. Crofutt's story takes us into the actual workings of the vast publicity apparatus that, more than anything else, created a "New West." Crofutt, after winning his spurs as a bookseller and magazine publisher in the East, especially in Philadelphia, turned his efforts toward the West to which he emigrated in the 1860s where, instead of civil war, he saw the possibility of endless progress. What George Catlin earlier condemned as "the juggernaut of civilization," Crofutt saw as the march of civilization. He moved to the foothills near Denver and participated in its mineral boom, but, more important, Crofutt seized on the railroad to the Pacific, then under construction, as the key to his major work. He published the first guide to the country through which the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads passed. It was based on his detailed research and actual experience. For most of the late nineteenth century, it was the most authoritative work on the new geography of the West. While his friends Clarence King and Ferdinand V. Hayden were conducting massive scientific surveys in the West, published in formidable tomes that not even the congressmen read (except for Hayden's report on Yellowstone), Crofutt's *Great Trans-Continental Railroad Guide*, published in 1869, was the first of his many works that inspired not only tourists to travel in the West but also hordes of would-be settlers and entrepreneurs who created the post-frontier West that remains with us to the present day. Fifer argues that Crofutt's inspired appropriation of the term "transcontinental" changed the image of the West in the eyes of many Americans and potential European immigrants. This first of some

twenty-three guidebooks produced by Crofutt promised and delivered a great deal of detailed information.

Crofutt and his later imitators created the "tourist's West," but in so doing they created an even more profound image, that of the safe, promising West rather than the Wild West of George Custer, Buffalo Bill, Wyatt Earp, and a thousand forgettable, lurid dime novels.

Fifer tells Crofutt's story well, albeit with numerous clichés and slang expressions peppering her literary style. She also tells the above mentioned other important stories. This is a very significant book, one happily dealing with the intellectual history of the West, or at least with that other progressive West of the imagination that we seldom see because it is a landscape without violence or savagery or nostalgia. Fittingly, it was Crofutt who designed and commissioned John Gast to paint, in 1872, *American Progress*, the major iconic picture of the whole era, featuring the goddess of liberty and enlightenment leading the course of civilization across the West. Fifer has indeed given us many geographies to consider in this fine book.

WILLIAM H. GOETZMANN
University of Texas,
Austin

MARVIN R. O'CONNELL. *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1988. Pp. xii, 610. \$34.95.

John Ireland (1838–1918), bishop (1875) and later archbishop (1888) of St. Paul, was one of the most important and colorful members of the American Catholic hierarchy between the Civil War and World War I. Although he did not always represent American Catholic life and thought, he did reflect the transformations that were occurring in the Americanist wing of the church during the Gilded Age. An immigrant himself, he was the most forceful and articulate public advocate for the Americanization of the immigrants so that, through their acquisition of education and wealth, they might influence American society.

Despite his importance to American history, Ireland has been the subject of only one previous biography, James A. Moynihan's *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland* (1953). Marvin R. O'Connell's new biography is a tour de force of critical historical scholarship, far surpassing Moynihan's in the objective presentation of Ireland's human weaknesses as well as his strengths. O'Connell's biography is more credible than Moynihan's because O'Connell portrays Ireland as more complicated and complex.

O'Connell is well qualified to write this biography. His previous research in the history of European post-Tridentine Catholicism has given him an understanding of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical and civil politics that informs much of his interpretation of Ireland and American Catholicism during the Gilded Age. The biography also reflects the author's judicious

use of correspondence from numerous foreign and American archives, religious and secular newspapers, and the most significant contemporary studies of post-Civil War American and European religious history.

Although O'Connell presents no unifying thesis in interpreting Ireland or American Catholicism during Ireland's lifetime, he does highlight Ireland's complex personality, his ultramontane perspectives and sympathies, his partisan ecclesiastical maneuvers in favor of the Americanist party he represented, and his Republican political stance within a predominantly Democratic Catholic community. O'Connell demonstrates how Ireland developed Catholic institutional life in Minnesota and the Dakotas and how his cooperative associations with local politicians and entrepreneurs contributed to a midwestern style of Catholicism that differed considerably from the antagonistic style that characterized some of the Eastern seaboard dioceses.

In the bulk of the biography, O'Connell concentrates on national and international issues, making the book a history of *ex parte* ecclesiastical politics during the period. He critically examines Americanist and anti-Americanist views and activities relative to the school issue, temperance, labor unions and strikes, Catholic university education, the Americanization of the immigrants, inter-Christian and interreligious discussions, American separation of church and state, the establishment of an apostolic delegate to the United States, the *ralliement* in France, and the Spanish-American War.

O'Connell sees Ireland primarily as a pragmatic ecclesiastical politician of the Americanist party. The Americanist and anti-Americanist (not liberal and conservative) battles were primarily between two different ecclesiastical parties whose supporters were equally orthodox in their theology and ultramontane in their views of the papacy. Like his ecclesiastical opponents, Ireland used Roman fears and political ideology to manipulate papal power in the interests of his own ecclesiastical and political causes.

The strength of this biography lies in O'Connell's understanding of the workings of ecclesiastical politics. The weakness resides in O'Connell's tendency to reduce the issues to ecclesiastical politics. Missing from the biography, moreover, is adequate attention to Ireland's intellectual development and to the spirituality that informed his pastoral and ecclesiastical career.

Whatever its weaknesses, this is the most comprehensive study of Ireland to date. It is written with grace and style and unfolds Ireland's personality and times in a narrative that is enjoyable to read. This biography should be in every college and university library. It is a major achievement, and the Minnesota Historical Society should be commended for publishing it.

PATRICK W. CAREY
Marquette University

JAMES R. GOFF, JR. *Fields White unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism*. Fay-

etteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 263. Cloth \$22.00, paper \$12.00.

The enormous growth of Pentecostalism calls for a thorough reconstruction of its history. That task would be greatly furthered by biographies of the founders, nearly all of whom remain shrouded in mystery. This life of Charles F. Parham is a major contribution to that end.

James R. Goff, Jr., is one of a new breed within the Pentecostal tradition whose work conforms to the best scholarly standards and achieves a high degree of objectivity. Goff's thesis is that Parham was the founder of the Pentecostal movement and that millenarian and missionary concerns were at the movement's core. Those ideas are not new, but Goff argues them well and presents strong evidence in their support. The chief value of this work is that it constitutes the first scholarly biography of Parham.

From his birth in a frontier farming community in Kansas in 1873, Parham was beset by a series of physical ailments that strongly suggest psychogenesis, especially since on several occasions they miraculously disappeared by divine healing experiences. When he was nine, the first signs of the religious concern that would dominate his life emerged. At age thirteen, a year after his mother's death (Parham was, Goff says, "a mama's boy" [p. 24]), he was converted in a Congregational church. Soon after, he became active in the Methodist church and at age seventeen entered South-west Kansas College to study for the Methodist ministry. Financial difficulties, renewed health problems, and disgust at the liberal views and lifestyles he encountered led to Parham's withdrawal before completion of the course of study. He became a licensed Methodist preacher of holiness persuasion. He soon came under the influence of the Quaker family of David Baker and married one of the daughters. From Baker, Parham adopted the unorthodox view that the wicked were to be annihilated, not eternally punished. That belief is one of many eccentric theological views embraced or devised by Parham that Goff glosses over or ignores. (Another example is the doctrine of the redemption of the body, whereby believers were to be miraculously transported at will from place to place.) Within three years Parham resigned from the Methodist church and became an independent holiness preacher.

Goff carefully traces Parham's ministry and the development of his thought. Of great importance are Goff's analyses of the impact on Parham of Frank Sandford's Holy Ghost and Us Bible School, of Parham's Zionist and Anglo-Israel notions, and of his complicated ambivalence on the race issue.

Obsessed with discovering the secret of the true baptism in the Holy Spirit, a concern widely held among followers of the holiness and Keswick movements, Parham opened Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, to pursue his quest. Following an outbreak of speaking in tongues at the school on or about New Year's Eve 1901, Parham asserted as dogma that speak-

ing in tongues was the evidence of "the true Baptism" (p. 35) in the Spirit, an act of grace subsequent to conversion and sanctification and normative for all believers. Parham never wavered from his belief that tongues were foreign languages miraculously bestowed to preach the gospel to foreigners (that is, xenoglossy), not unintelligible speech (that is, glossolalia). The doctrine of speaking in tongues as initial evidence of Spirit-baptism, Goff says, "had always defined the [Pentecostal] movement" (p. 11).

That doctrine did in time become the view of the mainline Pentecostal movement. But Goff fails to note that the idea had been proposed but discarded earlier by the evangelist and teacher Reuben A. Torrey (and probably by others as well), that it was hotly debated in the early years among Pentecostals (including Parham's own converts), and that many Pentecostals and charismatics have always maintained it is possible to be Spirit-baptized without speaking in tongues, which is asserted, for example, in the doctrinal statement of the largest American Pentecostal denomination, the Church of God in Christ.

Because Goff sees theology as more determinate of Pentecostalism than socioeconomic factors or other influences, he gives Parham primary credit for founding the movement, although he recognizes that Pentecostalism was of little consequence until the 1906 Los Angeles revival initiated by Parham's one-time protégé, William Joseph Seymour. Parham may well have become the recognized leader of the movement had he not at that very time "fallen from grace." Goff meticulously and judiciously marshals the available evidence relating to the charges of homosexual sodomy against Parham. He refrains, however, from rendering the verdict of guilty that most readers will likely reach, as did Parham's contemporaries. Parham salvaged a small following from the wreckage of his reputation and continued a modest ministry until his death in 1929, but he remained a non-person among Pentecostals for some fifty years. Goff resurrects this pivotal figure in a fine biography that is essential reading for all students of Pentecostalism.

ROBERT M. ANDERSON
Wagner College

JOHN DOBSON. *Reticent Expansionism: The Foreign Policy of William McKinley*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press. 1988. Pp. 216. \$26.50.

Within the last decade, two good, short studies of William McKinley's foreign policies have appeared, the present account by John Dobson and Lewis L. Gould's *Presidency of William McKinley* (1979), from which several chapters were republished as *The Spanish-American War and President McKinley* (1982). Dobson's book overlaps considerably with Gould's books and displays most of the same virtues and defects. All three are essentially surveys, not detailed monographs.

An apparent difference between Dobson's work and

Gould's *Presidency of William McKinley* is suggested by Dobson's title and the first sentence of Gould's preface: "William McKinley was the first modern president" (p. vii). Dobson goes on to describe a president often carried along by events and by his reading of public opinion, while Gould sees a leader who anticipated many characteristics of the twentieth-century presidency: effective use of improved communications, resort to expert advice, frequent travel, and fine balance between cooperation and discipline in relations with Congress. But these differences are more apparent than real and involve emphasis, not substance. A president can be indecisive about policy and yet use new methods to guide Congress and the people. Dobson accepts most of Gould's argument about new methods, although Gould is no more able than Dobson to prove that McKinley had a deliberate, systematic policy for intervention in Cuba or for the annexation of the Philippines, the two most important and difficult decisions he had to make. Similarly, Dobson accepts Gould's (and nearly everyone else's) conclusion that McKinley planned and worked systematically for the annexation of Hawaii in 1898.

These two historians and all others who have written on the period have faced an obstacle until now insurmountable, namely, that McKinley left meager personal records and played his cards close to his comfortably filled vest, often telling others just what he thought they wanted to hear. Thus, conclusions about his policy making are all too often based on inference, circumstantial evidence, and unreliable hearsay. Both writers try to avoid overstraining their sources; they are usually successful.

Dobson's book is a little less detailed than Gould's in the treatment of the Spanish-American War, but Dobson shows more fully how Commodore George Dewey operated in the Philippines and how McKinley handled postwar problems such as colonial administration, the Open Door notes, and the Boxer Rebellion. Dobson gives no special weight to economic factors but comments in passing on those who do. As in his earlier book, *America's Ascent: The United States Becomes a Great Power* (1978), he relies mainly on secondary works or published sources but makes better use of them, perhaps because he has tackled a more limited subject. The book contains no maps, almost no Spanish accents, and no bibliography. But, like *America's Ascent*, it is clearly and pleasantly written, and with a few changes a paperback edition would have a strong appeal for undergraduate courses.

DAVID M. PLETCHER
Indiana University,
Bloomington

STANLEY KARNOW. *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*. New York: Random House. 1989. Pp. xii, 494. \$24.95.

American involvement in Vietnam had one salutary effect: it sparked interest in earlier American involvements in Southeast Asia, notably in the Philippines, the only American colony in Asia. The latest work by Stanley Karnow, which follows this distinguished journalist's massive study of American involvement in Vietnam, is a much-needed, comprehensive survey of the Philippine-American encounter.

Karnow's account begins appropriately with two lengthy chapters on Spain's discovery and colonial governance. A traditional view of Spanish misrule that resulted in the eventual growth of Philippine nationalism and revolt, Karnow's book is enlivened here, and throughout, with lengthy sketches of important people and events.

The rise of American imperialism is handled competently, although Karnow fails to take into account recent works on President William McKinley whom he repeatedly characterizes as "weak," "indecisive," "befuddled," and incompetent, a man who "allowed events to sweep him away" (p. 99). Yet he quotes William Howard Taft's more accurate assessment of the man: "I never came in contact with a more sweetly sympathetic nature, nor one more persuasive in his treatment of men" (p. 169).

Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the resistance against the American occupation, was innocent of charges of venality, Karnow argues, but was insufficiently attuned to the needs of the Filipino masses to carry through to victory. There is truth in this assessment, although Karnow may go too far in asserting that Aguinaldo offered the people "even less than did the Americans" (p. 177).

Regrettably, Karnow pays little attention to developments in the 1920s and 1930s, a relatively neglected period. The Republican restoration under Governor General Leonard Wood is discussed in only two pages; the independence debates of the 1930s are given four; the last governor general, Frank Murphy, who tried with some success to bring the New Deal to the Philippines, merits only passing references. By contrast, Karnow arguably devotes disproportionate attention—an entire chapter and parts of two others—to Douglas MacArthur. But his assessment of American rule over the long term is well taken: it was better than European colonial rule, but the United States nevertheless failed to grapple with underlying inequities in Philippine society and allowed a powerful and sometimes corrupt elite to control the country.

After World War II, the United States set the Philippines free but imposed neocolonial restrictions. Karnow thinks that the Filipinos "submitted voluntarily to their own exploitation" but contradictorily acknowledges that they were "too feeble to resist" American demands for economic preferences (pp. 333–35) and quotes a Filipino legislator as saying that he voted for the unfair Bell Trade Act because the Filipinos "were flat broke, hungry, homeless, and destitute" (p. 335). In any event, Karnow demonstrates conclusively that

the United States has regularly intervened in Philippine politics.

The book's discussion of more recent developments, including the "conjugal aristocracy" (chap. 13) of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos, is based in part on Karnow's own recollections as a correspondent in Southeast Asia. Although he acknowledges Ferdinand Marcos's brilliance and complexity, Karnow is convinced that he proclaimed martial law in 1972 only to stay in power, whence he and Imelda set new records for graft and corruption to the great detriment of their country. Marcos's abuses of power scarcely disturbed Presidents Nixon and Ford, while Reagan's personal friendship and lack of concern about the abuses "elated the Marcoses" (p. 401).

"People power" and pressure from the State Department finally toppled the Marcoses in 1986, but the ascension of Corazon Aquino was a "restoration" rather than a revolution (p. 423). A different elite—less corrupt, to be sure—now rules. Few fundamental changes can be expected.

In sum, this study provides the best available survey of American involvement in the Philippines. Although some of the author's judgments can be challenged, the book combines generally sound scholarship with fine literary craftsmanship.

KENTON J. CLYMER
University of Texas,
El Paso

DAVID HEALY. *Drive to Hegemony: The United States in the Caribbean, 1898–1917*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 370. \$27.50.

David Healy's works are well known to scholars of United States–Caribbean relations. His *United States in Cuba, 1898–1902* (1970) and *Gunboat Diplomacy in the Wilson Era: The U.S. Navy in Haiti, 1915–1916* (1976) are basic for any understanding of U.S. policy in the Caribbean. With this latest book, Healy provides a capstone work based on years of research and well-seasoned thought.

Healy combines primary sources and a wide array of secondary works to produce a book that goes beyond the existing material in the field. In the process, he gives us an extensive survey of the events combined with a balanced analysis of the basic trends in U.S. foreign relations. He discusses not only the factors associated with actions of the United States but also the internal dimensions of the countries in the area.

Overall, this is a multifaceted work that really gets to the heart of the question of the development of U.S. hegemony in the Caribbean. Healy does a fine job of presenting the historical context in which that hegemony developed and the complex process of the development. We see U.S. leaders pursuing an expansionist policy in the Caribbean for a variety of reasons (ideological, political, economic, and strategic) and using a number of different tactics. Healy does not find a

well-planned conspiracy of U.S. leaders but a much more complex array of persons with differing ideas and policies.

The author gives due credit to colleagues in the field and presents their arguments even when he does not agree with them. One strength of this volume is Healy's use of recent scholarship to correct older interpretations. In that vein, he uses Frederick Marks's work on Theodore Roosevelt to argue that, contrary to the contention of Howard K. Beale, Roosevelt did make a naval threat to Kaiser Wilhelm in 1902.

Healy devotes the first two parts of this book to chronological coverage of the subject. The third part is a change of pace, with chapters on the impact of the United States on Cuba, the agents of hegemony both in and out of government, the use of constabularies and elections to promote stability, and the impact of the United States on economic development and nationalism in the Caribbean generally. The chapter on the agents of hegemony is especially fascinating with its descriptions of such colorful characters as "soldier of fortune" General Lee Christmas and "business buccaneer" Samuel Zemurray (p. 258).

In his chapter on the economic consequences of hegemony, Healy presents a careful analysis of the dependency theory. He concludes that it seems useful but "more persuasive as description than as explanation" (p. 272). And he points out that both developmentalists and *dependencistas* have ignored the role of the Spanish heritage in limiting economic development. I would have liked to see Healy expand on that point and consider the basic role of the structure of social values in shaping the societies of the Caribbean.

In the chapter on hegemony and nationalism, Healy analyzes the interaction of those two factors and candidly admits that a "true picture" of that interaction "is difficult to construct" (p. 286). But, he concludes, "what was never in evidence was a general and consistent hostility to the United States presence in all of its forms" (p. 286).

This is an important book that adds a great deal of honest analysis and extensive research to our understanding of the subject. No one who teaches or researches in this field can ignore it.

ROBERT FREEMAN SMITH
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A. J. BACEVICH. *Diplomat in Khaki: Major General Frank Ross McCoy and American Foreign Policy, 1898-1949*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1989. Pp. xi, 272. \$29.95.

Had A. J. Bacevich simply aspired to recount the fascinating career of Major General Frank Ross McCoy, he would have succeeded splendidly with this well-crafted biography. McCoy served U.S. policy makers for fifty years as soldier, adviser, mediator, and negotiator, and Bacevich is thoroughly adept at telling that remarkable story. But Bacevich's objective is far

more interesting than merely reporting McCoy's diplomatic and military service. He believes that "McCoy's ties to civilian elites and his frequent ventures outside the traditional military realm call into question commonly held assumptions about . . . civilian-military relations" (p. 211). He suggests that "McCoy's recurring participation in foreign policy challenges the contention that civilian leaders before 1940 neglected to consult military officers on diplomatic issues" (p. 212). McCoy "bridged the gap between the negligible coordination that characterized nineteenth-century policy formulation and the elaborate apparatus and ritualized procedures that have piled up since World War II" (p. 212).

The turning point in McCoy's career was his association with Leonard Wood. Wood symbolized a "new officer" and provided an outlook on the military's role that departed dramatically from the restricted Indian-fighting army. McCoy became Wood's closest professional confidant and virtually a member of his family. Thanks to that relationship, McCoy's reputation reached beyond army ranks to presidents, cabinet members, congressmen, and diplomats—men comfortable with the idea of joining with the military to create a new breed of public servant. The nontraditional experiences of McCoy's pre-World War I years, contends Bacevich, attest to the "extent to which members of the policial elite viewed their military counterparts not as alien to mainstream American society but as valued adjuncts in implementing national policy" (p. 59).

Bacevich theorizes that McCoy's good fortune to serve in the right places for the right people and his ability to perform competently led to assignments outside traditional military ones. McCoy participated on a commission determining Philippine readiness for independence, headed U.S. relief efforts in Japan following a devastating earthquake, coordinated withdrawal of U.S. occupation forces from Nicaragua, chaired an investigation into the Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay, and participated on the Lytton Commission investigating the Mukden incident. Each successful mission advanced his reputation for integrity, and, for Bacevich, each suggests a growing dependence on the military to function in new capacities. McCoy even contributed to expanding the role of the military after his retirement from active service. His work as president of the Foreign Policy Association "further illustrates America's willingness to permit soldiers a broad field of participation in foreign affairs" (p. 180). McCoy's final assignment, serving on the Far Eastern Commission, found him unable to persuade General Douglas MacArthur or his own government to broaden Allied participation in the reconstruction of Japan. Even as the State Department depicted him as "an old man who failed to grasp the realities of the postwar world" (p. 209), the soldier's influence in diplomatic circles endured.

McCoy's career indisputably demonstrates that military elites sometimes prove to be "useful instruments of

policy" (p. 212). But the story of one "extraordinary soldier," who by Bacevich's own account was "not an exceptionally gifted man" (p. 210) and "not a great man" (p. 211), seems by itself insufficient to disprove the presumed isolation and alienation of the military from policy makers. That caveat should not diminish enthusiasm for Bacevich's book. It is a worthy effort and a most interesting and well-told story. This study should stimulate further reconsideration of the pre-World War II military establishment.

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MARVIN E. FLETCHER. *America's First Black General: Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., 1880-1970*. Foreword by BENJAMIN O. DAVIS, JR. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1989. Pp. xix, 226. \$22.50.

He was an anomaly during his time: a black army officer. He was, in fact, the only black American general until recent times. In important ways, he belonged neither to the army nor to his race. Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., was never an accepted part of the officer corps because of his race, and he was never a member of the black community because of his profession. He was a talented, decent man forced to live in isolation from other human beings who shared his race and his profession.

Marvin E. Fletcher, author of *The Black Soldier and Officer in the United States, 1891-1917* (1974), has written the first complete biography of Davis. Fletcher's research is thorough: he had access to the Davis papers still in family hands, he dug deeply in the holdings of the National Archives and federal regional archives, and he interviewed individuals who knew the general. In addition, Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., provided an extensive foreword.

Fletcher's account of General Davis's life is organized chronologically. He traces the general's birth, his early years, his decision to join the military, and his pre-World War II service. Davis gained a commission and then promotions, but his career was a succession of tours on isolated western posts, in detachments of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps at black schools, in the Philippines and Liberia, and in brief command assignments with black units. By 1929 he was the army's only black officer and seemed more of a nuisance than an asset. Societal and army protocol would not allow him to command whites, so finding assignments for him always posed a problem for military authorities.

With the coming of World War II, Davis gained a measure of prominence. He held a variety of staff positions, all dealing with race relations. He suggested solutions to the army's racial dilemma, but most of his suggestions were ignored. He did not argue; he accepted. He saw himself, Fletcher perceptively notes, as "first of all an army officer, and then a black man"

(p. 176). After retiring in 1948, he played no important role in the postwar civil rights movement.

Fletcher does a good job of presenting information on Davis's life story, but the book has two weaknesses. It needs a thorough stylistic editing, and there is little discussion of what all the facts mean. In his prologue Fletcher cites E. Franklin Frazier's ideas on the black middle class and Morris Janowitz's book on the officer corps, but he does not incorporate those authors' concepts into the text of his biography. In other places he makes brief comparisons between Davis and such black luminaries as Booker T. Washington, Charles Young, and William Hastie, but he never pursues the comparisons. Fletcher often does not explain the information he presents. There are, for example, unelaborated mentions that Davis was ignored by his father, that he avoided church services, that he battled with black college administrators (despite his accommodationist attitude toward whites), and that he and his equally famous son often had struggles of will.

Fletcher concludes that Davis helped erode segregation in the army, adding that the general would not have been as successful had he been "a radical protester such as A. Philip Randolph" (p. 176). Surely Davis's presence as a black general who tried to ameliorate segregation without forthrightly calling for its elimination had to have some effect on later American society, but was it all so positive? Was Davis's accommodationist approach really the only way to battle military racism?

Fletcher gives the reader much information about the first black general in American history. Students of race relations will profit from reading this biography.

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SAUL BENISON *et al.* *Walter B. Cannon: The Life and Times of a Young Scientist*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1987. Pp. xiv, 520. \$30.00.

This collaborative book by historian Saul Benison, physiologist A. Clifford Barger, and archivist Elin L. Wolfe provides a richly detailed account of the first forty-five years of the life of Walter Bradford Cannon (1871-1945), the most important figure in American physiology before World War II. Cannon's early reputation was based on his pioneering use of x-rays in the study of digestion, but he is more widely known today for his work on adrenalin and the doctrine of "homeostasis," popularized in his book *The Wisdom of the Body* (1932). Cannon exercised his powerful intellectual and social influence from Harvard, where he took his B.A. in 1896, completed his M.D. in 1900, and spent the rest of his life as the leading light at one of the dominant centers of physiological research in the United States.

Cannon's career has long been familiar in its general outlines, thanks partly to his charming autobiographical memoir, *The Way of an Investigator* (1945). Benison and his collaborators flesh out the story through 1917, when Cannon left Harvard for France to contribute his

medical and scientific skills to the Allied cause during World War I. The book is exhaustively documented, gracefully written, and beautifully produced. A splendid evocation of the mostly cozy setting of Harvard before World War I, it is as close as we are likely to get to a definitive portrait of Cannon into his middle years.

Still, the book does not fundamentally alter our understanding of Cannon or his place in the history of American science and culture. The authors adopt a relentlessly narrative and almost reverential approach to their subject. Partly because Cannon was engaged in so many activities simultaneously, the book's focus wanders. The authors devote too much attention to such familiar topics as administrative infighting over the reform of medical education at Harvard and the defense of physiological research in the face of antivivisectionist agitation. Cannon's scientific research, though carefully and lucidly described, is less fully analyzed in its scientific and social context. A few of the problematic and controversial features of his important research are duly noted, but his scientific achievements are usually made to seem so brilliant that one needs to be reminded that he failed to win the Nobel Prize. Excerpts from Cannon's laboratory notebooks add depth to the discussion of his famous 1896 investigation of gastric digestion with the newly available x-rays, but elsewhere the account of his research is based almost entirely on his published papers, supplemented with occasional quotations from his diary.

Also relatively neglected, though once again duly noted, is Cannon's longstanding concern with the social implications of his scientific research. Even before World War I, for example, Cannon drew a link between athletic competition and the secretion of adrenalin, leading him to an optimistic evaluation of the Olympic games as "a physiological equivalent for war" (p. 318). His later career is replete with similar efforts to relate his scientific research to his sociopolitical commitments. We can hope that those efforts, along with Cannon's more prosaic work in the laboratory, will receive fuller attention and analysis in the sequel volume on which this distinguished trio of collaborators is presumably already at work.

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SUSAN CAROL PETERSON and COURTNEY ANN VAUGHN-ROBERSON. *Women with Vision: The Presentation Sisters of South Dakota, 1880-1985*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. x, 332. \$24.95.

With relatively few exceptions, the history of women religious in the United States has been an endeavor marked by case studies of a single religious community written by one of its members. The publication of this study of the Presentation sisters in South Dakota represents a departure from that more traditional historiography of women religious in the American Catholic church. To their credit, the authors of this book, Susan

Carol Peterson and Courtney Ann Vaughn-Roberson, have attempted to integrate the experiences of the Presentation sisters into the frameworks of frontier history and professionalization.

The Presentation sisters originated in eighteenth-century Ireland, where Nano Nagle, a French-educated woman from a wealthy Irish family, dedicated herself to teaching the children of the poor. Almost a century after her death, a few of her followers responded to an invitation from Martin Marty, the newly appointed bishop of Dakota Territory. Mother John Hughes and five other Presentation sisters journeyed to Wheeler, South Dakota, where conditions brutal even by pioneer standards tested their wills. From a modest beginning with fewer than twenty elementary school pupils, the sisters gradually succeeded in meeting community needs in the fields of health care, higher education, and social services. In one of the strongest chapters of their book, the authors relate tale after tale of hardships endured by a band of pioneer sisters: a wakeful night at an apparent brothel, perilous stage and steamboat travel, a crumbled convent, a monotonous menu of dried applesauce dinners, and an awesome lack of finances. Having survived the instability of their first years on the Great Plains, the sisters also faced and apparently conquered challenges common to a majority of women's religious communities in the Catholic church. They met the demands of increasing professionalization, managed their resources carefully during a lengthy period of dwindling vocations and uncertain finances, weathered the tempest of spiritual renewal, and negotiated shifting local priorities, all tests of the sisters' resilience.

Peterson and Vaughn-Roberson argue that throughout their history the Presentation sisters pragmatically adapted their rules to enable them to meet the needs of South Dakota communities. Although originally a cloistered order, the sisters quickly discovered that enclosure effectively prevented them from ministering to their neighbors. In response to their predicament, they boldly petitioned the Vatican for a change in their status. Accepting rather stereotypical ideas about proper roles for women, the sisters fulfilled traditional expectations as they educated their students, cared for their patients, and managed their hospitals. But, as standards rose within those women's professions during the twentieth century, the sisters quietly adapted to the new requirements without sharing the feminist impulse that inspired and sometimes ripped apart other communities of women religious during the 1960s and 1970s. The authors defend the sisters' accommodation to separate but equal spheres within the church structure but do so at the expense of ignoring the deeper implications of that entrenched inequality.

Another primary theme explored by Peterson and Vaughn-Roberson is that of professionalization. After offering an overly detailed review of some of the scholarly work on professionalization, they attempt to evaluate the various activities of the sisters within that

loosely defined interpretive framework. There is considerable evidence of the sisters' efforts to upgrade the quality of the services they offered and the credentials they earned. Those efforts appear to have helped the sisters remain competitive in meeting community needs in the areas of their expertise: education and health care.

This book is based on extensive use of the archives of the Presentation sisters supplemented by oral history interviews conducted by the authors. Yet Peterson and Vaughn-Roberson display an obvious unfamiliarity with secondary works pertaining to Catholicism and female religious congregations. Significantly, the studies that might have helped them strengthen the interpretive aspect of their history are missing from their bibliography. Mary J. Oates, in a series of articles on Boston's Catholic sisters published during the 1980s, and Barbara Misner, in *"Highly Respectable and Accomplished Ladies": Catholic Women Religious in America, 1790-1850* (1988), originally a dissertation, have opened the way for a sophisticated social history of women religious that uses comparative methodologies and quantitative skills in order to probe the complex questions posed by the existence of female religious communities in a society and church divided by tensions over gender issues and the locus of power.

This book is a mixed accomplishment. It works best as a regional study of Catholic sisters. Peterson and Vaughn-Roberson return religious women to the American frontier where they aided pioneer settlement and subsequent community growth. The authors deserve praise for adding a new dimension to the history of the settlement of the Great Plains and for attempting to make the history of a Catholic women's order accessible to a new audience. Those strengths of their book, however, are diminished by its uneven scholarship and conceptual deficiencies.

ANNE KLEJMENT
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MARGARET M. CAFFREY. *Ruth Benedict: Stranger in This Land*. (American Studies Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 432. \$24.95.

Margaret M. Caffrey's biography of Ruth Benedict builds on two earlier studies: Margaret Mead's *An Anthropologist at Work* (1959) and Judith Modell's *Ruth Benedict: Patterns of a Life* (1983). Caffrey was also able to use the two recent books about Margaret Mead by Jane Howard and Mary Catherine Bateson and the newly opened Margaret Mead Papers at the Library of Congress. Her concern in this beautifully written and sensitive work is to consider Benedict not primarily as an anthropologist but as a cultural feminist. Cultural feminism Caffrey defines as "a feminism derived from other than political sources, focused on changing the values and beliefs that make up the framework of a culture rather than working for change through laws or the courts . . . a feminism that concentrates on inter-

nal questions such as definitions of masculinity and femininity, and questions of selfhood, of individuality, and of independence" (p. vii). Anthropology was the approach Benedict found most satisfactory in her goal of changing the value orientation of her nation to one that appreciated, rather than denigrated, difference.

Caffrey took the subtitle of her book from a folk song about immigrants, and she uses it to convey Benedict's sense of being somewhat alien to the main currents of American life. Benedict's alienation has heretofore been attributed to her partial deafness; to the death of her father when she was twenty-one months old and to her mother's compulsive weeping, which led Benedict to turn away from her mother's explosive world to the peaceful world of death, the world of her father; and to Benedict's recurring fits of depression, her "blue devils," as she called them. To those factors, Caffrey adds Benedict's chosen roles of intellectual and poet, which put her on the margins of American life, and implicitly also Benedict's lesbianism. Benedict was a woman intellectual who went to Vassar College in an era when highly emotional friendships between women were considered normal. She was married for a time and then found herself possessed of an inclination that was viewed in a Freudian era as deviant, as sick. By implying to the world at large that she and her husband were still together, Benedict managed to live an authentic and at the same time highly public life through those years in which difference was labeled deviance.

Caffrey shows throughout the book how closely tied Benedict's intellectual life was to her personal quest. Her religious questions led her to the study of Zuni mythology, her fascination with death to the anthropological study of death, and her sense of being considered deviant to the writing of *Patterns of Culture*, which is a long argument for the cultural shaping of values. Benedict's sense of being a potential victim of discrimination contributed to her campaign during World War II against racism and bigotry; her sense that differences could become a source of strength shaped both the ideas and the organization of the massive Research in Contemporary Cultures project after 1945, a project cut short by her death.

Caffrey's research on the early and middle years of Benedict's life is exemplary in its breadth and thoroughness. She places Benedict firmly in the transition between Progressivism and modernism, and her discussions of the anthropological concept of culture and of the anthropological community in which Benedict came of age are particularly fine. In writing of Benedict's later years, Caffrey tends to explain away criticism and to exalt her subject. Nevertheless, this is a superb book and the most comprehensive study to date of a gifted woman who wrote two books, *Patterns of Culture* (1934) and *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), that are American classics.

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SALLY FOREMAN GRIFFITH. *Home Town News: William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. viii, 291. \$24.95.

One might think there would not be a lot new to say about William Allen White, considering that the publisher of the *Emporia Gazette* may be the most written about journalist in American history. Sally Foreman Griffith proves otherwise. In this study she provides a fresh and interesting perspective on White, and, by treating him always in the context of his time and place, she shows how social change over the decades shaped and changed him.

Griffith's central theme is that the rhetoric and assumptions in the *Emporia Gazette*, and in White's writings generally, reflected a system of values she calls the "booster ethos" (p. 8). The ethos took for granted that economic growth in a community represented the primary good and, therefore, that community leadership should come from business leaders. The ethos saw growth and prosperity, however, as following not from the actions of individuals but from the moral, even spiritual, condition of the community as a whole. Nonmaterial considerations controlled material ones. The ethos also perceived the community as a self-contained, interdependent entity in which all economic interests were identical and in which what benefited one person worked eventually to the advantage of all. It followed that mutual loyalty, particularly in economic matters, was something to be insisted on. Individuals who took their business outside the community—for example, by patronizing mail-order houses—committed almost a social sin. The stress on loyalty also meant that public manifestations of commitment, such as participation in town celebrations and membership in service organizations, became virtually ends in themselves.

Griffith demonstrates the pervading presence of that value system in White's newspaper. The stress on harmony meant that instances of conflict or nonconformity in the town had to be downplayed. Almost by reflex, business leaders were held up as town leaders. And the paper always exhorted its readers to demonstrate loyalty by becoming involved in public causes and celebrations.

The other way to instill loyalty, one that comprised the dark side of White's journalism, was by using the public prints to heap ridicule and contempt on those who violated the code. The offense might be as simple as that of the policeman who purchased his uniform by mail order. "If the editor of this paper were mayor," White wrote, "Al Randolph would be fired on the spot" (p. 145). Or it might be the much more serious matter of the local physician who allegedly performed an abortion and who violated town proprieties by living openly in a boardinghouse run by his ex-wife. White aligned his paper with the community forces "determined that the moral cancer shall be removed from Emporia" (p. 103).

But White also demonstrated a capacity for growth.

The conservative Republican who had catapulted to fame with the "What's the Matter with Kansas?" editorial grew much more responsive to reform causes under the influence of the Progressive movement. (The success and widening outreach of the *Emporia Gazette*, which freed White from dependence on political patronage, also helped in that respect.) In the postwar years, while still paying at least lip service to small-town booster values, he contrived somehow to make them compatible with freedom of expression. The editor who had previously subordinated dissent to the need for unity emerged in the 1920s as one of the foremost national advocates of free speech and a free press. And, although as a young man White had sought to redeem the reputation of Kansas by attacking the Populists, in later years he fought for his state's good name by declaring war on the Ku Klux Klan.

Griffith covers that ground exceedingly well. Her book is impeccably researched and gracefully written. Above all, it is a work of mature and often quite original scholarship. Griffith provides a fine example of how journalism history should be written.

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GARY J. AICHELE. *Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.: Soldier, Scholar, Judge*. (Twayne's Twentieth-Century American Biography Series, number 11.) Boston: Twayne of G. K. Hall. 1989. Pp. xi, 212. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$10.95.

The life of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., is of special interest because he remains a puzzling figure in American law and jurisprudence. There is not only controversy about the meaning of the individual tenets of his legal philosophy but also legitimate doubt about whether the various aspects of his thought fit together into a coherent whole. Of course, a biography might well help to answer those questions, but there is a rub. Wanting more than a modest place in American history, Holmes took steps to ensure that its judgment of him would be favorable: he destroyed all personal papers that reflected poorly on his reputation. The biographer is therefore left with the difficult task of trying to decipher Holmes's legal and constitutional thought from a sanitized record.

Gary J. Aichele is to be commended for his effort to square that circle. He recognizes the problem of sources in his introduction and does a fine job with the material that has survived. Although he uncovers no new earthshaking facts, Aichele brings together into one short, well-written volume the essentials of Holmes's life. The early chapters on the Civil War and Holmes's family life are especially enjoyable. The events, conversations, and correspondence of that formative period are woven together in a truly illuminating way. One can see the mature Holmes slowly take shape.

Although his emphasis is primarily biographical,

Aichele also does a fine job summarizing some of the basic doctrines of Holmes's understanding of law. The exposition is clear and concise, and his criticisms, especially of Holmes's specific opinions in *Giles v. Harris*, *Bailey v. Alabama*, and *Buck v. Bell*, are well worth reading. The picture he presents of Holmes's constitutionalism, however, is incomplete if not misleading. According to Aichele, Holmes's skepticism and positivism persuaded him that judges must passively defer to the legislature because that body represented the absolute sovereign. Holmes did not, therefore, appreciate the most important role that judges played in the American constitutional tradition: protecting individual rights. That interpretation of Holmes was first articulated by Yosaf Rogat and has many adherents other than Aichele. Nevertheless, there is the paradox that Holmes did occasionally defend individual rights, most prominently the right of free speech in *Abrams v. United States* and *Gillow v. New York*. Perhaps those decisions make no sense within the context of his constitutional thought, but a different interpretation is possible. Even if Holmes generally did defer to the legislature, he could have thought that judges represented the sovereign American people independently of the legislature. If and when the legislature acted against a right supported by predominant and enduring public opinion, Holmes would exercise judicial review. Judges were therefore permitted to invalidate laws that violated traditional rights if popular support underlying the law was weak, local, or transitory. In that sense, Holmes's skepticism and positivism were not necessarily incompatible with a moderately active judiciary.

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JOEL PERLMANN. *Ethnic Differences: Schooling and Social Structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Blacks in an American City, 1880–1935*. (Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 327. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$14.95.

Many researchers have tried to explain racial and ethnic differences in schooling and access to jobs. By integrating demographic and school data from Providence, Rhode Island, Joel Perlmann succeeds in making an original and important contribution to the understanding of ethnicity and mobility. Perlmann selected a sample of roughly twelve thousand youths from federal and state census records for 1880, 1900, 1915, and 1925. From the census records and city tax rolls, he gained information on father's occupation, family composition, and the assessed value of family property. Then, in a new twist among mobility researchers, he obtained the school records of the youths in the sample and found out how many years they stayed in school, what programs they took, and what grades they received. Finally, Perlmann used city direc-

tories to track the occupations of those sampled ten years later. Those data allow him to examine the complex interplay between social class, ethnicity, schooling, and occupations over a forty-five-year period.

Perlmann concentrates on four ethnic groups: the Irish, Italians, Russian Jews, and blacks. In addition, he draws many comparisons with the city's whites of native parentage. Those groups had distinctive patterns of schooling and work. Social class profoundly affected students' ability to stay in high school, which explains many of the educational differences among ethnic groups. Whereas historians have speculated, for example, that Irish immigrants had relatively little interest in their children's schooling, favoring instead investment in property as a means of mobility, Perlmann shows that, by the turn of the century, differences in schooling between the Irish and Yankees can be entirely attributed to social class. Ethnicity, however, counts for more of the difference in the 1880s, when the Irish lacked the political power to undercut the Protestantism of the schools and were more recently arrived from a peasant culture.

Perlmann also finds that differences in black and white high school entry rates can be attributed to social class. Blacks, however, faced uniquely severe discrimination when they reached the job market. They did not receive the same payoff for schooling that whites did. Perlmann shows the futility of assuming any uniform reward for schooling; blacks had very low rates of child labor and stayed in school for many years, but they still faced a very restrictive job market because they were almost entirely excluded from critical industries.

In this book Perlmann offers many intriguing findings and interpretations. He reports, for example, that as early as 1880 schooling significantly affected working-class boys' chances of upward mobility. He explains why the Irish were more likely to attend parochial schools than the Italians; considers why in black families, in contrast to white families, mothers were far more likely to work than children; and shows that even teenagers' jobs turned very largely on their ethnicity (Russian Jewish children, for example, were very likely to be employed in commercial enterprises, whereas Italian children mainly did manual labor, particularly in textile mills). He examines the factors influencing curricular choice in the high schools and assesses differences in educational achievement.

Throughout, Perlmann's analysis is marked by restraint. He disdains sweeping judgments and is particularly careful not to fall back on cultural explanations as a substitute for close analysis of social structure. He suggests particular instances in which a group's heritage might have been important in shaping decisions by parents and children about schooling, for example, among early Irish immigrants who had come straight from a peasant culture to urban America and in the much-discussed case of Russian Jewish immigrants. Even here, however, he points out that the cultures of

ethnic groups were themselves shaped by economic realities and did not remain unchanged in America.

Perlmann's book makes absorbing reading for all those interested in social class, education, and ethnicity. The book relies on conventional methods and proposes no grand new theories. Yet it stands out as a remarkably detailed, careful, and intelligent account of the ways in which schooling affected upward mobility for people of different backgrounds. Finally, Perlmann notes that, although information on gender differences in schooling is scattered throughout the book, he will reserve a more complete analysis of gender for a later study. Such a study would make a valuable addition to our knowledge of how gender affected schooling and work.

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ROBERT B. FAIRBANKS. *Making Better Citizens: Housing Reform and the Community Development Strategy in Cincinnati, 1890–1960*. (Greater Cincinnati Bicentennial History Series.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 243. \$24.95.

This analysis of Cincinnati housing reform from 1890 to 1960 is an important addition to the literature on both urban housing and community development. Robert B. Fairbanks explores the efforts of philanthropists, planners, city government, and the federal government to provide low-cost housing in Cincinnati. He considers a wide range of projects, including model tenements and towns, housing codes, comprehensive planning, and federally financed slum clearance and public housing.

Fairbanks breaks housing reform in Cincinnati into three distinct periods. The first ran approximately until World War I and was led by tenement reformers who "wanted to provide sanitary quarters designed to afford family privacy for low-income people" (p. 3). By the 1920s the emphasis in housing reform had shifted to the community, and the intention was to create a new way of life rather than merely to provide adequate shelter. Housing reform became closely tied to notions of community redevelopment. That emphasis paved the way for the massive federally subsidized slum clearance and public housing projects, which sought to reshape whole communities. Fairbanks finds that by the 1950s the community-building attributes of public housing were discredited. Public housing efforts "concentrated on providing shelter and services for the poor rather than on making better citizens through neighborhood communities" (p. 148).

It is in trying to explain those dramatic shifts in attitudes about low-cost housing that Fairbanks turns to contemporary planners, housing reformers, social critics, and social scientists. Low-cost housing becomes a prism through which Fairbanks explores changing attitudes about the individual, the community, the

metropolitan area, and society. He argues that it is impossible to understand efforts to provide low-cost housing without considering the concern for the problem of community. Low-cost housing plans reflected attitudes about the poor and their relationship to the larger community.

Between 1915 and 1954, Cincinnati planners and housing reformers sought to create vibrant local communities that would together form a strong, healthy metropolitan area. Cultural group pluralism was emphasized, along with the homogeneity of each individual community. Low-cost housing plans stayed within the limits of that vision, and, as a result, racial and class segregation was encouraged. Fairbanks acknowledges that by and large that approach "adversely affected Cincinnati's black residents" (p. 123). He does not, however, brand his housing reformers as racists. Intent on reforming housing, Fairbanks believes, they simply did not tackle attitudes about race in Cincinnati. Thus, Fairbanks gives these reformers more latitude than others who have explored these issues.

Fairbanks's style is lucid and engaging. The narrative is filled with the individuals who debated the low-cost housing and planning decisions in Cincinnati. Although clearly a local history, contextual references to the national scene reveal both the unique aspects of low-cost housing in Cincinnati and its place within the national scene.

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DAVID J. GOLDBERG. *A Tale of Three Cities: Labor Organization and Protest in Paterson, Passaic, and Lawrence, 1916–1921*. (Class and Culture.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 276. Cloth \$38.00, paper \$15.00.

In focusing on the formation and demise of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America (ATWA) in Paterson, Passaic, and Lawrence between 1919 and 1921, David J. Goldberg's larger goal is "to understand the reasons why it was so difficult to organize industrial unions in the United States" (p. 4). He succeeds in offering a detailed account of the labor struggles in the three cities during the World War I era, including discussions of conflicts between unions active in the textile field, difficulties in building a viable national union among an ethnically diverse work force, and shortcomings of the labor leaders involved in the struggles. Whether one can extend his conclusions to other cities and other industries at other times is less certain.

The first half of this monograph contains a comprehensive examination of the silk, woolen, and worsted industries in Paterson, Lawrence, and Passaic, respectively, and of the ethnic composition and previous labor history of each city. In the remainder of the work, Goldberg details the formation of the ATWA in 1919,

the problems that its locals encountered in each textile center, and the reasons for the union's failure in 1921.

Although the three cities had much in common, Goldberg demonstrates that their differences were of most importance to the future of the ATWA. Similarities were overshadowed by the differing natures of the immigrant populations, of the industrial structure in each city, and of earlier union efforts. Paterson had a work force sharply segmented into distinct branches, contained many small shops, and had a long history of radicalism; Passaic was a city of large corporations, had a well-established distrust of outside unions, and had an immigrant population with strong church ties and an abhorrence of socialism; and Lawrence was dominated by the American Woolen Company, had a work force inclined to look to outside labor leadership, and had a very diverse ethnic population. When the ATWA was formed as a socialist-oriented industrial union led by intellectual labor neophytes, the task of binding the workers of the three cities together into a strong national union promised to be difficult.

The ATWA locals in Paterson, Lawrence, and Passaic did not survive past 1921. Part of the reason for their demise was external: the carrot-and-stick tactics of the owners in Passaic and Lawrence, the repressive tactics of local and federal governments, and the economic collapse of 1920–21. But Goldberg also attributes the failure to the indecisiveness and inexperience of the union leadership and to the different orientations and expectations of the workers. The ATWA was too radical and too much dominated by outsiders for many in Passaic, too conservative for the majority in Lawrence, and too unattractive to those Paterson broad-silk workers who aspired to ownership themselves. Finally, in each city a new union emerged to challenge and undermine the ATWA.

Goldberg's explanation for the demise of the ATWA in the three cities is persuasive. His caution against discussing ethnic divisions in the work force simply in terms of old immigrants versus new is valuable, as are his recognition of the role of the church in labor organization and his discussion of the importance of the issue of centralized versus decentralized union control.

This well-researched work has much to offer concerning labor organization in Paterson, Lawrence, and Passaic. Whether the story is similar in other textile centers (where ATWA locals continued to exist until 1925) or in other industries in the country remains to be seen.

ANNE HUBER TRIPP
Oakland University

JOSHUA B. FREEMAN. *In Transit: The Transport Workers Union in New York City, 1933–1936*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 434.

The figure of Michael J. Quill will be etched forever in the minds of New Yorkers who resided in the city

between the mid-1930s and the mid-1960s. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union of America (TWU) and a man never reluctant to brandish his thick Irish brogue and class-conscious rhetoric, held New Yorkers at bay for three decades with a series of threatened and actual strikes of city transit workers. In Joshua B. Freeman's meticulously researched history of the TWU, Quill emerges as a central protagonist but also as just one player in a complex and subtly drawn story.

Municipal transport workers staged dramatic work stoppages in cities throughout the country during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but they had little success in achieving contracts or establishing permanent organizations. Between 1933 and 1937, transit workers in New York City succeeded in building a powerful union. Freeman presents a precise and engaging chronology of the emergence of the TWU. He attributes the union's strength and longevity to a number of factors: the leaders of the Communist party deliberately targeted New York's transit lines for unionization and sent effective organizers into the field; the largely Irish rank and file included substantial numbers of exiles from the Irish revolution, who provided indigenous support and additional expertise for labor organization; the victories of workers in other mass production industries spurred activity; and finally, Quill's charismatic leadership helped create a mass movement. By the spring of 1937, the TWU had enrolled the great majority of transport workers in the city, and its members were beginning to enjoy the benefits of contractual agreements.

Freeman shows, however, that the TWU's and Quill's hold on subsequent events never remained certain or without challenge. During the early 1940s the union faced a difficult crisis when the city purchased private subway and bus lines and created a unified public transportation network. Integrating workers into the civil service system without the loss of jobs and certain privileges proved problematic, and the union fought a number of skirmishes with city officials. As a pioneer municipal union, the status of the TWU remained ambiguous; not until the late 1950s did the city formally agree to recognize and bargain with the representative organizations of its employees. The TWU owed its success partly to its rapport with prolabor city officials, but tension between management and labor never subsided.

Internal divisions also jeopardized the union's development. Quill faced continued jurisdictional challenges from various craft unions and revolts from dissidents within the organization, particularly from conservative Catholic workers who resented and opposed Quill's close working relationship with Communists. Freeman argues that despite his radicalism Quill enjoyed the allegiance of union members because he delivered favorable contracts and placed union needs above political concerns. Ultimately, Quill broke with his Communist party allies.

There are some disappointments in Freeman's nar-

rative. Freeman argues for the importance of community-based activity in the union's ascendancy, but his treatment of such activity is short. How big a presence the union became in workers' lives remains an open question. His general arguments do not always fit his particular discussions, and the book unfortunately ends with too abrupt a discussion of Quill's last battle with Mayor John Lindsay. Still, Freeman has provided a pioneer case study of municipal trade unionism and touched on major issues of concern for labor historians of the depression and postdepression periods. He has also revived an old and much-maligned genre: the trade union history. By embedding his institutional study in his analysis of the lives of transit workers and the politics of the day, he has shown how to render the old new and encompassing.

WALTER LIGHT
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CRAIG PHELAN. *William Green: Biography of a Labor Leader*. (SUNY Series in Labor History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1989. Pp. x, 223. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$12.95.

William Green was president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) from 1924 until his death in 1952. He presided over an organization that suffered adversity from a concerted employer offensive during the 1920s and then from the ravages of the Great Depression. Those difficulties were followed by a severe challenge from a new federation, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), during the New Deal years. The AFL rose to the occasion by countering with an organizing drive of its own, so that by the end of the Green era it had reached a peak of membership and influence.

As Craig Phelan makes clear in this excellent biography, Green was not a charismatic leader. Born of an Ohio coal-mining family, he went to work in the mines at an early age but displayed a propensity for getting along with his fellow workers that enabled him to rise through the ranks of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), eventually becoming its secretary-treasurer. He served two terms in the Ohio state senate and appeared to be headed toward a political career when he was chosen to head the AFL on the death of Samuel Gompers. Green was a devout man who carried his religious ideas into industrial relations; he believed that peaceful, brotherly relations between labor and management were the best road to the betterment of working conditions.

The American labor movement has always been decentralized, with resources and power resting in the national unions that constitute the federation. Phelan recognizes this fact but does not stress sufficiently the very narrow limits of Green's authority consequent on that structural feature. Coming out of the UMWA, a union that embraced everyone working in or about the coal mines, Green was a firm believer in industrial

unionism, but he had to accommodate his views to those of his associates on the AFL executive council, to whom craft jurisdiction was sacred.

Green was a consistent champion of civil liberties and did what he could to help A. Philip Randolph in the crusade for racial equality in the unions. He came out strongly for aid to Britain in 1940 when many in the labor movement were staunch isolationists. Phelan is unfair in characterizing Green as a "weak, unimaginative, and ineffectual peacemaker" in the AFL-CIO controversy; there was never any real desire for unity in either camp until Green had left the scene.

Phelan does not have much use for Green's peers on the AFL executive council, whom he labels "Neanderthals completely devoid of social vision." Yet those men acted swiftly and efficiently to transform their craft organizations into powerful industrial unions when it became clear that craft unionism was no longer viable. Perhaps they did not regard their unions as eleemosynary institutions, but they provided their members with the means of standing up to employers who did not always have the welfare of their employees at heart. Phelan also refers to the council members pejoratively as "Red-baiters"; they were indeed principled anti-Communists, but, when one looks at the history of unionism around the world, that might well be considered a fortunate attitude.

Green deserves to be recognized as a leader who helped steer the American labor movement through some difficult years. Phelan has written a readable, well-researched account of the life of a decent man whose achievements are too often denigrated.

WALTER GALENSON
Cornell University

ROBBIE LIEBERMAN. *"My Song Is My Weapon": People's Songs, American Communism, and the Politics of Culture, 1930-1950*. (Music in American Life.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1989. Pp. xxiii, 201. \$23.95.

Robbie Lieberman takes on several difficult tasks in this examination of People's Songs Incorporated, a small group of leftist musicians who during the 1940s tried to connect radical politics with American folk music. Lieberman raises important questions about the controversial and much-disputed history of the Communist party, about the relationship between culture and politics, and about the extraordinary changes in American society and culture generated by the cold war.

In this sympathetic narrative, Lieberman presents the People's Songsters as progressive cultural workers operating within the orbit of the Communist party but not within the party itself. From Lieberman's perspective the "American Communist Movement" (p. 14) encompassed more than the Communist party and its institutions. Rather, the movement reflected a broad-based, progressive antifascism that captured the alle-

giance and imagination of its followers. Conceding that neither the party nor the movement can be characterized as democratic, Lieberman nonetheless insists that most of the members of People's Songs operated in a manner that refutes traditional descriptions of American Communists as "totalitarian, conspiratorial, and duplicitous" (p. xx).

Lieberman succeeds splendidly in describing the activities of People's Songs and locating them within their proper historical context. Lieberman shows how the Communist party's adoption of the popular front strategy during the 1930s allowed for a new conception of politically grounded cultural work that encouraged leftist intellectuals to explore and exploit the traditions of American folklore. Within the context of the organizing drives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations during the 1930s and antifascist mobilization during World War II, that strategy enabled radical folk singers to reach a broad popular audience. But the collapse of the coalition of liberals and Communists during the postwar years led to the isolation of American Communists from broader social movements, severely limiting the effectiveness of leftist cultural workers like the People's Songsters. Yet their influence outlived their institutional history: Lieberman shows the ways in which the folk music revival of the 1960s and the participatory cultures of the civil rights movement and the New Left drew on the general example and the specific creations of the all-but-forgotten People's Songsters.

Lieberman draws on Lawrence Goodwyn's definition of a "movement culture" to describe the aims of People's Songs and on Antonio Gramsci's formulation about "organic intellectuals" to describe the activities of its members. But, in my view, Lieberman underestimates the similarities between the movement culture of the People's Songsters and the core values and beliefs of the received hierarchical culture that they intended to combat. In addition, the People's Songsters strike me more as cadre intellectuals coalesced around a political sect intent on seizing power than as organic intellectuals giving voice to the aspirations and ideas of their class. Lieberman asserts that the conservatism of cold war America doomed the efforts of People's Songs and of the Communist movement. But it was their own conception of politics and culture that isolated the Communists from the political challenges of the postwar era, embodied in the largest strike wave in history and the first stirrings of the modern civil rights movement, as well as from the cultural contestation within commercial culture articulated by Charlie Parker, Hank Williams, and Kitty Wells, among others. For all their imagination and ingenuity and despite the laudable goals and behaviors that Lieberman properly celebrates, perhaps the real epitaph for the People's Songsters was expressed by Woody Guthrie in a passage that Lieberman quotes: "the people are lots more ready than our songs and our songleaders are ready to

admit . . . we are not allowing our songs to be radical enough in the proper way" (p. 135).

GEORGE LIPSITZ
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D. JEROME TWETON. *The New Deal at the Grass Roots: Programs for the People in Otter Tail County, Minnesota*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1988. Pp. x, 205. Cloth \$19.95, paper \$10.95.

This volume is the product of an ambitious effort by a local historical association. In 1978 the Otter Tail County Historical Society of Minnesota launched a "Thirties Project" to collect information on the local impact of the depression. The group compiled a variety of records, including government documents, newspaper files, local records, and oral history interviews. D. Jerome Tweton was hired to turn that storehouse of material into a book, and he has produced the first book-length study of the New Deal at the county level.

Tweton argues that a county is the ideal focus for the study of the New Deal because many federal programs established county offices or used county committees. "The New Deal," he writes, "essentially viewed the county as its statistical and administrative base" (p. 3). According to Tweton, Otter Tail County is the "ideal model county" not because of the hardships that its people suffered but because "it experienced the broadest possible participation in New Deal programs" (p. 3). Otter Tail County is located in west central Minnesota, about one hundred miles from Minneapolis. This is rural Minnesota, with a mix of ethnic groups ranging from English pioneers to Norwegian, German, and Swedish immigrants who arrived in the late nineteenth century. Economically the county was dairy country, and politically it was conservative Republican.

Tweton's main concern is to chronicle what New Deal programs "did for people" (p. 1). Not unexpectedly, he devotes most of his space to the relief agencies; the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the National Youth Administration, and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) were all active in the county. Otter Tail County farmers participated in the wheat and corn-hog programs of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and no federal agency transformed rural life more than did the Rural Electrification Administration. Tweton briefly discusses the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the National Recovery Administration. Because the New Deal made no real effort to coordinate its activities, local programs experienced much frustration and delay. But Tweton argues that the New Deal not only "improved and sustained life" (p. 165) but also left signs of physical progress everywhere—new roads, schools, water systems, and so on. He also shows that local control did shape federal programs and that the

New Deal did nothing to change the conservative outlook of the county. In the best parts of the book, Tweton deals with specific people: a researcher in a WPA historical project, young men living in a CCC camp, and an agricultural agent organizing an electric cooperative. Tweton has included a county map and numerous photographs that enhance the local flavor.

One wonders how different New Deal historiography would be if local studies had come before the sweeping, national studies. We need more county studies of the New Deal so that different kinds of counties in all regions of the country can be compared. Tweton's work will serve as a model for a new generation of studies of the New Deal at the county and local level.

DONALD HOLLEY
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WILLIAM R. BROCK. *Welfare, Democracy, and the New Deal*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. viii, 376. \$49.50.

That the Great Depression forced a more rapid development of practices relating to public welfare in the United States is an argument that is something less than daring. That there was a conflict between professional social workers and local politicians is a scarcely more startling revelation. That the New Deal, through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), began a nationalization of welfare and then retreated from it in 1935 will not strike those knowledgeable about the era as a new finding.

The contribution of William R. Brock's study of American welfare policies in the 1930s is not, then, in its basic theses, none of which is new. The book's value lies in its filling in details about these well-known generalizations. Relying on Senate hearings, the meetings of the National Conference of Social Work, and especially on the separate records of a large number of states, Brock traces the development of what might best be described as a half-hearted welfare state in greater detail than has ever been done before.

One of Brock's more interesting contentions is that there was already evident in the 1920s a movement toward more responsible policies for caring for the poor. He finds a pattern in which, prior to the onset of the depression, state legislatures showed "a determination to regulate social forces left by earlier generations to chance or divine providence" (p. 18). This view that there was already some important progress in the prosperity decade and that the depression merely "deflected" (p. 277) the drive for welfare improvement supports the school of depression historiography that emphasizes continuity rather than a sharp break with the past.

Prior to the onset of the depression, most American states retained welfare policies descended from the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601. This meant both that poor relief was a local responsibility and that the

burden of proof was on a poor person to show that he or she was among the "worthy poor." Professional social workers sought changes in this approach, but in the 1920s they made little headway against the Jeffersonian tradition of local self-government.

With the establishment in 1933 of the FERA—headed by one of their own, Harry Hopkins—professional social workers seemed to take a giant stride toward their goal of a rational, efficient, nationwide welfare system. The results "on the ground," however, were mixed. The greatest strength of Brock's book is his examination of the effects of the rise and later curtailment of the FERA in more than a dozen states. The Great Depression revealed in dramatic fashion the shortcomings of the reliance on local resources. Brock makes this clear, although the detail used to make his case in state after state is more than most readers will want to know.

Federal relief policy in the Roosevelt administration was a reflection of the New Deal in general. "The new system," Brock rightly states, "was without precedent in American history. It was government by experts at the expense of elected amateurs" (p. 174). Conflict between these groups was inevitable, and, although Franklin Roosevelt was much more comfortable working with experts than most of his predecessors had been, he was first and foremost a politician. And, although obviously far more pragmatic than Herbert Hoover, Roosevelt was as much opposed to a "dole" as was the man he succeeded. Accordingly, Roosevelt wound up declaring in an infamous statement at the beginning of 1935 that "the federal government . . . must and shall quit this business of relief." This meant that, while many of the unemployed would be given work relief by the new Works Progress Administration, the rest would be returned to the widely varying state and local systems of welfare that had existed before the depression.

This retreat did not mean, as Brock shows, that the FERA experience had been for naught. There were many lasting improvements in the American system of caring for the poor. On the whole, though, the results were much smaller than might reasonably have been hoped for on the basis of the FERA's promising start. Too many Americans returned to their pre-depression insistence that "it was better to spend much time and money than to let one person get away with more than his entitlement" (p. 329). On matters of aid for the poor, Americans seem to have reversed the basic principle of their system of justice, that is, that it is better to let ten guilty people go free than to punish one innocent person.

This book is generally well written but contains a number of irritating little errors. At least a half dozen names of historians and historical figures, for instance, are misspelled. Senator Alben Barkley is moved across the border from Kentucky to Tennessee (p. 295). And the Civil Works Administration is made to end before it began; its closing date is placed in the spring of 1933 rather than 1934 (p. 182). These, however, are minor

problems in a book that fills in some of the gaps in our knowledge of American relief practices in the 1930s.

ROBERT S. MCELVAINE
Millsaps College

GLEN JEANSONNE. *Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 283. \$25.00.

In a public career that spanned almost five decades until his death in 1976, Gerald L. K. Smith made his name synonymous with many forms of right-wing political extremism in twentieth-century America. A virulent racist who assailed Jews and blacks, a venomous anticommunist whose attacks predated those of Joseph McCarthy and Robert Welch, Smith was a powerful and gifted speaker as well as a prolific writer of books, tracts, and articles for his newspaper, *The Cross and the Flag*. He fancied himself a leader of the masses, and although he could never shape a true mass movement, he did find an audience across the nation for his message of hate and fear.

Glen Jeansonne offers the first major study devoted exclusively to this passionate and angry figure. It is unlikely that another such work on Smith will be needed, for Jeansonne has mined the available primary sources and secondary works and has written a suggestive and significant book. In addition to his research in the Gerald L. K. Smith Papers at the University of Michigan and his taped interviews with Smith, Jeansonne obtained the FBI files of Smith and his allies. He traces the story of a poor Wisconsin farm boy who sought fame and power in politics.

Intensely ambitious and a compulsive worker, Smith became a successful minister in several midwestern parishes before moving to Louisiana where he met Huey Long. A brilliantly effective crossroads orator, he left the church to become a self-proclaimed "rabble rouser" for Long's Share-Our-Wealth movement. Forced out of the state after Long's assassination, he began a lifelong journey in search of a following. For a time he allied himself with Francis E. Townsend and the old-age pension crusade and became a spokesman for the Union party in 1936, when Townsend briefly linked his movement to Father Charles Coughlin. Abandoning these allies even before election day, Smith turned away from sharing the wealth to create a Committee of One Million, seeking support from a few wealthy backers in this new effort to combat both communism and Franklin Roosevelt. Later he organized the America First party to promote anti-Semitic, isolationist, and pro-Nazi views before and during World War II. Finally, he instituted the Christian Nationalist Crusade as a vehicle for his ugly and strident rhetoric during the years of the new red scare of the 1950s and the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Jeansonne portrays a tireless money raiser who became a pioneer in direct mail solicitation in the pre-computer age with three million names in his files. But

Smith's primary concern was not personal wealth but his cause. No charlatan, he believed his own rhetoric; it was his insistence on promoting his poisonous brand of racism that destroyed any chance that he might find a modestly successful career in mainstream politics. Relegated to the edge of the lunatic fringe, rejected by McCarthy, and reviled even by Welch, Smith could not make a significant national impact. Because of his aversion to television as well as a shrewd policy of strategic silence practiced by his adversaries after 1947, he became an increasingly less conspicuous figure in the postwar years.

What drove Smith? As theories Jeansonne offers Smith's "paranoia," his "obsession with guilt" (perhaps linked to hostility toward his mother), and the "rich fantasy life" of a man "not mentally healthy." The author never provides a fully satisfactory explanation for the motives of this "remarkably complex" subject. He does provide, however, a lucid and interesting assessment of the career of Smith and his appeal to a limited number of followers.

The book is marked by a few redundancies, the by-product of an awkward structure in which a chronological narrative is followed by topical chapters. One curious omission is an inquiry into Smith's possible contribution to the contemporary Christian Identity movement through his disciple Wesley Swift. This book is, nonetheless, an important work on a colorful and fascinating inhabitant of the farthest shore of American politics.

DAVID H. BENNETT
Syracuse University

STEPHEN A. SCHUKER. *American "Reparations" to Germany, 1919-33: Implications for the Third-World Debt Crisis*. (Princeton Studies in International Finances, number 61.) Princeton: Department of Economics, Princeton University. 1988. Pp. 170. \$6.50.

In his study of America's risky private loans to Germany after World War I, Stephen A. Schuker undertakes a difficult subject and produces an intriguing work of original scholarship. This account is not, however, cheery reading in that American bondholders eventually lost \$3.2 billion as a result of Germany's default. Unwittingly, American investors had paid Germany's reparations. Add to the foregoing a chapter analyzing the parallels between the sale of bonds to Germany during the interwar years and the direct bank loans to Latin America over the past two decades, and the potential for gloom is multiplied several fold. Present-day computer models and the bankers who programmed them appear to have paid little attention to the historical precedents of the interwar era.

Schuker's extended essay is designed as a synthesis of the revisionist school sometimes called "the new international history of the 1920s." The starting point for all students is the work of John Maynard Keynes, which Schuker finds to be seriously flawed. Contrary to

Keynes, the schedule of payments assigned Germany by the reparations commission in 1921 was not unreasonable but "reflected a measure of rough political justice" (p. 16). The author also regards skeptically Keynes's contention that reparations were financed by a circular flow of funds, and he considers war debts and American tariff policy to have been relatively unimportant factors in the international economic structure. More crucial to international stability was the determination of the formulators of German economic policy to eliminate the humiliating reparations payments once and for all. The Dawes Plan initiated large-scale and speculative American financing of the German economy through the flotation of one bond issue after another. Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht appears to have encouraged the amassing of short-term debt to American and British banks with the devious goal of gaining the support of these institutions for a more lenient reparations policy. Then the German financial crisis of 1931 set in motion events that soon brought down the international monetary system. Parenthetically, suggests the author, President Herbert Hoover was not exaggerating when he claimed that America was devastated by economic forces originating abroad, a view for which he was unjustly ridiculed by his opponents at home. Once the collapse had developed, the strangest part of the story unfolded in the indifference of the Roosevelt administration to the despoliation of American bondholders. Finally, half a century later (soon after the retirement of the last executives who could personally remember the German loan fiasco), American bankers committed a similar error in judgment by making enormous loans to politically unstable regimes in Latin America.

As a result of Schuker's provocative study, authors of textbooks need to rethink, if not to rewrite, their chapters on foreign economic policy between the two world wars. Modern-day bankers may also profit from reflecting on an experience in which the lenders became the prisoners of those who borrowed in bad faith.

BENJAMIN D. RHODES
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JAMES C. SCHNEIDER. *Should America Go to War? The Debate over Foreign Policy in Chicago, 1939-1941*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1989. Pp. xxii, 289. \$37.50.

Students of U.S. foreign relations have long known that the sustained, intense debate on America's stance toward World War II, which occurred between September 1939 and December 1941, was one of the most important examples of public involvement in foreign policy in the nation's history. The question has been how best to study it. Whereas earlier scholars tended to do nationwide studies on either the "isolationists" or the "internationalists," James C. Schneider has chosen to focus on the full range of public opinion and the

efforts of interest groups in greater Chicago, at that time the nation's second-largest urban area, to influence policy making. By combining an important topic with an effective methodology, and by doing exhaustive research in a broad range of primary sources, Schneider has produced one of the most impressive studies to date of public opinion and U.S. foreign policy.

The book's depth and originality of insight are achieved through the time-honored techniques of comparison and contrast. Attitudes during four periods are examined and compared: from the outbreak of war through spring 1940, during which the Nazi threat appeared minimal and little doubt existed that the United States could avoid direct involvement in the war; from the fall of France in June 1940 through the election that November, when supporters of aid to Britain took the initiative as Germany's image in editorial cartoons changed from "the funny little dictator with the Charlie Chaplin mustache" to "[h]uge hob-nailed boots and gigantic tanks" (p. 46); from Franklin Roosevelt's call for lend-lease aid to the Allies in December 1940 through the bill's victory in Congress the following March, despite a strong effort by America First and other anti-aid groups to defeat it; and from spring 1941 to the attack on Pearl Harbor, when pro- and anti-aid activists heightened already bitter feelings by "seek[ing] to discredit the integrity of the opposition" (p. 223).

Especially effective are the comparisons and contrasts of the two leading organizations involved in the debate: the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, which considered Nazi Germany the main threat to the nation, and America First, which saw U.S. involvement in a second world war as the primary danger. In perhaps his most significant insight, Schneider argues that there were many similarities between the two groups, notably the desire of the leaders of each to keep America out of war and the existence of often-contradictory opinions within both groups. Although the author tends to favor the pro-aid position, he makes it clear that neither side held a monopoly on patriotism or on well-reasoned arguments and that each group represented a key element of the nation's thinking on the war. Until Pearl Harbor, Schneider concludes, "the public and the government remained torn between their continuing desire for peace and their yearning to see Hitler beaten" (p. 224).

The book includes an excellent analysis of overall opinion in the Chicago area and of the leaders in the battle for public support—Janet Ayer Fairbank, Robert Hutchins, and Robert McCormick for the "isolationists" and Paul Douglas, William Franklin Knox, and Adlai Stevenson for the "internationalists." It is weak, however, in exploring whether there were links between local opinion and action by Illinois's representatives in Washington, especially during the climactic lend-lease debate. Indeed, one is left to wonder if all of the effort on both sides had any significant effect on policy—a conclusion reached by some letter writers,

who decided that all of their correspondence with officials (one member of America First wrote fifteen hundred letters) was accomplishing nothing. By failing to elect a noninterventionist president and Congress in 1940, the "isolationists" lost their best—perhaps only—chance to stop the slide toward war.

RALPH B. LEVERING
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RHODRI JEFFREYS-JONES. *The CIA and American Diplomacy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 338. \$25.00.

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones attempts to "fulfill the need for an independent, scholarly appraisal of the Central Intelligence Agency's [CIA] history and role" (p. ix) and also to examine how the agency's effectiveness has been influenced by the political context within which it operates. The preservation of democracy "depends upon" secret intelligence for survival, Jeffreys-Jones observes, but secrecy can both threaten democratic values and provoke political efforts to impose "an array of statutory limitations on the CIA's freedom to maneuver." Accordingly, he proposes to study "the problems which that democracy nevertheless creates for U.S. secret intelligence" (p. 2). His ambitious objectives, however, are not realized. Indeed, because his book is not a comprehensive survey, he fails to address the major questions relating to the CIA and American democracy.

Jeffreys-Jones's research, like that of other students of the American intelligence community, is limited by continued classification restrictions on relevant agency documents. Jeffreys-Jones has examined the relevant congressional hearings and accessible collections at many of the presidential libraries, but his narrow focus on the CIA has led him to ignore other relevant and accessible primary sources. For example, he avoids any discussion of the bureaucratic conflicts that were precipitated by the creation of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in 1942 and then by the creation of the Central Intelligence Group in 1946 and that continued with the creation of the CIA in 1947. Not only does he thereby avoid any consideration of that dimension of the political context, but in the process he also forgoes the opportunity to research accessible primary source records that offer insights into the history of American secret intelligence. The more important aspects of that history include the creation of the Joint Committee and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's reliance on private operatives (Vincent Astor and John Franklin Carter) in 1940–41, the suspicions and concerns of officials in the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (and in the Office of Naval Intelligence and the Military Intelligence Division) following the creation of the OSS and continuing during the period 1945–47 and their attempts to monitor and limit that presidential agency, and the bureaucratic and delimitation problems posed with the CIA's creation in 1947. Jeffreys-Jones, fur-

thermore, does not fully survey instances predating the Watergate affair when presidents bypassed the agency, such as President Lyndon B. Johnson's reliance on the FBI during the Dominican Republic crisis of 1965 and President Richard M. Nixon's request in 1971 to expand the FBI's legats (overseas liaison with foreign police and intelligence agencies) in coordination with State Department but not with CIA officials.

Jeffreys-Jones, moreover, either does not discuss at all or treats summarily a number of CIA programs that had major consequences for American democracy. Thus, he ignores the CIA's drug testing program, MKULTRA, and the agency's mail cover/intercept program, HTLINGUAL, including the 1958 decision to share the intercepted mail with the FBI, and he discusses summarily the Huston Plan and analyzes neither the CIA-FBI conflict that helped provoke that interagency plan nor the aftermath of the aborted plan with the White House's solicitation of CIA assistance during the Pentagon Papers crisis. Finally, Jeffreys-Jones avoids any discussion of other CIA activities having some bearing on his democratic theme, including the CIA's relationships with the organized labor movement and academia and the agency's subsidization of research and publications relating to the Soviet Union and Communist bloc countries during the 1950s and 1960s.

This book complements Thomas Powers's earlier study, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets* (1979), because it treats executive and legislative issues in greater depth. Jeffreys-Jones's study, however, is neither the comprehensive survey nor the balanced appraisal of the relationship of secret intelligence and democracy that he promises. Such an ambitious and welcome monograph remains unwritten.

ATHAN THEOHARIS
Marquette University

HOWARD JONES. *"A New Kind of War": America's Global Strategy and the Truman Doctrine in Greece*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 327. \$34.50.

The Greek civil war of the late 1940s has fascinated scholars, for it helped spark the Truman Doctrine and a world-wide U.S. program of counterinsurgency warfare.

In this book, Howard Jones argues that the Truman Doctrine "marked the beginning of a global foreign policy that was flexible, restrained, and not recklessly military in tone." U.S. policy in Greece "was realistic in application and idealistic in purpose"—a "test of America's will and a symbol of the Free World's struggle against totalitarianism" (p. viii).

If this sounds remarkably like the rhetoric of U.S. officials at the time, that is because Jones not only has relied largely on their records but also has adopted their perspective. Indeed, sometimes it is hard to tell whether he is summarizing their public utterances or issuing his own. This identification with U.S. policy

spills over into his analysis of the Greek civil war and related events. One learns almost nothing about the rebels except that they were busy "terrorizing the population" (p. 63). By contrast, the government's military forces are portrayed as marvelously proper and benign. Little is said about the Athens government's wholesale arrests and mass executions, censorship of the press, and imprisonment of the wives and children of alleged subversives. And there is no mention of its internment of tens of thousands of people without charges, mistreatment of political prisoners, summary executions of religious pacifists, and use of grim island concentration camps. Jones argues that the U.S. "victory" lay in "convincing democracy's enemies that they could not win" (p. 36). But that was a hollow victory, indeed. Greek military officers armed, funded, and trained by the U.S. government subsequently seized power and established a brutal dictatorship, a fact ignored in this book.

Actually, only by adopting an American, rather than a Greek, perspective can one conclude that the U.S. role in Greece was limited. On a per capita basis, Greece became the recipient of more U.S. "aid" than any other nation, and American officials played key roles in choosing its government, directing its armed forces, producing its budget, setting its taxes, and even selecting its union leaders. Although Washington policy makers decided against using U.S. combat troops, this decision would surely have been reconsidered if the tide of battle had turned against the Athens government.

Soviet involvement in Greece was minimal. For this reason, Jones is hard put to find any sign of the assumed Soviet support for revolution, and he is burdened with much conflicting evidence. Finally, he lamely concludes that, after British troops crushed the leftist wartime resistance movement, *Ethniko Apelevtherotiko Metopo* (EAM), in the winter of 1944–45, without a word of protest from Joseph Stalin, the Soviet leader "perhaps looked with favor on the growing unrest in Greece that broke out in guerrilla warfare in 1946" (p. 135). Elsewhere, Jones takes an even more cautious, albeit ingenious, tack. The question of Soviet intervention in Greece "is academic," he insists, for "the Truman administration believed that the Soviets were . . . involved in the nation's affairs" (pp. ix–x).

But is this academic? Other historians have pointed to two alternative factors that explain much about the civil war in Greece: the wartime polarization of Greek politics between EAM and its right-wing foes and the intrigues of Marshal Tito in the Balkans. Curiously, Jones's book provides no discussion of either issue—a great weakness, in my opinion. Indeed, if the Greek civil war had more to do with the ambitions of EAM and Tito than with the machinations of the Kremlin, then the U.S. program was not limited and flexible at all but a good example of how a local crisis was blown out of proportion by Washington's cold war fixation.

Jones structures his book largely along chronological lines with a focus on America's major interest: the

progress of the war. In his analysis of U.S. military planning and strategy, he is at his best, drawing on extensive documentation and providing readers with useful information. Another first-rate section of the book is the chapter on the evacuation of Greek children from the combat zone. Unfortunately, some important issues (for example, politics and civil liberties) are not fully developed, while others (for example, agriculture, housing, public finance, and labor relations) are not covered at all.

Overall, then, there is a shallowness to this book, the result of a failure to move beyond cold war assumptions and U.S. concerns to confront the realities of political turbulence and international conflict in the postwar world. Surveying the stormy situation in Greece, Jones maintains that it was "extremely complex" (p. 17). But, by adopting the perspective of the U.S. government, he ends up with an explanation of events that is much too simple.

LAWRENCE S. WITTNER
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Albany

EDMUND KEELEY. *The Salonika Bay Murder: Cold War Politics and the Polk Affair*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. xvii, 395. \$24.95.

On May 16, 1948, the body of CBS news correspondent George Polk was found floating in Salonika Bay, hands and feet bound. He had been shot in the back of the head in a Communist-style assassination. The murder took on international ramifications because Greece was in the throes of a civil war that had become a microcosm of cold war encounters between communism and freedom. Surely the Communists had killed Polk in an effort to undermine the Greek government and block the success of the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. Indeed, Gregory Staktopoulos, a journalist in Salonika and a former Communist, soon confessed to complicity in the murder and, after a sensational trial, was sentenced to life imprisonment. Critics attacked the prosecution's case by arguing that a Communist execution would have strengthened rather than weakened the American assistance effort. They attributed the killing to right-wing political activists who had possibly collaborated with the Greek government in a further effort to discredit the Communists. Besides, Polk was an embarrassment to leaders in Athens. Had he not written stories criticizing the government's repressive policies against the guerrillas? And had he not tried to arrange an interview with the guerrillas' Communist chieftain, "General" Markos Vafiadis? For almost forty years the Polk episode has been the source of controversy. Finally, State Department and private records have become available, making it possible for Edmund Keeley to contribute an absorbing and meticulous analysis of the case that is, as nearly as possible, the definitive work on the subject.

According to the author, the "official solution"—that

Staktopoulos was involved in the murder—was a miscarriage of justice explicable only within the context of the cold war. Had Greece fallen to communism, the West's struggle with totalitarianism would have suffered a devastating blow. Consequently, the search for a culprit was fashioned by what the Greek government and its allies—the United States and Great Britain—needed to find, namely, a Communist scapegoat. Staktopoulos confessed to participation in the crime after forty-five days of interrogation by the General Security Police that, according to his own book of 1984 (Staktopoulos was released after serving eleven years) and recent findings, included torture. In a “charade” (p. 267) called a trial, Staktopoulos was convicted on the basis of leading questions and testimony that left little doubt of the outcome. To ensure the success of this inglorious affair, Greek, British, and American officials (including the U.S. chargé d'affaires in Athens, Karl Rankin, and Consul General Raleigh Gibson in Salonika) engaged in a cover-up with the collusion of leading American journalists and other public figures—all in the name of patriotism (which meant anticommunism during the cold war).

Keeley establishes that Staktopoulos was framed but unfortunately has to admit that the real murderer or murderers will probably remain unknown. Dismissing theory after theory about who killed Polk (including one blaming his widow), Keeley can only conclude that the Right had less to lose from the execution than did the Left. But he argues that the identification of the guilty is less important than the realization that a whitewash took place on an international level in an effort to satisfy the demands of cold war politics. If the author too easily accepts the revisionist view of America's experience in Greece, he has masterfully shown how, in the Polk case, numerous top-level officials used ends to justify means. One cannot help but identify with Keeley's “progressive sense of outrage” (p. 13) as the story unfolds.

HOWARD JONES
University of Alabama

ANDERS STEPHANSON. *Kennan and the Art of Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1989. Pp. x, 380. \$35.00.

Rarely has one so influential been so misunderstood. George F. Kennan inspired the doctrine of containment and then disavowed it, claiming that his original, more limited conception had been grossly deformed and stretched out of shape. Anders Stephanson, using deconstructionist techniques, goes beyond the more narrow historiographic issues to analyze recurring themes in Kennan's thought. He uncovers intriguing and provocative insights about Kennan's conservative philosophy, but he sometimes caricatures and distorts the diplomat's official writings largely because his objective as a poststructuralist is not to reconstruct the world as it was but to read the text as if it were written

today. Thus, those who wish to understand how foreign policy was made and how it should be made will not find enlightenment here. Nor is this a conventional intellectual biography tracing how various critical events in American foreign policy shaped Kennan's ideas.

Stephanson divides the book into three sections or “problematics”: Kennan's view of the Soviet Union from the 1930s to 1950; his quest for a “realist” policy in the national interest; and his “organic” conservative philosophy. Some historians have challenged Kennan's contention that he originally meant containment of the spread of communism by political means, not indiscriminate military intervention and alliance formation. Other historians have supported Kennan's disclaimers, using his original formulation as a benchmark against which to compare and criticize American grand strategy. But Stephanson shows that Kennan did not distinguish between “political” and “military” containment until 1948, when he abandoned his more extreme predictions of communist expansion in reaction to American policy makers who veered toward the opposite extreme of military alliance and global containment. The problem is that Stephanson reads Gorbachev's Soviet Union back into the late 1940s when criticizing Kennan's thesis about the expansionist dynamic of Soviet policy. Stalin's installation of subservient governments in Eastern Europe, his refusal to withdraw Soviet troops from Iran in 1946, and his attempts at bullying Turkey persuaded most foreign affairs analysts that the Soviet Union did not know where to stop. Nor could American specialists on the Soviet Union determine what influence, if any, Marxist-Leninist ideology had on Soviet foreign policy.

Since the 1970s, when the Nixon administration tried to redraw the line of American commitments and establish priorities, analysts have been attracted to Kennan's conception of five centers of military-industrial power, capable of balancing each other, as a solution to the problem of developing a hierarchy of interests. It is all the more surprising, therefore, to learn that Kennan's systematic, painstaking investigation of history and theory to derive a theory of the national interest ended inconclusively. Kennan resorted to defining the national interest inductively, as whatever goals the government pursued. And he never did develop a concept of “strategy.”

By placing Kennan's variegated, amorphous, and often-contradictory arguments within a pattern, Stephanson reveals that various antinomies arise out of the scholar-diplomat's attempts to reconcile his preference for order with diversity and opposition. Otherwise, it is difficult to harmonize Kennan's approval of the authoritarian Austrian chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg or his longstanding friendship with the Portuguese dictator Antonio Salazar with his distaste for mass culture and secular conformity.

Organized around broad themes rather than chronologically, the analysis is sometimes disjointed because not all of Kennan's ideas can be neatly placed into one

of the categories. Nevertheless, the book is rich with erudite linkages between Kennan's writings and European philosophy, aesthetics, and literary theory. It raises questions about the content of Kennan's thought that will provoke and challenge not only future biographers but also historians of ideas and of their impact on social history and foreign policy.

DEBORAH WELCH LARSON
University of California,
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MARK A. STOLER. *George C. Marshall: Soldier-Statesman of the American Century*. (Twayne's Twentieth-Century American Biography Series, number 10.) Boston: Twayne of G. K. Hall. 1989. Pp. xii, 252. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$10.95.

Consider the alternatives. The Acheson plan? Too supercilious. The Clayton-Kennan plan? Honest yet lacking name recognition. The Truman plan? Not on the life of the Republican Eightieth Congress, which might have bought a doctrine costing a few hundred million dollars but not a plan running to more than ten billion.

In a skillful work of compression and synthesis, Mark A. Stoler explains why it was the Marshall Plan—why there was a plan and why it bore George Marshall's name. Stoler also elucidates much else surrounding the career of the eminent military officer and diplomat. The author sets himself an ambitious dual task: to render comprehensible the life of an individual almost no one knew well and to ground this life firmly in the context of the revolution in American foreign relations during the first half of the twentieth century. The enterprise succeeds admirably, partly because Marshall's career lends itself to such treatment and partly because Stoler demonstrates a flair for selecting the essential from the immaterial.

A central theme of Stoler's book involves the intertwining of American political, economic, and military interests. The author follows the theme, as he follows Marshall, through two world wars into the cold war and Korea. The education of Marshall becomes, in large measure, the education of the United States. In this regard the Marshall Plan neatly ties together the multiple strands of Stoler's story, representing the apex of Marshall's career and the fullest expression of America's emergence as the planet's foremost political, economic, and military power. Occasionally Stoler strains the parallel between man and country, as when he asserts that the country, like the man, was revived and transformed during the 1930s. America transformed? Indeed. Revived? Not in the ordinary sense of the term. But on the whole the life-as-times device works well.

Stoler's book is an element of Twayne's multi-pronged assault on America's college and university classrooms. Undergraduates will appreciate the strong and briskly paced narrative line, while beginning grad-

uate students will find the nonintrusive discussion of recent trends in historical interpretation and the extensive bibliography valuable as guides to further investigation. Instructors of courses in both diplomatic history and military history might assign the book in order to demonstrate the connections between military and foreign policy. It could even serve the odd—or not so odd—teacher of American history surveys who recognizes the centrality of diplomatic and military developments but inclines in lectures in other directions.

Although he more than once likens Marshall to George Washington, Stoler does not go out of his way to depict Marshall as a hero. Such an attempt probably would fail, and has in the past, because Marshall was not in the heroic mold of a Douglas MacArthur or even a Dwight Eisenhower. Yet Stoler's account has a definite moral: even in a world of often demagogic politics and paralyzing bureaucracies an individual of character and ability can exert a potent influence for good. On this score alone the book deserves assigning.

H. W. BRANDS
Texas A&M University

PHILLIP S. MEILINGER. *Hoyt S. Vandenberg: The Life of a General*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 279. \$27.50.

Since its inception, the United States Air Force has held a glorified and sometimes mistaken view of its own potential. Based on often untested and untestable assumptions, it developed an "Air Force Doctrine" that, like most religions, has required more faith than evidence of works. With aggressive determination, the air force leadership has used the doctrine's tenets, including the concept of strategic bombing, to acquire for the service more than its share of the war budget. Phillip S. Meilinger's study of the career of General Hoyt S. Vandenberg illustrates, perhaps unintentionally, those points.

Vandenberg, a member by default of the first West Point group to join the air service (his class rank was too low for the cavalry, his first choice), spent the first sixteen years of his career as a peacetime army air corps officer. During World War II, with scant personal combat experience himself, he ultimately commanded the Ninth Air Force. After 1945 Vandenberg continued his rapid climb to the top, serving in the early cold war years on the air staff at Headquarters Army Air Forces, as head of the Central Intelligence Group, and finally, as air force chief of staff. In that position, which he held until his retirement, he pushed forcefully to achieve expansion for his service. In those battles, fought during the tragic years of attempted unification under James V. Forrestal and Louis A. Johnson, he reflected the widely held air force view that the next war would require rapidly available strategic bombing capabilities to destroy the Soviet Union with nuclear bombs. In Meilinger's retelling of the internecine struggles between the army, navy, and air force, it

becomes clear that the real threat to national security in the early cold war years was often those interservice rivalries. Vandenberg appears to have been more tactful and responsible than most of the participants. Still, his philosophy was not outside the canon of the faithful. At the end of his career, speaking to young air force officers at the War College, his message was clear: "When you leave here, you should understand air power, and you *must* preach the doctrine. . . . You have got to go out and preach the doctrine of air power and never give an inch on it" (pp. 205–06). As Mark Clodfelter has recently argued, not much has changed since then.

Meilinger's study, although well researched and clearly written, is by no means a full biography. Constrained by limited sources, the author focuses nearly three-quarters of the book on the last seven years of Vandenberg's life. Personal information comes mostly from interviews with the general's son, and, although the primary sources seem to have been thoroughly culled, the survey of secondary material is less impressive, particularly regarding World War II in the Pacific and the Korean War. Meilinger, himself an air force lieutenant colonel, gives short shrift to cold war revisionism and, indeed, to most arguments outside the narrow confines of military ideology. Still, he shows a subtle sense of humor, and the footnotes are particularly valuable. For those interested in the men who built the United States Air Force to its present-day strength, this book is necessary reading.

CAROL M. PETILLO
Boston College

CECIL B. CURREY. *Edward Lansdale: The Unquiet American*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1988. Pp. xviii, 430. \$24.95.

Cecil B. Currey's biography of the legendary Major General Edward G. Lansdale brings the story of one of America's most dogged cold warriors into sharper focus than have earlier works on the general and the American counterinsurgency efforts in the Philippines and Vietnam. Using interviews with Lansdale and the general's personal correspondence, Currey allows Lansdale to speak for himself with greater candor than the general allowed in his autobiography, *In the Midst of Wars* (1972). Although Currey is a friendly biographer, Lansdale appears splenetic, frustrated, egocentric, and angry, as the general certainly was after the debacle in Vietnam. Lansdale emerges from this book as an unappreciated, tragic figure.

As Lansdale admitted to Currey, he worked hard only on things that interested him. What interested Lansdale was the transfer of Jeffersonian democracy from the United States to the Philippines and Vietnam. From personal contact and correspondence with Lansdale on an infrequent basis from 1964 to 1978, I can attest that Currey faithfully portrays Lansdale's messianic belief that personal diplomacy, purity of purpose, and clever political and psychological warfare could

blunt the appeal of Marxism among Asians, especially among the "common people." Lansdale's nation-building missions to the Philippines and Vietnam between 1950 and 1956—the best-known part of his career—proved to the general that he and others could work the ultimate miracle of American diplomacy, namely, persuading regimes to reform themselves and thus accept short-term risks for the prospect of long-term stability. If Lansdale had designed a motto for Ramon Magsaysay and Ngo Dinh Diem, it would have been "coopt thy enemies." About one-third of this biography gives the general another chance to describe his missionary work in Asia, and it is an account worth having for the record, even if it begs for more detached assessment than Currey provides.

The most interesting sections of the book describe the lesser known parts of Lansdale's career: his work in civil affairs in the Philippines and Okinawa after World War II (and hence his claim to expertise in the region), his service in the Office of Special Operations in the Department of Defense (1957–63), and his desperate mission to Vietnam (1965–68) when the war had passed the point of pacification. For Lansdale's experiences in the Pentagon, the author might have conducted more interviews with hostile witnesses, pursued the official correspondence with more tenacity, and relied more on Douglas S. Blaufarb's *Counterinsurgency Era* (1977), but Currey does provide additional insight into the bureaucratic jungles that grew up around the issue of combating a people's war. We are reminded again how the issue of Castroism dominated policy making during the formative years of the American intervention in Vietnam (1960–63). The tangled lines of power and influence that characterized the Kennedy administration became even more byzantine under Lyndon Johnson. Currey captures Lansdale's growing isolation and impotence in Washington in the 1960s and provides an accurate picture of a prophet with few followers for the cause of reformist populism in Vietnam. Whether Lansdale's approach to counterinsurgency was still relevant in 1965 is an entirely different matter. Certainly he had no more success in Vietnam during his second extended tour there than he had at the Pentagon.

Although it lacks the bite and literary strengths of Neil Sheehan's biography of John Paul Vann, Currey's book is an important contribution to the literature of the war for Southeast Asia. Lansdale deserved a book that portrayed him without malice or myth, and Currey does him justice.

ALLAN R. MILLETT
Ohio State University

FRANCES HOWELL RUDKO. *Truman's Court: A Study in Judicial Restraint*. (Contributions in Legal Studies, number 45.) New York: Greenwood. 1988. Pp. xxiv, 162. \$37.95.

This book is more concerned with how Supreme Court justices arrive at their opinions than with the consequences of those opinions. Frances Howell Rudko emphasizes the judicial process rather than the ideological bent of the four appointees of President Harry S. Truman: Chief Justice Frederick Moore Vinson and associate justices Harold Hitz Burton, Tom Clark, and Sherman Minton. Rudko believes one can tell more about the workings of the Supreme Court by comparing the Court's underlying philosophy—either judicial activism or judicial self-restraint—than by labeling a Court “liberal” or “conservative.”

Rudko rightly points out that, ideologically, a judicially active Court can be either conservative, as was the Hughes Court before 1937, or liberal, as was the Warren Court after 1953. The more liberal “Roosevelt Court” (1937–45), she contends, practiced judicial restraint, generally allowing legislative decisions to supersede judicial opinions. During Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency, however, a schism developed between two of his appointees, Hugo Black and Felix Frankfurter. Although both were essentially liberals, Black represented the philosophy of judicial activism and Frankfurter the philosophy of judicial self-restraint.

Using Supreme Court decisions, along with biographies and the manuscript collections of the principals involved, the author analyzes the opinions of Black and Frankfurter and compares them with the opinions of the “Truman Court” under Chief Justice Vinson. Specific cases are cited in the areas of criminal procedure, loyalty and security, and racial discrimination. The author concludes that Truman's appointees—like Truman himself—were staunch New Dealers (presumably liberals), that they were proponents of self-restraint, and that they were not influenced unduly by either Black or Frankfurter. The Vinson Court rarely challenged the positions taken by Congress. Historians have criticized the Vinson Court for its unwillingness to render opinions on politically sensitive matters such as school desegregation.

One finds much to commend in this small volume. It is readable and well documented, and it projects an understandable analysis of judicial decision making. Although there is not much new about the liberal-conservative interpretation of Court decisions, historians might well be reminded that ideology and the process of making decisions do not always coincide. One aspect missing in this volume that should have been discussed is the sensitive political environment of the Vinson Court. Judicial self-restraint was probably more necessary during the postwar years than during the heyday of the “Roosevelt Court.” Both the cold war and McCarthyism promoted tensions, fears, and intolerance between 1947 and 1953. That made it more unlikely that the Court would challenge legislative or executive power. The end of the Korean War, the death of Joseph Stalin, and the censure of Joseph McCarthy created an atmosphere more conducive to

the judicial activism that characterized the Warren Court after 1953.

WILLIAM R. TANNER
Humboldt State University

WILLIAM W. KELLER. *The Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover: Rise and Fall of a Domestic Intelligence State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989. Pp. xiii, 215. \$25.00.

J. Edgar Hoover may well have been the most powerful bureaucrat in American history, but he did not create his internal security empire single-handedly. According to William W. Keller, Hoover's de facto alliance with mainstream liberals during the 1950s and 1960s enabled him to expand the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and change it from what Keller sees as a relatively neutral “domestic intelligence bureau” into an increasingly aggressive “independent security state.” In the process the FBI not only came to rely on ever more invasive and illegal actions but also became more insular and autonomous, carrying out operations on its own and concealing them from its ostensible superiors in the Justice Department as well as from Congress and the public.

Because liberals had strong political reasons for bolstering the bureau, they let themselves overlook these changes. Franklin Delano Roosevelt started the process in the early 1940s when he used the bureau to augment his own wartime powers. The advent of the cold war and the conversion of the nation's liberals to “a myopic vision of monolithic communism” (p. 55) accelerated the process. Attacks from the Republican right encouraged liberal Democrats to eliminate the sensitive issue of communism from partisan politics by giving jurisdiction over internal security to the FBI and, thus, making it an administrative rather than a political matter. Because the liberals shared the same anticommunist consensus as Hoover, they did not curb his activities.

In the early 1960s, liberal support for the civil rights movement in the South enabled the FBI to expand even further. In response to demands for protection of civil rights workers, the bureau instituted its White Hate Groups COINTELPRO, a secret program designed to disrupt the Ku Klux Klan and render it ineffective. Keller believes that this program, an extension of the aggressive COINTELPRO techniques that the FBI had developed during the 1950s, was a turning point. For the first time, the FBI subverted an organization that, though clearly hostile to the goals of the liberal state, had no foreign ties and did not threaten internal security. Although the attorney general had not ordered the operation and was not specifically informed about it, the administration's desire to have the FBI handle its problems in the South made it, Keller believes, complicit in the expansion of the equally illegal FBI activities that followed.

Ultimately the alliance between Hoover and liberals fell apart. Hoover's public attack on Martin Luther

King, Jr., in November 1964 marked the beginning of the split. Even so, it took years before there was a serious attempt to curtail the bureau. The FBI's popularity was immense. More important, the bureau was able to keep most of its illegal operations secret. As a result, it was not until 1971 when a left-wing group raided the FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania, and published the files it had seized that the liberals finally turned against Hoover. At that point, they could no longer ignore the threat that the FBI posed to the liberal polity itself.

Despite the thinness of Keller's research (he relied mainly on materials unearthed by the Church Committee in the mid-1970s), his provocative conceptualization significantly furthers our understanding of the FBI. His interpretation coincides with those of historians such as Robert Griffith, Athan Theoharis, Mary McAuliffe, Kenneth O'Brien, Don Carleton, and myself, who find liberals complicit with, though not directly responsible for, much of the political repression of the McCarthy era. Keller goes further, however, not only in showing how that collaboration extended into the 1960s but also in linking the growth of Hoover's empire to that of the modern state with its concern for national security and the coercive measures inevitably necessitated by that concern. In the light of the FBI's recent COINTELPRO-type operations against dissident groups, this essentially structural explanation of its misdeeds seems all too convincing.

ELLEN W. SCHRECKER
Yeshiva University

DAVID R. HOLMES. *Stalking the Academic Communist: Intellectual Freedom and the Firing of Alex Novikoff*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for the University of Vermont, Burlington. 1989. Pp. xii, 288. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$14.95.

In 1983 the University of Vermont gave an honorary degree to Alex Novikoff. Although the renowned biologist had come within hailing distance of sharing a Nobel Prize, what made the awarding of the degree noteworthy was the fact that thirty years earlier the same university had fired him during America's anti-communist purges.

This book is a valuable case study of the treatment of one of the one hundred or so accused Communist professors who lost their jobs during the McCarthy era. From 1935 to 1945, as a junior faculty member at Brooklyn College, Novikoff was an active Communist. His politics came under scrutiny several times and foreclosed a number of professional opportunities. Still, he completed important research at Brooklyn and, after 1947, at the University of Vermont's Medical College. His refusal to testify about his Communist past when questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953, however, derailed his career. After its own fact-finding and quasi-judicial proceedings, the University of Vermont fired him.

Such a story does not ordinarily engender much suspense. Faculty members who, like Novikoff, took the Fifth Amendment could bid their jobs adieu. As Ellen Schrecker has shown in *No Ivory Tower* (1986), most academics accused of Communist sympathies experienced similar fates: an inquest by Red-hunting lawmakers, further proceedings on their own campuses, and then dismissal. By 1953 it was established writ in academe that Communists were unfit to teach, and professors who invoked the Fifth Amendment were deemed lacking in the candor requisite for membership on a faculty.

In broad terms Novikoff's case followed that pattern. Thanks to excellent research, including extensive interviewing and judicious use of the Freedom of Information Act, David R. Holmes ably points up the bureaucratic aspects of McCarthyism: the cooperation among legislative and investigative agencies, the links between the universities and the investigators, and the dire momentum of the well-traveled investigative files. Yet the particularities of Novikoff's ordeal show that the process did not always work uniformly; personal factors and quirks played a role. Thus, the interplay between Novikoff and the university administration did not always follow the script. Novikoff also had an oddly cordial relationship with Senator Herman Welker, a McCarthyite on the Internal Security panel. The first on-campus inquiry into the case ended by recommending Novikoff's retention. His stoutest defender among the university's trustees was a Catholic priest. Unlike most other dismissed Communists, Novikoff obtained a new academic job (at Albert Einstein Medical College) soon after he was fired.

Some biographical facets deserve further development. Novikoff emerges as reticent about his politics, and his false denial of Communist party membership during two 1941 inquiries merits more analysis. So do Novikoff's scientific achievements. And what, one wonders, did he think of the controversy in the Soviet Union over Lysenkoism? The radical ethos of Brooklyn College could have been limned in more detail. Nonetheless, Holmes has given us a well-researched case study and a balanced biography.

RICHARD M. FRIED
University of Illinois,
Chicago

HERBERT H. HAINES. *Black Radicals and the Civil Rights Mainstream, 1954-1970*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 231. \$24.95.

Did the increasing radicalization of the black movement during the 1960s undermine the efforts of moderate civil rights forces, or did it help advance their cause? That is the primary question that Herbert H. Haines addresses in this book. Haines, a sociologist, argues that the overall impact of the "radical flank

effect" (p. 2) after World War II was to pave the way for moderate, yet unprecedented, change.

The thesis of this book hinges significantly on the definition of "radicalism." Haines defines as "radical" any organization that departed from goals "conventionally deemed appropriate" or that was "perceived as threatening to the values or interests of various audiences" (p. 16). That broad definition enables Haines to characterize the nonviolent direct action of the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee as radical. Given that definition, Haines contends that between 1961 and 1963 the black radical flank forced President John F. Kennedy to switch from a strategy of containment and manipulation of the civil rights movement to one of advocacy. Haines also argues impressively that the radical flank effect induced corporations and foundations to pour large contributions into moderate black organizations in the late 1960s.

But Haines concedes that the growing resistance to black equality in that tumultuous period renders part of his thesis tenuous. If the radical flank effect had worked as he claims, one would expect an acceleration of reform between 1965 and 1969 as radicals grew more uncivil and revolutionary. Not surprisingly, Haines dwells on the Kennedy administration and tends to avoid the last years of Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency. He makes no effort to explain why Johnson spurned the Kerner Report or why the large majority of eligible voters cast their ballots for Richard Nixon and George Wallace in 1968. Haines concentrates on white elites to support his thesis, for they, unlike the masses, continued to support civil rights in the face of rising black militance, if only because they wanted to shape the movement to their ends. As Haines shows, the white masses were ambiguous about the black movement. The polls show that, although whites gave increasing lip service to black goals from 1954 to 1970, they stubbornly rejected the means employed by blacks to reach those goals, including nonviolent action. Thus, it is dubious to suggest that whites ever fully embraced integration.

Although its thesis is not foolproof, this book provides a valuable discussion of the problems involved in assessing the effect of radicalism on social change. At times Haines strains his thesis, but usually his argument is carefully reasoned and adroitly hedged. He acknowledges that the radical flank effect works both negatively and positively, and he recognizes the enormous complexity of gauging its impact. With the exception of the data on resource mobilization, however, there is little in this volume that will be new to the American historian. Haines nonetheless is to be applauded for illuminating the short-range effects of black radicalism (however defined). To evaluate the long-range impact, one would have to venture beyond 1970. For the reaction to the radicalism of the 1960s continues, and it was

instrumental in the resurgence of conservatism in the 1970s and 1980s.

DAVID W. SOUTHERN
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W. J. RORABAUGH. *Berkeley at War: The 1960s*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 277. \$24.95.

This is a mysterious book. It is strangely dispassionate about the 1960s, that passion-generating subject. It takes no sides; in fact, it has almost no interpretation. If there is any hero at all, it is Roger Heyns, chancellor of the University of California from 1965 to 1971, and perhaps the decade's liberals, who tried to work for compromise between radicals and conservatives and among whom Heyns is included by W. J. Rorabaugh. The most important political currents are presented in four chapters: "White," about the white student movement at the University of California, Berkeley; "Black," about the black movement in the city; "Red," about the New and Old Left, particularly in the antiwar movement and electoral politics; and "Green," about the hippies, although it is not clear why green is their color. The epilogue is titled, also enigmatically, "Blue," perhaps to communicate sadness about the end of the 1960s or the destructiveness of the decade, although regret and nostalgia are not themes of the book. The single-minded efforts at disruption and confrontation by the New Left and antiwar movement—often portrayed as disdainful, even Machiavellian—are, however, a theme. If Rorabaugh has an opinion, it is that the radicals cynically manipulated events to the detriment of everyone except Ronald Reagan and, perhaps, themselves for a while. But even that opinion has to be excavated. This is not a book with a message.

Extensive archival research has gone into its making. It is solid. The author used numerous sources—newspapers of all kinds, Left leaflets, University of California records and correspondence (president, regents, faculty, students), City of Berkeley Police and Planning Department documents, and newsletters, to name several—to put together an account of Berkeley during the 1960s. The volume provides rich detail of what actually happened, particularly during some of the more serious confrontations such as the Free Speech Movement, Robert Scheer's campaign for Congress on an antiwar platform, key antiwar demonstrations, desegregation of the Berkeley schools, Black Panther party interactions with the university and police, and People's Park. There is a certain literalness about the book, as if Rorabaugh took all of the documents at face value and had no interpretive framework with which to order the comments and thoughts he found there. Indeed, sometimes information is included that seems superfluous. What is there is a gold mine for scholars who want to probe further into the 1960s at the local level.

At the same time, there is very little in the book to

link what was happening in Berkeley among radicals, blacks, liberals, and the counterculture with what was happening in the rest of the country. A reader with little background in the 1960s would be unable to understand the frustration of the student, antiwar, or black movements because Rorabaugh creates a study of a community that appears to have few intellectual, political, or practical ties with the rest of the country or the world. The influence of Freedom Summer on the Free Speech Movement, not only in the form of inspiration but also from actual students who returned from Mississippi to Berkeley in 1964 (see Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer*, [1988]), and more generally the impact of the civil rights movement on white student radicals, the rise of the New Left nationally (and internationally), the continued escalation of the war in Vietnam, and the growing polarization in the country, for example, would all help to place Berkeley in a context and make more comprehensible why conservatives, liberals, and radicals behaved the way they did. Passions were strong because the stakes appeared to be high: democracy and participation from the point of view of the students; the end of the war from the point of view of antiwar activists; the defense of the university and American values from the perspective of others; equality, opportunity, and freedom from the perspective of black people. Reading this book, one would understand neither the stakes involved nor the resulting passions. Rorabaugh states in his opening pages that the underlying issue of the 1960s was power, but the reader is not helped to see the larger stakes that the participants clearly saw. Although much data is included, the tensions, the feeling for the unprecedented struggles of the 1960s, are not.

WINIFRED BREINES
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NEIL SHEEHAN. *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam*. New York: Random House. 1988. Pp. 861. \$24.95.

It must be said at the outset that this is a well-written and engaging book. It comes as no surprise to learn that Neil Sheehan won a Pulitzer Prize in 1989 for general nonfiction. Whether the book should be counted a major contribution to historical understanding of the Vietnam War is debatable, however. Sheehan's dual objective is indicated by the subtitle: to use the biography of John Paul Vann as a vehicle for a more general assessment of "America in Vietnam." In one respect Vann seems a good choice for this purpose. Few Americans can have spent as much time in Vietnam during the war: he was there during eight of the ten years of the conflict from spring 1962 to early summer 1972, when he was killed in a helicopter crash in the Central Highlands. Even so, he could play only one role in only one place at one time. As a military adviser and later as a civilian "pacification" official, Vann was able to gain considerable experience of the

struggle in the South Vietnamese countryside, and he worked more closely than most Americans with the South Vietnamese. But many other aspects of the conflict have to be filled in by Sheehan in passages that have little or nothing to do with Vann's own activities. And, whereas the biographical parts of the book are thoroughly researched and highly original, the more general analysis is, on the whole, conventional and superficial.

The author knew Vann personally, and was deeply influenced by him, during two periods as a news correspondent in South Vietnam in 1962–64 and 1965–66. Sheehan began to work on a biography during visits there in 1972–73 and over the next fifteen years conducted nearly four hundred interviews with people who figure in his story. He also had free access to Vann's personal papers and to previously classified papers deposited at the Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. On that basis he is able to offer a full account of Vann's personal background and military career before Vann went to Vietnam as well as a detailed and vivid picture of some of the most important episodes in his Vietnam career. In particular, we get the fullest account so far of the battle of Ap Bac in the Mekong Delta at the end of 1963, of Vann's impressions of Hau Nghia province during the first six months after his return to Vietnam in March 1965, and of his role in the crucial battle for Kontum province during the Communist offensive of spring 1972. We also learn a good deal about the frustration and pessimism he experienced at various times between 1963 and 1967 in his attempts to change overall U.S. policy toward the war.

But there are also some surprising omissions. Sheehan does not take us very far into the background of American debates about pacification policy after 1966, which must have had a considerable impact on Vann's own activities. After recounting the Tet Offensive of early 1968, the author seems to lose interest altogether in the details of his story, despite the fact that that was the period of Vann's greatest influence and reputation. The three years 1969, 1970, and 1971, indeed, are disposed of in a mere thirty pages—quite remarkable in a book of nearly eight hundred pages. The reason is not hard to find. Sheehan, on the basis of his own experiences in 1965–66 and his subsequent, thorough reading of the *Pentagon Papers*, which he helped to publicize in 1971, has long since concluded that the American enterprise in Vietnam was doomed after the Tet Offensive and the March decisions of 1968. The genuine achievements of U.S.-Vietnamese collaboration after the crisis of 1968 hold no interest for him. He is ready and eager to share Vann's pessimism of the earlier years but not his later optimism. That interpretation may, indeed, prove valid in the end, but, without detailed study of the later period itself, including Vann's own role then, it cannot be taken for granted. Unfortunately the impressions and anecdotes that are

the stuff of journalism are no substitute for rigorous historical analysis.

R. B. SMITH

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LARRY BERMAN. *Lyndon Johnson's War: The Road to Stalemate in Vietnam*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1989. Pp. xviii, 254. \$18.95.

In his book *Planning a Tragedy: The Americanization of the War in Vietnam* (1985), Larry Berman focused on Lyndon Johnson's decision in July 1965 to Americanize the war because the president feared that losing Vietnam would wreck plans for his Great Society program. *Lyndon Johnson's War* continues the story through Johnson's announcement in 1968 that he would not seek reelection to the White House.

Berman's latest book is a solid piece of historical scholarship, impressively researched and lucidly written. It is not a revisionist work, it breaks no new ground, and anyone who has looked carefully at America's involvement in the Vietnam conflict will be familiar with his basic themes. Nevertheless, this is a valuable study, mainly because of the author's skillful use of a great many newly declassified source materials to provide a meticulously detailed record of the world as seen by those who shaped policy during the Johnson presidency. Berman uses many exact quotes, because, as he explains, "I believe the contradictions in logical thinking made by those in leadership positions ought to be digested without an intermediary" (p. xiv).

Berman is especially effective in discussing the controversy over conflicting estimates of the size of communist fighting forces in South Vietnam. Reaching the so-called cross-over point—when the enemy's manpower losses would exceed replacements and force the North Vietnamese to negotiate—was a major part of American strategy (or what passed for strategy). Berman offers important new evidence on this issue, much of it brought to light in the lawsuit by General William Westmoreland against the Columbia Broadcasting System after the network charged that, when faced with a deteriorating military situation and growing hostility to the war at home, he had "cooked the books" about enemy troop strength to mislead the president. Explaining that estimates of enemy troops depended on the definition of who was or was not a soldier, a tricky matter when dealing with guerrilla forces, Berman concludes that not Westmoreland but Johnson foisted contrived numbers of troop strength on the public. The president did so, the author argues, because it was *his* war and he was determined to sell it to the American people, especially as he got closer to the 1968 presidential election.

Americans have often named wars, especially unpopular wars, after the chief political leader of the time (King George's War, Mr. Madison's War, and so on). To name the Vietnam debacle after Johnson continues

an American tradition and provides a way of placing blame for the war largely on Johnson's broad shoulders while mitigating the responsibility of everyone else—including Johnson's predecessors, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and John Kennedy. Berman quotes Johnson as saying, "This is not Johnson's war. This is America's war. If I drop dead tomorrow, the war will still be with you" (p. xi). Berman, as the book's title indicates, disagrees. But is it any more correct to call Vietnam "Johnson's War" than to label the American Civil War "Lincoln's War"? It is true that Johnson dramatically deepened America's military involvement in Vietnam, but, when he did so, most Americans still supported the idea that the United States should help South Vietnam contain the spread of communism. Congress, after all, approved the Tonkin Gulf Resolution with only two dissenting votes. To be sure, as America slipped deeper into that nasty no-win conflict, congressional and public support waned. But Vietnam, as Johnson maintained, was "America's war," and in fairness the blame must be shared by a great many.

JIM F. HEATH

Portland State University

CANADA

JAMES B. WALDRAM. *As Long as the Rivers Run: Hydroelectric Development and Native Communities in Western Canada*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. 1988. Pp. xviii, 253. \$24.95.

James B. Waldram's book is a well-researched and well-organized account of the continuing battle over control of natural resources in Canada's north. The battle is most unequal: the combined might of hydropower development corporations, provinces, and the federal government arrayed against native communities scattered along rivers and lakes of the region. The mighty have thus far prevailed, of course, but that is not Waldram's major point. His objectives are to detail how the contest has been waged by both sides and to compare that process with the treaty making and scrip issuing by which native interests were purloined a century earlier. The processes, he demonstrates, are virtually identical.

Waldram begins with a brief survey of the treaty-making (for Indian communities) and scrip-issuing (for Métis communities) procedures. He then describes the more recent experiences of three different communities: one largely Métis, another an Indian reserve, and a third a community of Indians that is not in federal reserve status. The ethnic and structural differences between the three communities affected the way in which the combat unfolded in each of them. He concludes with a concise summary of the parallels between treaty making and the modern tactics of deception and expropriation. The phrase "for the common good" becomes heavy with irony in Waldram's description as he turns the developers' fundamental rationale around to ask whether the development of

hydropower has been good for anyone other than corporations and politicians.

Several other important but less-developed themes, which will be familiar to those studying recent U.S. Indian policy, run through Waldram's description. The first theme is that corporate, provincial, and federal authorities begin to listen to native objections only when threatened with massive lawsuits. A second is that in such battles federal agencies responsible for protecting native rights not only are compromised but often join the ranks of opponents of those rights. A third is that native communities' chances of winning, while dismal, are nonetheless better when they merge into regional advocacy and negotiation groups than when each community tries to fight its own battle.

Although Waldram does not spell out broader policy implications, the book offers an excellent basis for comparing Canadian Indian policy with that of the United States. For example, treaty making in Canada began the year it was halted in the United States (1871). Supposedly, water rights of U.S. tribes are more clear-cut than those of their Canadian counterparts. And presumably the sovereign powers of tribes in the United States have become somewhat less opaque than those of Canadian tribes.

Yet a moment's reflection on the development of petroleum reserves in Alaska suggests that there may be more unhappy similarities than differences between Canadian and U.S. handling of native interests in resources and that native sovereignty in either country is fragile indeed. A comparison of recent development and native interests in Canada and the United States should reveal that even those who are not ignorant of history are nonetheless doomed to repeat it—if the political and economic payoffs are high enough.

ROBERT L. BEE
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SUSAN E. HOUSTON and ALISON PRENTICE. *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. (The Ontario Historical Studies Series.) Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 418. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice begin their book with an examination of education in Ontario's pioneer years. From the 1790s to the 1840s it was, they explain, a voluntary arrangement that displayed a "fascinating mixture of the casual and the formal, of domestic and public," reflecting "local and parental control of this area of life" (p. 95). But, over the span of a generation, Ontarians replaced these informal but reasonably effective arrangements with a system of public schooling that shifted responsibility and authority in educational matters from family to state. By the 1870s, the province possessed an articulated system of public and high schools, capped with a normal school in Toronto. As a "powerful cultural institution . . . self-consciously exclusive . . . Protestant bourgeois, indeterminately

mid-Atlantic" (p. 234), this system increasingly standardized curricula, teaching methods, and classroom organization across the province. "Where once the time spent at school was fitted around the demands of family time," Houston and Prentice conclude, "the regulated hours of the school day, week and year" increasingly dictated "the routines of family life" (p. 344).

A linear, Whiggish version of this story has, of course, long been a staple of Canadian social and educational history. Building on their own work and that of many others, Houston and Prentice have transformed the traditional caricature into a richly detailed, multifaceted account of the transformation of education in the province. In the first part of the book, "Interpreting Pioneer Schooling," they set the stage by exploring the theory and practice of schooling in the era of family choice. They also describe the different forms of schooling that the "combined force of parents and teachers on the one hand, and the church and the state on the other, managed to produce" (p. 34) and provide us with some feeling for the daily lives and careers of colonial school mistresses and school masters. In the second part, "Mid-Nineteenth-Century School Reform," Houston and Prentice show how educational reformers, as "part of a team of . . . moral missionaries," came to the view that they must instill in Upper Canadians "a work ethic and moral discipline" (p. 308) appropriate to "the social structure of the liberal capitalist society" (p. 343) into which their pioneering community had grown. They describe how, in a context characterized by extremely vigorous controversy, reformers first transformed these notions into legislation, then how they wrestled legislative forms into systematic practice, especially through a hierarchical order "in which men governed as superintendents, trustees, and head masters, and women served as assistant teachers" (p. 186). In the third part, "Behind the Schoolroom Door," the authors tell us about the complex but intensely practical difficulties faced by the new system in such matters as providing schools, improving attendance, creating a common curriculum that was both moral and modern, standardizing instructional styles, and judging how well the system was meeting its goals. In two concluding chapters Houston and Prentice discuss the special problems posed by providing appropriate schooling for black children and those of the urban poor and, particularly, by building a system of "separate common schools" for Roman Catholic pupils. They also describe the tensions created, especially in providing secondary schooling, by the prevailing notion that the "separate spheres" called for a different schooling for each sex, while at the same time financial and other circumstances made it difficult enough to provide even coeducational grammar schools.

This volume is a model work of historical reinterpretation. Its authors reason clearly, structure their arguments carefully, and present their conclusions in a way that shows that they have not been trapped inside their

topic. They note, to cite but one example, that it is "entirely possible that, given their preoccupation with the view from the center of educational policy making, historians have exaggerated the impact of the provision of universal, tax-supported common schooling on the intellectual life of ordinary people" (p. 190). Readers will find particular pleasure in the way they ground broader issues in carefully crafted vignettes of Ontario's pupils and teachers. They make effective use of the wide-ranging research of such recent investigators as F. H. Armstrong, Bruce Curtis, Ian Davey, R. D. Gidney, Michael Katz, Douglas Lawr, W. P. J. Millar, and J. D. Wilson, as well as that of such earlier scholars as C. B. Sissons and C. E. Phillips. Finally, Houston and Prentice also employ their keen understanding of contemporary research and historiographic debate, conducted in Canada and elsewhere and especially in the United States, Britain, and Australia, on such topics as class and gender. Indeed, their awareness of this world context leads them to conclude that, in the creation of centrally administered, state-wide systems of education, "few jurisdictions . . . outstripped Ontario's efforts" (p. x). Scholars in other jurisdictions will surely want to put this bold conclusion to the test.

NEIL SUTHERLAND
University of British Columbia

LATIN AMERICA

COLIN M. MACLACHLAN. *Spain's Empire in the New World: The Role of Ideas in Institutional and Social Change*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1988. Pp. xiv, 201. \$35.00.

This book is not, as its title might indicate, a catalog of theorists and their impact on Spanish colonial policy but an essay on the shared assumptions that formed the basis of the empire's political life. Its argument is so carefully developed that it is almost impossible to summarize in fewer words than those employed by the author without risking gross oversimplification.

Colin M. MacLachlan believes that Spanish imperial development took place within a "philosophical matrix" in which the authority of the king as God's agent was modified by natural law. Benevolent intentions were assumed as was the personal loyalty of the subject, but, should a royal action appear to contravene either traditional rights or natural law, it was the duty of the subject to protest. The celebrated formula, "I obey, but do not execute" was therefore essential to a system that worked ultimately through negotiation. Policy was developed through the accommodation of tradition, personal and group interest, and ethical imperatives. Under the Habsburgs this basically medieval conception provided great flexibility within the context of a stable political order. The system could deal with change and resolve even violent confrontations without bringing its essential structure into question. Efficiency, of course, was compromised by the inherent paternalism of a government based on loyalty, and respect for first

principles encouraged hyperbolic and moralistic debate. The sixteenth-century dispute over the treatment of the Indians is used as an example of how major issues were resolved in theory and in practice.

According to MacLachlan, the Bourbon reforms marked a break with this tradition of fluid manipulation within a well-understood framework. Basing their efforts on physiocratic ideals, the reformers subordinated all other considerations to the pursuit of material progress and rejected the accommodations of earlier years. Political skill itself became suspect. "Rather than allowing events or external parties to define problems and solutions, enlightened reformers created their own reality, designated the issue, and indicated the steps to be taken" (p. 89). The state had become unpredictable.

Although MacLachlan believes that most of the reforms failed, he does not argue that they or the reactions against them led directly to imperial collapse. The revolts of the early nineteenth century are seen instead as the consequence of Napoleonic intervention. He concludes, however, that the failure to revive a conception of "Hispanic legitimacy" led to many of the disasters experienced by the newly organized republics. Latin American elites, coopted by the economic needs of Europe and entranced by modernization, developed what amounts to "a systematic denigration of their own heritage" (p. 135). The result continues to obstruct political accommodation to this day.

This last observation could be the basis of another book, but the author's refusal to pursue it further is unsatisfying. Perhaps it is a tribute to the existing work that the reader is left asking for more. MacLachlan covers an enormous range of events and ideas in only 135 pages. It is possible to quibble with minor items, including his characterization of Martin Luther and his estimate of the influence of Erasmus, but this is an important and thought-provoking book that deserves to be read by the broadest possible audience. Its implications transcend the field of Latin American history.

WILLIAM S. MALTBY
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OAKAH L. JONES, JR. *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1988. Pp. xx, 342. \$32.50.

The Spanish march north from the central plateau of New Spain was halting and bloody. Conquerors and missionaries met fierce resistance from the indigenous peoples. Confronted by unceasing warfare, the colonial government proved inept and unsuccessful. Despite it all, miners discovered and excavated enormous riches. An inexorable flow of population, attracted by relatively high-paying employment in the mines, settled the region.

Oakah L. Jones's stated thesis is that the province of Nueva Vizcaya, which encompassed the modern states

of Chihuahua and Durango, was the "heartland" of Spain's northern frontier for almost three hundred years. His purpose is to write a narrative, he claims the first in English, that relates the entire chronological history of Nueva Vizcaya from exploration and initial settlement to independence. He describes Nueva Vizcaya's "internal and external developments and problems, major personalities, important events, and its expansion or contraction, including relationships between Spaniards and the numerous Amerinds of the region" (p. x).

Two more important themes emerge. First, resistance by indigenous peoples such as the Tarahumaras and Apaches (to name the most notable if not the strongest and most enduring) was relentless and effective. Second, the Spanish bureaucracy was only sporadically able to deal competently with this threat.

The move northward was not a continuous, steady flow but an advance in spurts produced by new discoveries of silver. Thus, the Spaniards leapfrogged from Durango to Parral to Santa Eulalia/Chihuahua. Each move, however, drew fierce response; the bloodiest took place in the 1680s and 1770s. Spanish administrators tried bribes and treaties, presidios and flying squadrons to win peace, but their attempts were never to much effect for any length of time. The bureaucrats were best at writing reports (which furnish much of the documentary base for the book) and formulating unworkable plans.

The potential for drama in the tale is unending. There were heroes and martyrs galore. But Jones's book is a dry chronicle indeed, without drama or people. Even provincial governors and missionary friars do not come to life. We learn little about the native peoples and why they fought, much less why they lost. And we do not discover much about the Spaniards and mestizos who ventured to the frontier. Where did they come from? What were their lives like? The author constantly claims that enormous changes took place, but he never describes or analyzes those changes other than alterations in the boundaries of the provinces.

There is also little interpretation. Why were the Spaniards momentarily able to defeat or buy off the native peoples but never able to put into effect a sustained peace? Jones never raises these questions. Good books should raise more questions than they answer. This book raises none.

MARK WASSERMAN
Rutgers University

FELIX D. ALMARAZ, JR. *The San Antonio Missions and Their System of Land Tenure*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1989. Pp. xv, 100. \$12.95.

In this small volume (only fifty-nine pages of text), Félix D. Almaraz, Jr., traces the development of the five Franciscan missions in the Rio Antonio corridor with particular emphasis on their system of land tenure. The outgrowth of a study commissioned by the

National Park Service, the monograph reflects the thorough research and careful attention to detail that have characterized the previous work of the author and have gained him recognition as one of the region's premier authorities of Spanish colonization in the American Southwest.

The first, and most famous, of the San Antonio missions was San Antonio de Valero, established in May 1718, near the headwaters of San Pedro Creek. Over one hundred years later, the buildings and grounds of the old mission, known locally as the Alamo, became the scene of one of the most famous battles in American history. San José y Miguel de Aguayo, second of the Franciscan missions, was established five miles south of the Alamo in February 1720. The other three missions along the San Antonio River, Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada, were established in 1731 by Spanish soldiers and friars formerly assigned to East Texas.

In theory, secularization of the missions, the final process in which administrative responsibility was transferred to the diocesan clergy and a civil community of landowners and parishioners, took twenty years. In the Spanish borderlands, however, this usually took longer. The process began in Texas in April 1793, with an inventory and distribution of temporal properties of San Antonio de Valero. Secularization soon began in the other San Antonio missions but proceeded slowly, officially ending in February 1824.

Using Spanish and Mexican inventories, Almaraz carefully describes the process of land tenure exchange in the five Franciscan missions, beginning with the formal *acto de posesion* by the mission founders and continuing through the secularization process and the acquisition of former mission lands by local settlers. In the period of the Texas republic, ownership of the former church lands often passed into the hands of Anglo-Americans as the burden of proof of ownership was placed on Tejano families who had lived on the lands for generations. Court proceedings, conducted in English, often resulted in the division of disputed lands in favor of the newly arrived Anglo Americans.

This is a well-balanced and judicious study. Those less familiar with the topic than Almaraz might wish for expansion of the narrative and more general information on the San Antonio missions, but the author has achieved his purpose of focusing on the complex process of land tenure. Photographs, maps, and plates showing the division of mission lands complement the text. Sketches by El Paso artist José Cisneros add charm to the publication.

RALPH A. WOOSTER
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ROBERT A. NAYLOR. *Penny Ante Imperialism: The Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras, 1600–1914; A Case Study in British Informal Empire*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh

Dickinson University Press or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1989. Pp. 315. \$42.50.

For centuries, the Mosquito shore was a forlorn backwater thinly inhabited by Indian hunters and penetrated only by occasional buccaneers and freebooting petty entrepreneurs. Its chief resource was mahogany timber, the rights to which were commonly disputed between the Spanish and their republican successors, on the one hand, and British cutters, on the other. Disputes involving access as well as sovereign rights on the coast intensified in the nineteenth century with the expansion of the manifest destiny of the United States and the evolution of Central American canal schemes. Almost nothing has been written on the Mosquito shore. Although Robert A. Naylor's scholarship covers three centuries, the nineteenth century receives the bulk of his attention. He writes from the perspective of petty British actors and the problems of British imperial management, and he does it in a judicious, clear, and most attractive narrative style.

Despite the relative insignificance of the Mosquito Coast—perhaps because of it—the interplay between enterprising British subjects, local natives, the Colonial and Foreign Offices, and foreign states having interests in the region constitutes an excellent case study in nineteenth-century informal empire: how it evolved, the problems it evoked, the problems it avoided, and the assets, liabilities, and ultimate results of attempting to exercise control without formal imperial responsibility. In the end, Britain withdrew from the coast under American pressure, retaining only Belize. The imperial government never exercised an acquisitive policy there, nor, at any point, did it have a well-defined strategy for Central America. Successive British governments kept their options open. With the most minimal commitment of personnel and resources, they attempted to protect British interests by the fabrication of a local Mosquito kingdom whose “kings” were wholly dependent on British counsel, albeit they were thoroughly impoverished and incapable of exercising effective power over the scattered native clans they were reputed to rule.

Naylor consistently ties developments along the Mosquito shore to the changing international scene and to projects and policies evolving in Europe. Among the most absorbing segments of a thoroughly interesting, well-researched, and densely footnoted book is Naylor's analysis of a succession of naive, irresponsible, and deliberately deceptive colonization schemes launched in Great Britain during the 1830s to open the Mosquito Coast to European settlement.

Relatively little attention is given to social history: for example, to the social environment of immigrants from British West Indian islands. There is little analysis of the economic activities of timber cutters: how they lived, operated, and marketed their products. But, as a case study in informal empire, it is a splendid work, and those who read merely the chapter on the British

imperial government's approach to Central America during the 1840s will be well rewarded.

WILLIAM A. GREEN
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EUL-SOO PANG. *In Pursuit of Honor and Power: Noblemen of the Southern Cross in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 341. \$41.95.

This book, an elite study, is both overpowering and oversimplified, overpowering in its remarkably detailed coverage of the agrarian and mercantile elites of nineteenth-century imperial Brazil's principal agricultural zones, two provinces of the Northeast (Baía, Pernambuco) and of the Center-South (Rio de Janeiro, Minas and São Paulo). The northeastern provinces were a zone of secular sugar cultivation going back to the early seventeenth century; the central-southern provinces were the expanding coffee frontier of the nineteenth (and, later, the twentieth) century. In sifting published materials on regional and local history and the better-organized state and national archives, Eul-Soo Pang has clarified who the large landholders and slaveholders were, regional patterns of elite endogamy and exogamy, whether the elite participated as politicians or through “elected” representatives, how much continuity of wealth these rural “clans” maintained, and—key to this study—which of their members entered the bureaucratic elite fashioned by the emperor. For scholars of Brazil these data are often fascinating; they underscore the long-held impression of underlying persistence of family and fortune until the end of the nineteenth century. The nonspecialist may be left overawed and confused. Pang, however, has interspersed the mass of social and family detail with summaries not always conveniently located at the end of chapters.

The purpose of his detail on Brazil's agrarian and mercantile elites derives from a hypothesis that Pang and Ronald Seckinger advanced earlier (*Comparative Studies in Society and History* [1972]). Answering the question of who ruled the Brazilian empire, they suggested—and Pang here restates—that the emperor, his council of state, lifetime senators, appointed provincial presidents, and local magistrates constituted the governing elite “who remained at least partly outside normative politics beyond the reach of influence by the dominant agrarian interests” (p. 204). Here Pang sees a conflict between “crown” and “people.” The hypothesis is arguable, but is Pang's version convincing?

More specifically, in a chapter entitled “The Patrimonial Monarchy,” Pang finds that the sugar-growing elite failed to send to the chamber of deputies many offspring of its principal agrarian clans, whereas the elite of the coffee-growing Center-South produced even fewer “successful political (electoral and appointive)” careers (p. 204). So, Pang asks again, who ran Brazil? Predictably he locates a “political class” forming

a Chinese-like mandarin state of "patrimonial bureaucrats and sinecurist politicians" whose "dependency/loyalty" shifted gradually from "regional agrarian clans" to the "centripetalist patrimonial monarchy" (pp. 204–06).

The explanation is interesting and oversimplified and fails to explain how the politics of the mandarin state differed from those of the regional agrarian clans. Although he offers no analysis of how the Bragança emperor differed with agrarian interests over specific issues, Pang asserts that after 1870 "imperial hegemony" could no longer impose its choices for political office. Yet, aside from references to hegemony, "centripetalism," and "patrimonialism," there is no analysis of specific issues that may have separated mandarin state from agrarian interests: slave trade and abolition, state finance of infrastructure, protectionism versus free trade, centralism versus federalism. Can one therefore be satisfied with Pang's resolution, his emphasis on the "monarchical hegemony of the ruling house" (p. 210), its concentration on the "general welfare" rather than regional and class interests, and its skill in weaning the bureaucratic elite from its social and economic roots?

Pang concludes that power was manipulated in Brazil's imperial state by Pedro II and his hand-picked sinecurists installed in the council of state and senate, a mandarin state imbued with aging aristocratic and corporatist values. Emperor and mandarin state thus denied power to the younger nobility of "gentry values and bourgeois culture" (p. 269) surging in central-southern Brazil after 1870. Pang's explanation of the waning of Brazil's imperial state offers, it seems, only a slightly modified explanation of the shift of economic and political power from the Northeast of sugar to the Center-South of coffee and rails.

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SANDRA LAUDERDALE GRAHAM. *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 61.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xii, 212. \$42.50.

Sandra Lauderdale Graham joins the many recent efforts to explore Rio de Janeiro between 1860 and 1910, when commerce, North Atlantic contacts, and growth were transforming the city. Others have written about European influence, the breakdown of patriarchal society, labor, Afro-Brazilians, urban reform, political culture, and elite culture and society. Graham analyzes the world of female domestics, the most numerous of female employees in the Carioca work force. She divides her analysis into three parts. In the first she sets out the sociocultural urban context; in the second, the labor and lives of servants; and in the third, the fears and responses of masters.

Graham is aided in recapturing the experiences of her subjects by a lucid, graceful style and an analytical

approach beholden to cultural anthropology. Her capacity to evoke the plights and pleasures of the women by coaxing the significant from a variety of documents is enviable, especially given the notorious difficulties of such research.

Graham could have strengthened her analysis further by providing a broad historical introduction (so useful to those unfamiliar with Brazil) and by handling historical facts and development with greater precision. In her presentation of women's experiences, for example, she often extends generalizations appropriate to one era over the whole nineteenth century or uses evidence drawn out of order or context. Graham's grasp of Rio's history slips in her comments on urban layout, social disorder, and reform programs.

Readers may hesitate to accept generalizations about demography, occupation, and so on, based largely on one district, São Cristóvão, that was typical neither of the poorest nor the richest city districts (those districts more likely to supply or employ domestics). Readers may also shy from Graham's occasionally imposing perspectives on servants and masters for which she does not always cite sufficient (or, at times, any) documentary evidence. Colleagues may debate Graham's claim that an underlying anxiety about servants in masters' minds was born of the approaching abolition of slavery and the increasing impact of contagious disease. Her evidence is unconvincing (except with respect to hired wet nurses) and seemingly contradicts known facts. Abolition was a demographic *fait accompli* in Rio long before formal abolition in 1888, and contagious disease, far from being blamed on slum dwellers rather than slums (as Graham contends), remained one of the basic reasons for the health reforms and the demolition of slums between 1902 and 1906.

One also regrets that Graham was unable to use other scholars' findings that have become available since she completed her dissertation in 1982. Besides the numerous Brazilian theses and papers completed between 1981 and 1985 that Nancy Naro reviews in *Americas* (1987) and the U.S. dissertations by Samuel Adamo and Jeffrey Needell, pertinent published works not cited here include some by Afonso Arinos de Mello Franco, Boris Fausto, José Murilo de Carvalho, June Hahner, Needell, and Nicolau Sevcenko.

Still, for its unusual focus, intriguing approach, stylistic flair, and comparative potential, this is a monograph that should not be missed.

JEFFREY D. NEEDELL
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MARK J. VAN AKEN. *King of the Night: Juan José Flores and Ecuador, 1824–1864*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1989. Pp. ix, 382. \$40.00.

Except for a few forthright souls—mainly Mexicans—Spanish-American monarchists in the half-century following Latin America's wars for independence were a

devious lot: they were crypto-monarchists. And they were almost invariably conservatives for whom the preservation of the corporatist order was more important than the maintenance of national independence—a far cry from the liberals in other former colonial lands, such as Greece and Brazil, who favored constitutional monarchy as the best prescription for securing the blessings of liberty. Monarchism's clandestine appeal in postindependence Spanish America is reflected in the career of Juan José Flores, the subject of this thoughtful, solidly researched political biography.

Flores, a native of coastal Venezuela, served in the liberation of Gran Colombia under Simón Bolívar, who appointed him to various military and civil posts in the republic's southern region, the former *audiencia* district of Quito. A man of obscure social origins and little education, Flores nevertheless managed to ingratiate himself with the Quito aristocracy and marry into a prominent family. In 1830, following Bolívar's resignation as president of Colombia, Flores took the lead in establishing Quito's independence from Bogotá. A convention in Riobamba adopted a constitution for the independent state of Ecuador and elected Flores its first president.

According to Mark J. Van Aken, Flores acquired a preference for monarchy before he accepted the presidency of Ecuador. If so, his preference was long concealed from his contemporaries; not until the 1840s did his enemies begin to accuse him of monarchism. Whatever his feeling about hereditary rule, his predilection for Bolivarian authoritarianism was clear. Flores wanted monarchy, the author believes, but would have settled for monocracy.

Flores made a power-sharing pact with the liberal Vicente Rocafuerte that gave Ecuador twelve years of relative stability until Flores reneged and retained power after his second presidential term expired. He was ousted in 1845 by a revolt launched from the liberal stronghold of Guayaquil. Flores's financial mismanagement and his personal greed contributed to his general unpopularity, and his anticlericalism, a curious holdover from his earlier years as an active Freemason, alienated many of the conservatives on whom he had depended for support.

As president of Ecuador in the early 1840s and in exile from 1845 to 1860, Flores engaged in various covert schemes—some in collaboration with Andrés Santa Cruz, former dictator of Peru and Bolivia—to establish a monarchy in western South America under the protection of a European power. At different times he offered the Galápagos islands to Britain, Spain, and France. He recruited mercenaries in Ireland and filibusters in California to make war on his adopted country. For his dark machinations his enemies dubbed him “King of the Night” (p. 248). He finally returned to Ecuador in 1860 as army commander under the theocratic Gabriel García Moreno.

García Moreno and Flores hoped to convert their regime into a monarchy under French protection, but

Napoleon III turned them down. Committed to restoring monarchy to Mexico, he could spare no resources for Ecuador. Flores died of natural causes in 1864.

“Most of . . . the generals of Independence . . . misgoverned and plundered their homelands,” Van Aken writes; “Flores was far from the worst” (p. 268). That is a fair epitaph for the King of the Night.

NEILL MACAULAY

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CATHERINE LEGRAND. *Frontier Expansion and Peasant Protest in Colombia, 1850–1936*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1986. Pp. xviii, 302. \$27.50.

In this stimulating book, Catherine LeGrand employs heretofore underused documentation from the Colombian Public Land Correspondence to recover the history of the small-holding settlers of the frontier, a group of Latin American peasants even more ignored than most. Previous historians of frontier expansion in Colombia have focused on Antioquia and, finding there “the genesis of a prosperous and democratic society of family farmers” (p. xv), have contributed to the development of a myth in which the colonization of public land was seen as a positive alternative to the backward-looking legacy of the great estate. LeGrand successfully debunks this myth, showing how *colonos* on public land were consistently manipulated and exploited by entrepreneurs interested in land speculation and the expansion of export production. At the same time, she contributes to the broader Latin American literature on peasants and politics by showing the *colonos* not simply as victims but also as conscious economic and political actors who, between 1870 and 1936, struggled continuously with all of the means at their disposal to hold on to the land they possessed.

The study begins with a period that might be called the “prehistory” of agrarian struggles in Colombia, the years between 1870 and the 1920s, which most historians have assumed to be relatively peaceful. LeGrand shows otherwise. Inspired by the reform laws of the early 1870s, which recognized a settler's right to title on cleared and cultivated land, *colonos* began to resist encroachments by entrepreneurs in many of Colombia's frontier areas. Often aided by local lawyers or larger cultivators with similar interests, *colono* groups petitioned the government and in some cases won legal settlements. Yet, despite some sympathy for the settlers at the national level, in the end it was the large landowners—who more successfully manipulated the courts and local officials—who carried the day in this period, using violence to expand commercial production and to turn *colonos* into tenants on the consolidated holdings.

Despite their defeat, former *colonos* nursed historical memories of their rights to the land and the illegitimacy of the large landowners' claims; the years between 1920 and 1936 then provided a unique opportunity to revive the struggle. Interested in promoting

industrial development and the integration of the internal market, governments after 1920 began to discuss the need to reform the agrarian structure in order to promote small-holder production for national consumption. When increasing foreign investment prompted further land speculation, *colonos* joined with new progressive political allies in pressuring sympathetic national officials. Between the mid-1920s and 1936, the state responded by attempting to solve frontier land disputes both judicially and legislatively and by mediating the sale of estates to *colonos* through a program of land parcelization.

The situation reached a crisis by the early 1930s. On one side, peasant land invasions intensified; on the other, landowners began to organize against what they saw as the "bolshevik" (p. 148) tendencies of national government policy. In this contest, Law 200 (1936) emerged as a compromise between peasant and landowner pressure. While establishing the social function and actual use of property as an important criterion for legal title, the law also rejected all occupations of titled land occurring after 1934. In practice, and with the increasing conservatism of governments in the next ten years, Law 200 "signified the end of the perspective that sought, unsuccessfully, to stimulate agricultural production through the promotion of smallholdings and the support of *colonos* against land speculators" (p. 155).

In an epilogue, LeGrand argues that an understanding of the period of frontier agrarian struggle from 1870 to 1936 must be central to any future analysis of twentieth-century violence in Colombia, be it La Violencia (1948–65) or the present-day guerrilla struggles. She shows that the regions most prominent in the earlier period are also centers of conflict in both later periods. In addition, she points out, squatters and *colonos* in frontier areas have been crucial to other major political movements in Latin America, including the conflicts in Central America, the Cuban revolution of 1959, and recent confrontations in the Brazilian Amazon. One is tempted to add the case of Sendero Luminoso in Peru, where the squatter-cultivators in the coca regions of the upper Huallaga Valley, on the Amazon frontier, continue to constitute the most effective and consistent support for the guerrillas. Yet, in the end, the reader is left wanting more: what makes these frontier zones such fertile political ground? Is it simply their conflictual nature? Or is there something specific about the forms of consciousness and organization that are possible there?

Clearly, LeGrand has good reason to be cautious. As she herself points out, we are only beginning to understand the historical and social role of these frontier areas. Even as we recognize their importance, we have made even less progress in penetrating the interior world of the squatters themselves, in trying to understand the nature of their consciousness and their deeper motives for political action. At the macropolitical level, LeGrand has made an important contribution by demonstrating the longevity of squatter strug-

gles, as well as their centrality to the evolution of land policy and of the modern Colombian state. Once other studies provide a deeper comparative context, we may find that the need to repress the struggles of Latin American peasants, on frontiers and elsewhere, contributed to the consolidation of modern Latin American states that relied excessively on the support of large landholders. Yet we will still need to understand how the peasants themselves viewed that consolidation and how their descendants presently view the decomposition of those same states.

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MICHAEL TAUSSIG. *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study In Terror and Healing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1987. Pp. xix, 517. \$29.95.

In this book Michael Taussig continues his efforts to interpret aspects of Latin American popular culture in terms of, and as a response to, the capitalist economic structure in which it functions. In his earlier book *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (1980), Taussig argued that black sugarcane workers in Colombia's Cauca Valley made devil pacts as a response to their proletarianization. Some reviewers of that book criticized Taussig for discussing devil pacts on the basis of hearsay; he did not actually encounter any sorcerers or peasants involved in devil pacts. Perhaps in compensation, Taussig fills a good part of this volume with first-person descriptions of subsequent sessions with shamans.

Taussig shifts his focus from the sugarcane fields of the Cauca Valley to the indigenes and colonists in the forests of the Putumayo River basin in southeastern Colombia, although he remains concerned with, and stresses that there exists, a cultural dialogue between the shamanic magic of the forest and proletarianized cane workers and others squarely within the capitalist economy.

The book falls into two parts, not well integrated. The first part is a meditation on terror, in which Taussig, in the manner of French poststructuralists, explores the unconscious and unintended meanings of published accounts of the terrorization of Putumayo indigenes by rubber-seeking Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. He argues that terrorization of the indigenes went beyond its economic function (the extraction of rubber), becoming a culture of terror in which European myths about indigenous savagery played an important part. Taussig sees analogies between this culture of terror in the forest and that existing under recent military dictatorships in Latin America. The second part, on "healing," argues, in part, that various sorts of magic found in Colombian popular culture today can be seen as ways of responding to capitalist exploitation. Shamanic sessions, in which the predom-

inant theme is envy, provide a way of dealing with the distress created by the contrast of accumulation and immiserization in a capitalist society. It seems too much, however, to describe this process as "healing." The two parts are linked by a common analytical perspective. Taussig is particularly influenced by the post-Marxian cultural analysis of Walter Benjamin, although Michel Foucault and deconstruction come into play. The two segments also are linked thematically in that in both Taussig emphasizes the dialogue between "civilization" and "savagery."

This book will not be to the taste of many historians. It is deliberately disordered: Taussig views linear, orderly history as an instrument of domination and thus has constructed a "montage" (p. xiv). But the book also contains many brilliant insights, among them his critiques of the "magical realist" novelists of Latin America and of the understandings (or misunderstandings in Taussig's view) of magic ritual in the works of Victor Turner, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and Edward Evans-Pritchard.

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JONATHAN HARTLYN. *Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 66.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1988. Pp. xvii, 332. \$42.50.

This book offers a thorough and often nuanced description of "the rules of the game" through which Liberal and Conservative coalition governments have ruled Colombia since the late 1950s. Here Jonathan Hartlyn is at his best, and his work represents a major contribution to the "how" of politics in Colombia. The author's aim is to describe a "political process [that] has confounded pessimists and disappointed optimists" (p. 235) as a relative success story, and he does so with skill and objectivity. Hartlyn's final call for incremental rather than revolutionary change follows logically from this serious study of a limited form of democratic politics.

Hartlyn also seeks to explain his subject matter, and here the results are less promising. Justly critical of those who have focused on "explanatory factors from 'above' (the state), 'outside' (the international political economy), or 'below' (the urban poor and peasants)," Hartlyn emphasizes the "middle" range, the political regime itself (p. 3). He places his work within the comparative literature on "consociationalism," which provides a theory for the study of limited democracies.

The leaders of the two parties forged their agreements, the author tells us, because they wanted to return to power. Had they not come to terms, their goal would have eluded them. Consociational practices were necessary. The leaders appear to have had some vague idea of what they wanted beyond simple power. Having rejected corporatism and populism, presumably because neither had worked for either the society

or themselves, the politicians chose a consociational regime. They limited the role of the state in society, did not incorporate the masses into politics, did not confront the causes of the previous breakdown or the civil war. Once in power, their ideological differences turned into a personal wrangling for power.

Why such a peculiar, limited form of politics? Beyond the fact that politics had been something like that before, and that the politicians feared mass mobilization, the author does not tell us, for his model is in line with the behavior of Colombian politicians. They acted as they did because their system was consociational. The rules of the game, presidential alternation, partisan fears, the wide array of pressure groups, the need to maintain agreements, all led them in a consociational direction. As happens so often with broad theories, this one turns in on itself, becoming circular.

Consociational practices rely heavily on the ability of politicians to reach compromises. The author points to the importance of leadership, but we are given only a few glimpses of politicians exercising their craft. In his laudable attempt to steer a middle course between "political voluntarism" and "societal determinism," Hartlyn practices a structuralist determinism. Consociationalism, if it is anything, is more than rules of a game. In addition to a middle-level analysis, it calls for an "inside" view. Such a perspective might well have given the author an even greater admiration for the Colombian political process, as well as a heightened sense of despair for its shortcomings.

HERBERT BRAUN
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PAUL W. DRAKE. *Money Doctor in the Andes: The Kemmerer Missions, 1923-1933*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1989. Pp. 335. \$50.00.

An effective monograph, Paul W. Drake's account examines the impact of one of the most successful American foreign advisers of all time. The analysis is consistent with other recent scholarship in modestly revising older dependency perspectives on international economic relations. The context is the growth of capitalism in Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru.

An economist with considerable reputation in finance, Edwin Walter Kemmerer devoutly believed in gold and a laissez-faire political economy. He held fast to his creed in the Great Depression, and his influence declined. Yet for what may be seen as a glorious decade of activity, Kemmerer flourished as an honest broker to governments on four continents. In retrospect it appears that Kemmerer was destined to pursue this career. In 1903 he helped establish the gold standard in the Philippines. Kemmerer's South American missions followed the paths of foreign service brethren, supported by marines, who visited American clients in Central America and the Caribbean. They provided advice, efficacious in varying degrees, affecting central

banking, monetary policy, private bank regulation, and fiscal administration.

Drake uses evidence from a vast array of U.S. and foreign sources to explore several themes: the politics of technical assistance, Kemmerer's relationship to the Andean countries' growing dependence on the United States, the deepening complexity of capitalism in Andean urban sectors, and changes that, paradoxically, made governments both more vulnerable to outside pressures and increasingly capable of ruling at home.

Kemmerer promoted investment in capitalist development, according to his "orthodox system," which prescribed "exchange and monetary stability, foreign debt payments, and balanced budgets" (p. 268). Investment, abetted by foreign borrowing and some institutional and policy reforms, did occur. But the Andean economies became debtors and coped badly in hard times. Inflation and default were two outcomes. Yet domestic strategies eased recovery from depression, partly as economic nationalism somewhat protected Andean economies from external threats. Thus, the Kemmerer reforms served institutionally, while their policy mandates often fell by the wayside.

Drake advances dependency thinking about international economic relations. He demonstrates that "structural change occurred [in the Andean states] within a dependent context" of U.S. hegemony (p. 262). Although the book does not provide an edge likely to advance research in economic theory, it illuminates, in chapters on each of the Andean countries, the complexity of the powers involved.

The North American development model's power was largely independent of its agents' persuasiveness. Those agents served American groups, but the Kemmerer missions also aggrandized strong South American interests and maintained a nearly universal image of integrity and objectivity. Though not total, the power of advisers was immense, particularly in the authority of their positivistic assumptions. Kemmerer's reports on different countries were so identical that, diplomacy and negotiations aside, "he could have delivered most of his laws by mail" (p. 250). Moreover, politics was not simple. The power of shifting coalitions of interests and actors makes it nearly impossible to generalize, as dependency theorists have sometimes done, about the relative impact of contingent and independent, domestic and foreign factors on decision making. Drake writes that "internal and external actors . . . clashed as well as cooperated in their pursuit of advantageous positions in an increasingly internationalized economy" (p. 2).

Drake suggests similarities between the economic situation of the Andean states from 1920 to 1933 and the plight of Latin American debtor nations in the current era, but he wisely refrains from extended analysis on the theme. If an earlier age sustained no "coherent, compelling alternative model of development" (p. 270), it may be true that in the 1980s there was also virtually no alternative to the prevailing one. Ailing states may yearn for a "money doctor." But

there is little confidence that experts know enough about the wiles of politics and the globally interdependent economy, if that is indeed the proper economic model, to concoct as apparently as sure a remedy as Kemmerer had when the analogy of North American growth appeared to so many to be such a good thing.

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PATRICIA PARKMAN. *Nonviolent Insurrection in El Salvador: The Fall of Maximiliano Hernández Martínez*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1988. Pp. xi, 168. \$28.95.

In this brief volume Patricia Parkman details the strike that was the final step in the fall of the regime of General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez in El Salvador in 1944. The author divides the book's one hundred pages of text into approximately equal sections: a rather broad background sketch and a detailed narration of the events of April 19 through May 11, 1944. The book includes a chronology as an appendix because the topical organization of the volume means that events are not necessarily treated in sequence.

Focusing the account of the crisis on the organization and conduct of the strike, Parkman demonstrates the pivotal role of the students in a political crisis resulting from a tight, *personalista* dictatorship. The student-led strike constituted an act of desperation in the wake of an unsuccessful military uprising a few days earlier. The situation was ripe for political change. The already-aging regime had alienated the urban middle classes by extending Martínez's term of office, and his inauguration to the new term provided the stimulus for the outburst of national disaffection. Although the events did lead to the ouster of the dictator, the success proved short-lived, and the military soon returned to control.

Through detailed research focusing on the 1944 strike, Parkman makes effective use of limited records, although the book reflects those limits. In addition to information drawn from contemporary periodicals, the limited Salvadoran documents available, and the appropriate U.S. State Department documents. Parkman introduces new material gathered from U.S. military intelligence files and from interviews with participants and survivors of the era. Although some of the interviews are unattributed, most are fully cited, and Parkman uses them effectively to show the viewpoints of the various participants and to reconstruct undocumented events. The principal State Department files are cited, but there are surprisingly few citations to the subfiles, such as the 816.01 file. Parkman also uses post records, which contain significant data regarding a period of turmoil such as the one under discussion. The research, however, appears somewhat dated with citations to only a handful of items published since 1979. Items that could provide significant context or comparisons are conspicuous by their absence, a regrettable

situation in view of the plethora of recent publications dealing with Central America.

Parkman's contention that the events of 1944 are evidence of a "Latin American tradition of nonviolent political struggle" (p. 2) will certainly prove controversial. Her effort to link that episode with recent events in other parts of the world adds little to the narration of the events and contains few specifics or comparisons to other countries to substantiate this contention. Many specialists will certainly be skeptical, noting that the strike occurred in the wake of the failure of the military revolt and that it was a desperate and unplanned measure. It succeeded only because of the weakness of the regime and the reluctance of Martínez to order his troops to fire on the crowds. The strike would have been far more politically significant if it had preceded the military uprising. Yet the events do demonstrate both the degree to which the regime's collapse was brought about by the urban middle class, which the students represented, and the fact that the urban middle class acted in isolation from the peasants in the countryside, who backed the government.

Parkman's account, although brief and narrowly focused, constitutes a significant addition to the literature dealing with El Salvador. The history of the Martínez regime remains to be written, but studies such as this one shed light on portions of that important but neglected era. Students of revolution will find Parkman's contentions speculative.

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JOHN M. KIRK. *Between God and the Party: Religion and Politics in Revolutionary Cuba*. Tampa: University of South Florida Press. 1989. Pp. xxi, 231. Cloth \$22.00, paper \$15.00.

John M. Kirk focuses on church-state relations in Cuba. The first third of the book summarizes those relations from 1492 to revolutionary victory in 1959; the remainder details those relations after 1959. "Church" in this book typically means the Roman Catholic church, although Kirk also makes some apt and useful comparisons between the Cuban Catholic and Protestant churches and their relations to the state before and after 1959.

The book's strength is its coverage of the official aspects of institutional church-state relations since 1959. Kirk gives a full, rounded discussion of the views of Cuba's Roman Catholic bishops, of President Fidel Castro, and of the Cuban Communist party's statements on religion. Particularly valuable is his discussion of the bishops' initiatives in the 1970s and 1980s to change the nature of church-state relations. Also thoughtful is Kirk's analysis of the church's response to its terrible experience in the 1960s: after the government nearly crushed the church, the remaining Cath-

olics had to reconstruct a community of faith in a hostile environment.

Kirk's overarching argument is that the church had failed historically to reflect the Cuban people's national aspirations, that before 1959 it was associated mainly with Cuban elites, that during the crucial 1959-61 conflict with the revolutionary government the bishops overestimated their societal strength, and that their fierce attack on the revolutionary regime provoked the regime into a repression from which it took the church a quarter-century to recover.

Kirk has a benign view of the regime's policies toward the church, and, in particular, he exonerates Castro from responsibility for excesses that his government might have committed against the church (for example, pp. xix, 106-08, 121-24, 131-37, and 162-69). Kirk suggests that the harsh 1975 First Communist Party Congress "Thesis" on religion was contrary to Castro's preferences (the evidence for this proposition is ambiguous, however). Kirk also asserts that Castro's views about religion have remained consistent over time and quite welcoming toward religious believers. Therefore, the markedly improved church-state relations of the 1980s are explained because "it is in many ways the church that has moved, not Fidel Castro" (p. 177), as a result of the church's experiencing at last the effects of the Second Vatican Council and other changes in worldwide Catholicism.

The book's most important omission is its utter inattention to the still-lively legacy of African religions practiced in Cuba and to religious syncretism between Catholicism and African religions. The book's most important weakness is its reluctance to question the regime's account of church-state relations. Contrary to Kirk's thesis, church and state were both responsible for the 1959-61 conflict; Castro made those key decisions. Similarly, the Cuban Communist party's reluctance in the 1970s to recognize changes in the Cuban church paralleled Castro's own views: Castro's "welcoming" comments to Catholics in the 1970s were always made outside Cuba and typically to Catholic audiences that supported political positions that Castro supported. Moreover, the relative lack of change in Castro's and the Cuban government's positions (which Kirk notes, though without changing his argument) explains the slow progress in improving church-state relations in the 1980s: the bishops have been ahead of government leaders in seeking ways to reduce conflict and permit the participation of Catholics in societal activities.

This thoughtful, valuable book would have benefited from greater skepticism toward the words and the symbols displayed by both church and state.

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WILLIAM H. BEEZLEY and JUDITH EWELL, editors. *The Human Tradition in Latin America: The Twentieth Century*.

Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1987. Pp. xxviii, 311. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$12.95.

This collection of the life stories of "ordinary" people from twentieth-century Latin America is an invaluable tool for teaching and a thick bundle of ideas for research in social history. There is a suggestive introductory essay by William H. Beezley on history as individual human experience. Then twenty-one sketches—inevitably uneven in both quality and character—take the reader into the fascinating labyrinth of life as lived in recent times by some real people struggling to make their way in the harsh world shaped for them by twentieth-century capitalism. These people have lives that are sometimes terribly constricted but reveal intelligence, passion, dignity, determination, resourcefulness, even a sense of humor. They are obliged to struggle against great odds and in different ways have proved more or less adequate to the challenges that face them, but only a few of them have joined with others in struggles for social change. The book is therefore concerned less with systems of oppression, or with social movements, than with the character, frustrations, and occasional small individual successes of life itself. Therein lies its singular contribution to our understanding of the relative autonomy, the unpredictability, the folly, and the wisdom, strength, and potential of the millions of individual actors who play the key supporting roles in history's drama. Their efforts, which have constituted or given substance to the broader processes with which social science is normally concerned, ought to have attracted a great deal more attention from historians than in fact they have.

There are glimpses here of some middle-class women of independent mind and action: Judith Ewell on the Venezuelan perpetrator of a sensational crime of passion; Susan Besse and K. Lynn Stoner on a Brazilian and a Cuban pioneer of women's liberation and socialism; Marjory Agosin on the Chilean mother of a "disappeared" person. We are introduced to poor women of strong character: Mary Ann Medlin on

Bolivian weavers of two generations; Enrique de Acebo Ibáñez on an urban squatter in Buenos Aires; Warren Hewitt on the prime mover of a base Christian community in São Paulo; Lynn Phillips on a country housewife in coastal Ecuador; Dianne Walta Hart on a Sandinista cosmetologist in Nicaragua. There are lives of both peasant and proletarian men: Rene Arze Aguirre on a Quechua-speaking Bolivian veteran of the Chaco War; Ana Núñez Machin with Louis Pérez, Jr., on a Cuban cane cutter; Vincent Peloso on a black Peruvian tenant farmer; Steve Stein on a pioneer working-class Peruvian soccer player. There are wrenching accounts of the "marginalized": Oscar Martínez on a Mexican border-town prostitute; Michael Shifter on a pair of Colombian street urchins. Finally, there are stories of men more visible than others in their own times and places: Michael Conniff on a black Panamanian pundit; Frederick Nunn on a Chilean military socialist; David LaFrance and G. P. C. Thomson on a traditional Mexican *cacique* from Puebla; Gilbert Joseph and Allen Wells on a postrevolutionary *cacique* from Yucatán; Harold Greer on a Baptist preacher in Castro's Cuba; Harold Guy Bensusan on Carlos Gardel, the immortal interpreter of the Argentine tango.

The authors, anthropologists and historians, write with different purposes and widely diverging standards; their editors may perhaps be faulted for not having established more consistency in style and format. There are some essays in popularized social science that are barely biographical at all; others deal quite probingly with their subjects. But the virtues of the collection far outweigh this awkwardness, and it may be recommended to any student of contemporary Latin America who is willing to put aside the conventions of historical scholarship for a moment, in the interest of meeting some interesting people who are in the process both of enduring and of helping "make" history.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

One brief supplement to Louis R. Harlan's thoughtful presidential plea for historians to support their national professional association (*AHR*, 95 [February 1990]: 1–8). All the forces Harlan cites have indeed operated to make many historians turn toward smaller, narrower organizations as their own professional identity shrinks in scope. Related to this is one of the trends delineated in Peter Novick's *That Noble Dream*—what we might define as a decisive rejection of “philosophy” and of an older notion of the scholarly role.

In this older role definition, a scholar was not only an expert on one specific slice of experience but also had the duty to relate her own specialty to the larger world of knowledge, and to have mental mechanisms for dealing with cognitive dissonance—i.e., with what used to be called “conflicting interpretations.” This broader, reflexive model has eroded over the last generation, to be replaced for many by the “industrious researcher” model, she/he who knows very much about a narrow field and expects this knowledge to snap into place with other researches in a jigsaw-puzzle manner.

It should be obvious that, from this viewpoint, the *AHR*, in its responsible and intelligent efforts to survey many areas of history and provide bases for allowing historians to speak to one another, has in fact marginalized itself. From the “industrious researcher” point of view, only research work focused on similar materials—and in practice, starting from the same assumptions—will be seen as useful and relevant. There is no way that a broadly focused journal can meet such narrowly focused expectations, except by encouraging intense

methodological critiques of paradigm-setting works of research scholarship. But that might well violate other norms of the covert professional culture.

FRED MATTHEWS
York University

LOUIS HARLAN REPLIES:

Fred Matthews states very well the dilemma of a comprehensive professional body and its journal at a time when many historians are narrowing their professional identities. There are several other simultaneous trends in the profession. As I suggested in my address, we are also broadening our conception of which and whose human experiences are appropriate for historical study, including those of racial minorities, women, and the working class, and other aspects of everyday life such as popular culture and sex. More and more historians are finding their scholarly work and careers outside the academy. I sought in my address to discourage overspecialization, to encourage a broad conception of history's scope of inquiry, and to urge first-class citizenship for nonacademic historians. Trendiness should not be the criterion but, rather, better understanding of the past.

At the risk of being old-fashioned, then, I encourage the *AHR* to struggle against overspecialization, not by wringing its hands but by publishing more review essays, comparative approaches, and pathbreaking essays. These changes might marginalize the *AHR* in the eyes of some readers, but many of the historical specialists I know already feel marginalized by their shrinking audiences, whereas the *AHR* still offers its authors the largest circulation of any journal in the profession. It is also very possible that the cyclical trend toward overspecialization has reached its limits, and the pendulum of historical fashion may be swinging back again toward synthesis and breadth of understanding.

LOUIS R. HARLAN
University of Maryland,
College Park

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

Eugene Charlton Black's review of my *Popular Politics and the American Revolution in England: Petitions, the Crown, and Public Opinion* (1986) (*AHR*, 94 [December 1989]: 1375–77), contains misleading, inaccurate, and unfair statements that seriously distort the central arguments of my book. The most significant misperception concerns my main thesis: Black states that I "suggest" that "high political principle, not the religious or economic differences cited by most scholars" was what divided England, yet later in the review he notes that I locate the "bases for controversy" in the disabilities of the Nonconformists. I compared the baptismal registers of the Nonconformists and all the available occupational data to the signatures on the petitions, and much of my argument was designed to illustrate the complexity of human motivation in popular politics. My book provides evidence for a connection between pro-American sentiment and the discontent of urban artisans that corroborates Peter Marshall's work on Manchester and John Sainsbury's recent book on London. I clearly stated that "both socio-economic and religious differences contributed directly to the emergence of these documents" (p. 193), and it was precisely the interaction of these elements that gave meaning and force to popular politics (pp. 132, 194–95, 201–03).

Secondly, Black makes my arguments concerning local issues sound ridiculously simple, and he says that I unwittingly supply "weighty evidence" against my own viewpoint. I did not argue that radicalism had a national "rather than" a local basis: I showed instead that the genuine ideological issues that troubled the nation interacted with local needs, and the result was a complex amalgam of ideology and interest on both sides of the debate (pp. 11, 176–77, 202–03). Black's review shows little appreciation for the subtleties involved in the debate over deference or how my book fits into the ongoing conversation concerning "provincial introversion."

Black misconstrued my assessment of the scholarly consensus on the popularity of the war; he implies that I fabricated a "straw man" with my argument that many specialists believe that coercive measures were popular. Instead, I provided a lengthy paradigm of scholarship on the topic of the popularity of the war (pp. 5–9) in order to show how the neglect of the period 1775 to 1780 and the concentration on parliamentary elections has allowed prominent scholars such as George Rudé, Benjamin Labaree, and Ian Christie to declare that pro-Americanism was confined "to higher social circles and does not appear as an expression of popular opinion" (p. 5), and that in Lord North's decision to crush the rebellion, he "was carrying out Parliament's—indeed, the country's—will" (p. 8).

The review is further flawed by inaccuracies. Pro-American sentiment outside of Parliament has *not*, contrary to Black's assertion, been "much studied"; such sentiment in the large cities of Bristol, Norwich, Newcastle upon Tyne, Liverpool, Halifax, Leeds, Coventry, Worcester, Nottingham, Colchester, and in the five smaller boroughs in my book has been almost totally neglected. The quote from page 89 must be put in context, and if it is seen in context, then I will not be found "retreating to a more judicious view" later in my book. I was arguing on page 89 that just as many coercive addressers represented the borough elite as aldermen and mayors and were hence unrepresentative of the nation at large. "In this respect," I said, the pro-government majorities in Parliament "represented" a minority of the English people. I rechecked all of my footnotes and found not one (let alone "several") short titles appearing before full references. Charges of carelessness ought to be made with greater care.

Black may justifiably disagree with my arguments that petitions represent expressions of genuine opinion, but it is unfair to imply that I have not considered the inherent problem in comparing eighteenth-century political expressions with "our modern sense of public opinion." For example, I make it clear that one cannot simply accept eighteenth-century claims of public opinion as representing genuine opinion (p. 174); I argue that elections cannot always be construed as accurate indices of opinion (pp. 4, 11); and I note how government supporters like Samuel Johnson and others (pp. 93, 146–47) doubted the relation between signing petitions and genuine political convictions. Black makes it sound as if these are all points that can be advanced against my book, when in fact they are arguments that I address at length. To be sure, I compared the *structure* of electoral and popular politics, but I explicitly questioned the usefulness of electoral data in any attempt to determine the nature of public opinion (pp. 86–87).

JAMES E. BRADLEY
Pasadena, California

EUGENE BLACK REPLIES:

I do not believe that I have made misleading, inaccurate, or unfair statements about Bradley's book, but I fear that those who wish to pursue the questions Bradley raises must actually read his book and my review. One part of Bradley's study is a searching statistical analysis of an estimated 50,000 petitioners and a closer examination of a rather restricted area of England (Great Yarmouth, Cambridge, Southampton, Bridgwater, and Poole) and of the twenty-six places that sent both petitions and supporting addresses.

Bradley disclaims (citing p. 174 of his book) to have pronounced on "genuine" opinion, but that is precisely what he does. Bradley asserts that "as much as a third of the political nation opposed the government's American policy" (p. 210), for which his evidence is the 2 to

1 division against Burke's motion for conciliation in Parliament. This minority is then called, in a summary paragraph, "the voice of the English people," a "substantial minority of the common people" and "the people of England" (p. 215).

At best something less than 10 percent of the electorate opposed Lord North's American policy if one is to take Bradley's own comparison of the number of petitioners and electors in the several constituencies. That may or may not be "a substantial minority," but even his conclusion surely should have been that a substantial, even an overwhelming majority of Britons supported the government's policy in the mid-1770s.

Here, as in my review itself, I give Bradley high marks for his prodigious archival work, which has salvaged real opposition from the unrecorded dustbin to which Lord North believed he had consigned it by denying *Gazette* acknowledgment. Bradley has also told us much about the communities he studies in detail, although more about religion and society than about the broader social, economic, and political context that he claims. While he alludes, quite properly as he protests, to a variety of factors, Bradley continually tiptoes toward while never quite asserting a Dissent/conciliation-Anglican/coercion paradigm (pp. 201-02).

Most historians will still properly turn to Ian Christie. Bradley has not demonstrated his more ambitious arguments. The case for the broad unpopularity of the government's American policy in 1775 is not made.

EUGENE CHARLTON BLACK
Brandeis University

TO THE EDITOR:

I am glad that Moojan Momen liked my book *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East* (AHR, 95 [February 1990]: 222-23). But I would take issue with several of the points he makes.

The Carter administration human rights policy, coupled with the shah's relative liberalization in 1976-77, did create the impression in Iran that the Pahlavi regime was no longer invulnerable. This encouraged previously unthinkable protests. The evidence I present in the book makes this clear. As for Khomeini's charisma, it was much greater in the late 1970s than it had been in 1963, when he was relatively unknown. By the time of the revolution, he had come to be identified with the messianic hidden Imam among some social strata, and he benefited from the impact of Shari'ati's version of "liberation theology" on the educated young.

Momen says that the flight of the leading Shi'i 'ulama from Iraq to Qum in the early 1920s was only temporary. Some of those who left Iraq did indeed return. But 'Abd al-Karim Ha'iri-Yazdi did not. It is true, however, as Momen notes in his excellent book *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, that Ha'iri-Yazdi had left Iraq already in 1914 although he did not start teaching in Qum until the early 1920s (p. 313).

Momen denies the existence of the principle that there should be one (supreme) *marja' al-taqlid*. In practice of course, there have often been several *marji'* at a time. But the idea that there should be one supreme *marja'* has existed since the nineteenth century (see Nikki Keddie's *Religion and Politics in Iran* [New Haven, Conn., 1983], p. 9). Abbas Amanat has recently argued that the existence of this idea was due to pragmatic rather than doctrinal factors (see his essay in *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism*, Said Amir Arjomand, ed.). But not even Amanat has denied that the idea existed.

Momen contends that the belief that Shi'is should pay the "share of the Imam" has been restricted to merchants and traders of the bazaar. I concede that peasants have often not paid this religious tax, but Reinhold Loeffler's *Islam in Practice* (1988) suggests that even some villagers who do not pay it believe they should (pp. 56, 192). I have seen no evidence to suggest that only the *bazaaris* believe that the payment of this Shi'i religious tax is obligatory.

Momen chides me for saying that "strictly speaking" the term *mullah* refers only to low-ranking teachers of the Qur'an although it is often used more generally to refer to the 'ulama as a whole. In *Religion and State in Iran, 1785-1906*, Hamid Algar defines a *mullah* as "a lesser member of the religious classes" ([Berkeley, Calif., 1969], p. 264). This certainly seems to be the basic meaning in the popular mind, although the word is also used to refer to any of the 'ulama.

As for Momen's contention that the Shi'i rituals do not involve music or dancing, I would cite Peter Chelkowski's observation that "many musicologists have praised Ta'zieh for its role in preserving traditional Persian music" (*Ta'zieh: Ritual and Drama in Iran* [New York, 1979], p. 266). In speaking of "dancing," I was thinking of the stylized movements of the *ta'ziya* and of the rhythmic beating of the breasts that is conventional on 'Ashura. These are admittedly not dancing as this word is generally used.

My own anthropological research has focused primarily on Sunni Morocco rather than Shi'i Iran. Momen is a highly respected scholar who obviously knows Shi'ism far better than I do. Given this fact, I am pleased that the inaccuracies to which he alludes do not in fact seem to be all that inaccurate.

HENRY MUNSON, JR.
Orono, Maine

MOOJAN MOMEN REPLIES:

This not so much a response to Henry Munson as a clarification of some of the rather terse comments that I made in my review. Several of the points that I made were not so much meant to imply that Munson is being inaccurate as that he is being more dogmatic and definite than the facts warrant. Not unnaturally, writers like to have neat and tidy concepts to put over to

their readers. Unfortunately, the Shi'i world is not a neat and tidy place.

Western writers have referred to the concept of a sole *marja'at-taqlid*, and this has led Munson to state that "in principle there is supposed to be one such *marja'-i taqlid* at any given time (p. 32)." This sounds as though we are dealing with the same sort of situation as the pope, where the norm is one pope at a time, and the period of history when there were two popes is regarded as an aberration. But in the Shi'i world, such matters are decided by realpolitik rather than principle. The evolution of the idea of sole *marja'* follows the event rather than being the principle that determines it. I do not deny that there has been an "idea" of a sole *marja' at-taqlid* in the Shi'i world—but to try to elevate this into a "principle" or a norm is going too far. The presence of more than one *marja'* has been the rule rather than the exception for most of the past two centuries (see, for example, p. 331, nn. 21 and 22, in my book, *Introduction to Shi'i Islam*). Shi'is do not feel in the least discomfited by this as they would if it were a "principle" that there be only one *marja'*.

Similarly, the sources on which Munson has relied state that every Twelver Shi'i pays the "share of the Imam" to his *marja'*. I do not deny that this occurs. But prior to the recent revolution, it was only carried out by a minority in Iran (bearing in mind that most of Iran's population is rural and has been nomadic). Outside Iran and Iraq, most Shi'is, prior to the present decade, were even unaware of the need to follow a *marja'*, let alone the requirement to pay the "share of the Imam" to him. Thus the statement that the "overwhelming majority" of Twelver Shi'is in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have believed that they should pay the tithe to their *marja'* is too sweeping in its scope.

The concept of the *marja' at-taqlid* emerged strongly only at the end of the eighteenth century after the Usuli victory over the Akhbaris. It then diffused through only Iran, Iraq, and a small part of India. It was rejected by the majority in Bahrain and does not seem to have reached Lebanon and Pakistan at all until recent decades.

Ha'iri-Yazdi was not one of the 'ulama who fled from Iraq to Qum in 1923. All of the leading figures who fled at this time returned to Iraq one year later.

The term "mulla" was applied in the Safavid period to the highest 'ulama such as Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majalisi. It was progressively downgraded until, just prior to the recent revolution, it ranked as little more than an insult to call someone a mulla. It is rather difficult to know therefore what "strictly speaking" (p. 33) the term means. A similar downgrading has occurred with other terms. Hujjat al-Islam (which is one of the titles of the Hidden Imam) was used only of the highest ranking 'ulama of the Qajar period such as Mirza-yi Shirazi. Now it is used to denote the lower-ranking *mujtahids*. Even "Ayatullah" (another of the titles of the Hidden Imam) has been downgraded

during this century, and so a new term, Ayatullah al-'Uzma, has had to be invented.

MOOJAN MOMEN
Bedfordshire, England

TO THE EDITOR:

I owe it to myself and the readers of this journal to correct some misstatements of fact by Edward Lurie in his review (*AHR*, 95 [February 1990]: 277–78) of my book *The Launching of Modern American Science, 1846–1876*. I do not quarrel with everything in that review. Lurie explicitly acknowledges the importance of the subject, the validity of my approach to it, and the thoroughness of my research. He pays an implicit though doubtless unintended tribute to my writing style by quoting perfectly acceptable examples of it as the worst he can find. He even brings himself to report that "incidentally" the book won the Pulitzer Prize in history. I thank him for that much.

But Lurie also states, without offering evidence, that my writing is "consistently marred by parenthetical clauses, compound verbs, odd colloquialisms, and bad English usage." That statement is untrue. I have used parenthetical clauses only where appropriate. I am not sure what he means by a "compound verb" or why it is a bad thing, but I know of nothing in the book that seems to fit that description. Neither am I aware of having used "odd colloquialisms" (an oxymoron) "consistently" or at all. As for "consistently . . . bad English usage," Lurie's review does not offer a single example. Nor has one ever been called to my attention, though one or two might have been expected in a substantial book. On the contrary, most reviewers have made a point of praising my use of English.

Lurie claims that in my book "it is never really clear what the 'impact' and meaning of the Civil War was for science." That too is false. Chapters 20, 21, and 22 clearly, definitely, and emphatically state that impact and meaning, in general and in detail, with full supporting evidence and illustrations. He claims that "the volume really does not define or specify what is peculiarly 'American' about the science or social processes described, aside from a vague environmental determinism that encouraged data gathering." Not so. Chapter 6 is entirely devoted to that question, and there is nothing "vague" about it. It is specific and precise in defining and presenting evidence for my main hypothesis, its corollaries, and other "peculiarly American" characteristics of the "processes described." Further evidence and applications are specified at other points in the book.

Lurie purports to be disappointed that the author did not "rise above his material and conceptualize such issues as the typology of establishments and their special relationship to national culture." "Conceptualization," according to my dictionary, means forming ideas about something. In point of fact, I did form and express ideas about "establishments," formal and infor-

mal, considering them both individually and as "types," as well as their relationship to "national culture" or at least scientific and technological culture. I also formed and expressed ideas about many other issues, although, unendowed with the soaring spirit of a hot-air balloonist, I may not have risen as high above my "material," i.e., the facts, as Lurie would have liked, nor did I find occasion to cite his thinkpieces.

The foregoing are matters of readily verifiable fact. As for matters of opinion, Lurie professes to feel that "intrusive quantification serves only to confuse and sidetrack the reader" and that it should have been "neatly summarized in the text." It not only should have been, it was. As one reviewer put it, "It is rewarding to see how well [Bruce] blends the quantitative with more conventional qualitative materials."

Lurie is also offended by what he considers too much detail in my book. "It is unfortunate," he says, "that Bruce did not realize that less can really be more." I do realize that in some cases less can really be more. But I also realize that in other cases less can really be less. It would have been so with Lurie's own major work, his superb 1960 biography of Louis Agassiz, which should have won a Pulitzer, and from which I drew the characterization of Agassiz that Lurie's review condemns as unfair. Although Lurie's study of Agassiz is longer than mine of that whole generation of scientists, it would have been far less effective without its wealth of detail. I believe that the same would have been true of my book, given its comprehensive scope and its descriptive and narrative as well as analytical purpose. And a number of reviewers have said as much.

The extraordinarily vituperative tone of Lurie's review suggests personal animosity. Whatever the case, I am sure Lurie will join with me in urging interested readers not to take either my word or his word alone but to judge the book for themselves.

ROBERT V. BRUCE
Boston University

EDWARD LURIE REPLIES:

I appreciated Robert Bruce's letter, as I found it an interesting example of that literary genre—the letter from the aggrieved author—recently delineated by Paul Fussell in his trenchant essay "'A Power of Facing Unpleasant Facts,'" a quality I adjure Bruce to take to heart.

EDWARD LURIE
University of Delaware

TO THE EDITOR:

Paul Rosenfeld's review of my book *The van Arteveldes of Ghent: The Varieties of Vendetta and the Hero in History* (AHR, 95 [April 1990]: 483–84) proves, as my "awesome erudition" cannot, the truth of the book's three concluding sentences (p. 198): "Exposure of the per-

sonal flaws of the van Arteveldes will not tarnish them in the eyes of folk ideologues anywhere. For objective existence in history is reserved to mortal men. The hero exists in the mind, outside history."

DAVID NICHOLAS
Clemson University

PAUL ROSENFELD REPLIES:

David Nicholas's contention that the hero lacks objective existence is denied by the whole of recorded history and repudiates common sense. It moreover exemplifies the logical fallacy "in which a premise is assumed to be true without warrant or in which what is to be proved is implicitly taken for granted" (Webster's *Third New International Dictionary*, s.v. *petitio principii*).

I doubt that the author's revelations about the lives of James and Philip van Artevelde will spark any reassessment of their historical reputation, even among writers who are not "folk ideologues." For the people of the Middle Ages were not necessarily wrongheaded in dissociating renown from the observance of conventional morality, as Nicholas implies throughout the book. The career of Richard the Lion-Hearted, whose innumerable misdeeds did not prevent him from embodying the chivalric ideal in its prime, and the criminal lives that so many other medieval worthies led, illustrates this schism between ethics and fame. It is moreover axiomatic that judgments about the past should be framed exclusively within the historical context and not fashioned out of the anachronistic and wholly unrelated notions of a later age. David Nicholas, however, thinks otherwise. His book also reflects the temper of our own time, with its pervasive mood of denigration, its eagerness to demythologize and deconstruct. Small wonder that it is biased and tendentious from beginning to end.

PAUL ROSENFELD
Rutgers University,
Newark

TO THE EDITOR:

Perhaps like many scholars who resolved never to respond to an unflattering review, I have changed my mind. When my work is misrepresented, it makes me angry. I address Marc Raeff's review of my book, *Tsar Paul and the Question of Madness: An Essay in History and Psychology* (AHR, 95 [April 1990]: 547–48).

The gravest point Raeff makes is that the mere examination of the question of Paul's madness is nonsense, because, though his assassins "justified their bloody deed by claiming that the emperor was mad . . . no historian, I think, has ever taken this self-serving explanation seriously." In fact, the many historians who took it seriously are copiously quoted in the book. Thus Platonov: Paul was "a broken man . . . mentally and spiritually." Waliszewski: "abnormal

constitution of mind." Bruun: "pathologically unbalanced." Kliuchevskii: "morally abnormal." Shumigorskii: "sick person in need of supervision and care." Morane: "degenerate of a high type." Shil'der is more severe, and two Russian psychiatrists, Chizh (1907) and Kovalevskii (1909), devoted books to Paul's doubtful mental condition.

The idea was doubtlessly suggested to the historians by Paul's many contemporaries who were not among the assassins. Thus the empress remarked on the "disorder of his faculties." The French ambassador: "his mind is deranged." The Sardinian ambassador: "the Emperor is mad." The English ambassador: "literally [*sic*] not in his senses." The Russian ambassador in London: "[he] has gone mad," "visible dementia," "his mind was deranged."

All of these quotations are in the book. It is hardly possible to misunderstand them.

Raeff writes that I do not provide a "convincing (or novel) explanation for Paul's behavior." Whether it is convincing other readers must decide, but the novelty of it is plain. It is grounded both in the medical and psychiatric literature of the late eighteenth century and in the diagnostics of the current American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (1980). Neither kind of explanation has been attempted before—in reference to any historical figure, so far as I know.

Raeff says that I contribute no new facts. This observation is true in part only of the historical section of the book. A psychological study requires a biographical foundation, and I have drawn heavily on the literature. Chapter 4, however, relies on the unpublished archival manuscripts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, Merseburg, Bremen, and Hamburg to describe a previously unknown dimension of the conspiracy, the plot to make Paul *appear* mad, or madder than he was. All of this is new evidence.

Raeff refers to "mistranslations and confusing quotations," though he cites none. I concede confusing quotations. Paul's writing was often confused, and clearing it up—apart from the fact that it is against the rules of our craft—would have falsified the very documents that reveal his mental condition. As for mistranslations, where? I doubt it. A critic whom I believe to have been Raeff alleged particular ones in a pre-publication review (for another press), but I was able to satisfy the editor that he was wrong.

Raeff points out that I attribute to Empress Mariia Fedorovna verses that she copied from Molière, *Les Femmes savantes*. He is right, and I regret it. I owe the error to her biographer Shumigorskii.

The preface of the book states what half the book exemplifies, that it is a study not only of Paul but of the methodology of using psychology or psychiatry in historical research. Half the content of a book is probably worthy of mention in a review, but it is not mentioned in this one.

I believe that these facts demonstrate that my work has been seriously misrepresented. It annoys me more

than I can say to think that anyone who read the review might miss my response to it. Such a review inflicts personal hurt, perhaps even professional damage. Why Raeff should resort to misrepresentation in order to achieve such a result—and to employ a style of sarcasm and contempt in the process—is incomprehensible to me. I challenge him to explain.

HUGH RAGSDALE
University of Alabama,
Tuscaloosa

Marc Raeff does not wish to reply.

THE EDITOR

TO THE EDITOR:

I welcome informed and thoughtful criticism of my book *The American Telegrapher: A Social History, 1860–1900*, but I was surprised to find that David Bensman's review in the April 1990 *AHR* fundamentally misread and misrepresented the essence of the book (pp. 599–600).

Bensman's discussion of my "central argument—that telegraphers were part of a new middle class created by the growth of corporate capitalism"—inexplicably misses the point of that argument. He has me drawing a rigid line between the working class and such denizens of the new lower middle class as telegraphers, when the clear intent of my study is nearly the opposite. I argued at great length and in great detail—by exploring telegraphers' families, income, attitudes, and amusements—that the border separating blue and petty white-collar worlds was in fact permeable and flexible. I deliberately used Leon Fink's nicely turned phrase "popular gentility" to encompass a cultural zone in which both labor aristocrats and office workers often dwelled. Time and again, for men and women telegraphers, I stressed the social tension and ambivalence inherent in lower-middle-class lives of the era. Contrary to Bensman, nowhere, even implicitly, did I characterize working-class culture as "boisterous and uncouth." If anything, I took pains to show that "genteel" telegraphers were as liable as coopers or boilermakers to ogle vaudeville queens or tie one on at a corner saloon. White and blue-collar workers were decidedly different, and the peculiar circumstances of their respective class experiences were real enough; but they sometimes lived in close and uneasy proximity, culturally as well as physically. This is the crux of my book, as other reviewers have readily understood. I am sorry that Bensman failed to grasp that.

EDWIN GABLER
University of Maryland,
College Park

DAVID BENSMAN REPLIES:

I am sorry that Edwin Gabler takes exception to my review of his book, for it was my intent to convey my appreciation for his fine work and to indicate that it had made an important contribution to the cultural history of American working people. My criticism was not meant to denigrate Gabler's contribution but to help historians push more deeply into important issues Gabler's study raised.

It is indeed true that Gabler does not draw a rigid line between "the working class and such denizens of the new lower middle class as telegraphers." And it is true that Gabler argues that "the border separating blue and petty white-collar worlds was in fact permeable and flexible," although I think it is only fair to point out that Gabler argues this point at greater length when discussing female telegraphers than when discussing men. Gabler's letter takes such pains to point out the nuances in his argument that it fails to state his argument, which I think I fairly summarized in my review: "that telegraphers were part of a new middle class created by the growth of corporate capitalism." Gabler attempts to demonstrate throughout his book that there was a significant cultural difference, though not a rigid line, between telegraphers and other white-collar workers on the one hand and the blue-collar

workers who have been the subject of most labor history on the other.

My criticism of Gabler was that his examination of the cultural differences between the emerging lower middle class and the working class was not sufficiently rigorous. To begin with, in most instances where Gabler contrasts telegraphers with other workers, he contrasts them with unskilled workers. When Gabler compares telegraphers with skilled workers, he often stresses their cultural affinities; indeed, he twice refers to Fink's concept of "popular gentility." This raises questions: what was the culture of skilled workers? (Were there several distinguishable subcultures?) How exactly were telegraphers different from machinists, printers, hatters, and other skilled workers for whom respectability was so important? Gabler's examples convinced me that male and female telegraphers probably spent more on clothing and dressed differently than did most skilled workers, but, in other respects, I found Gabler's evidence suggestive but not by any means conclusive.

This did not lead me to the conclusion that Gabler's study was without value; on the contrary, it is valuable because it raises issues that require further research and analysis.

DAVID BENSMAN
Rutgers University

American Historical Association

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MEMBERSHIP: persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's annual meeting takes place December 27–30. The meeting in 1990 will be held in New York. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes its *Annual Report, Perspectives* (newsletter with classified listings), and a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

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CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Director at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

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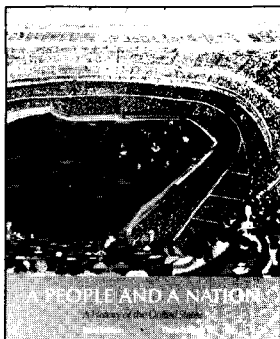
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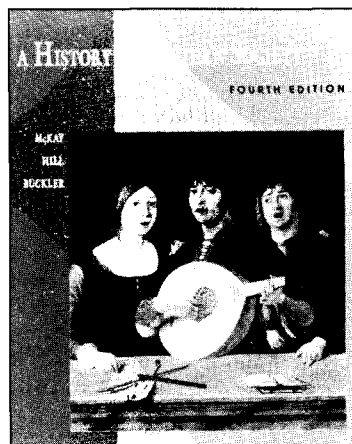
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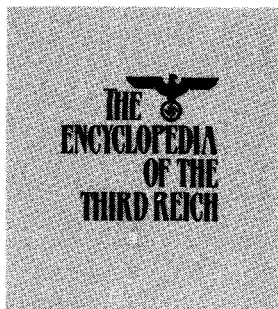
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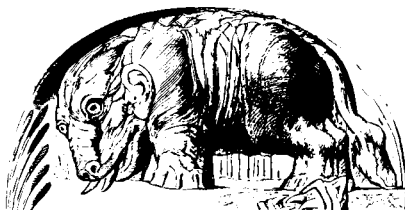
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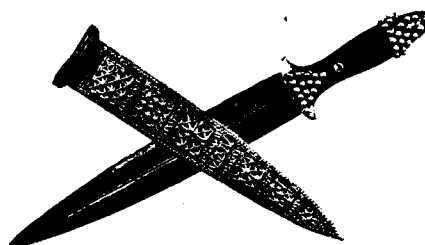
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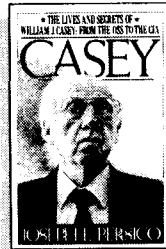
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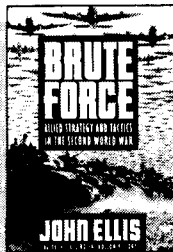
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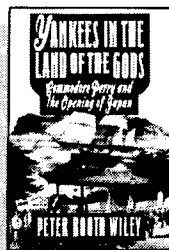
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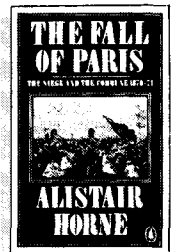
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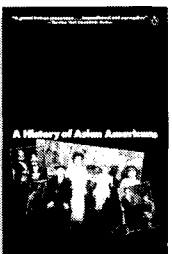
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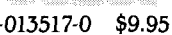
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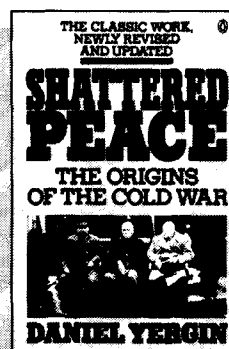
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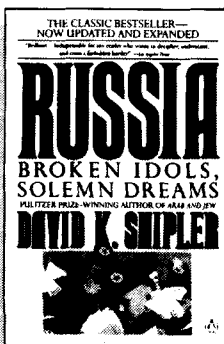
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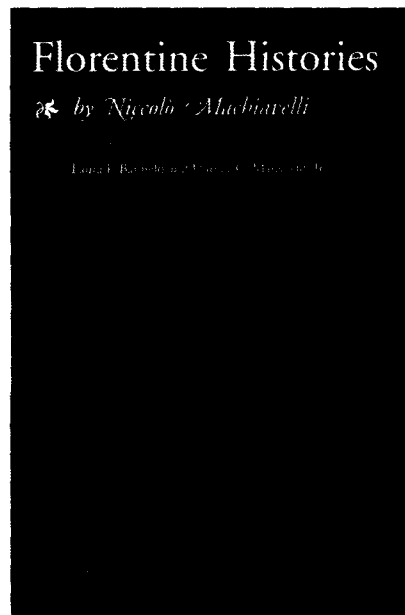
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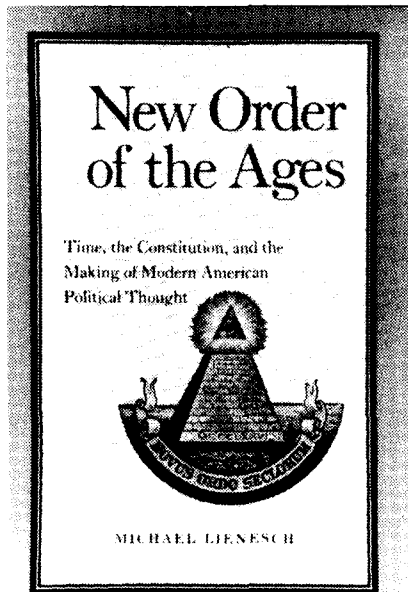
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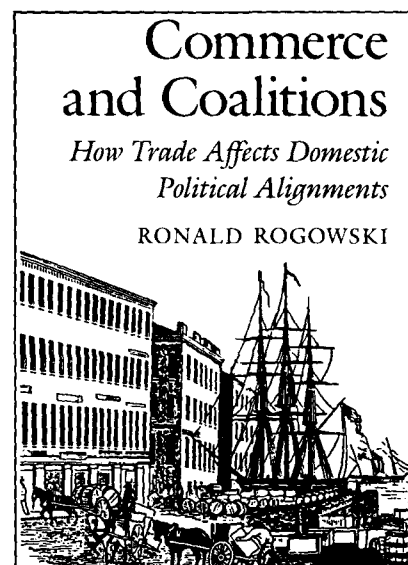
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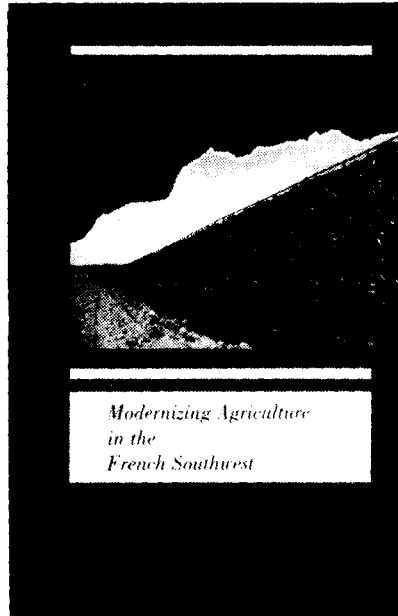


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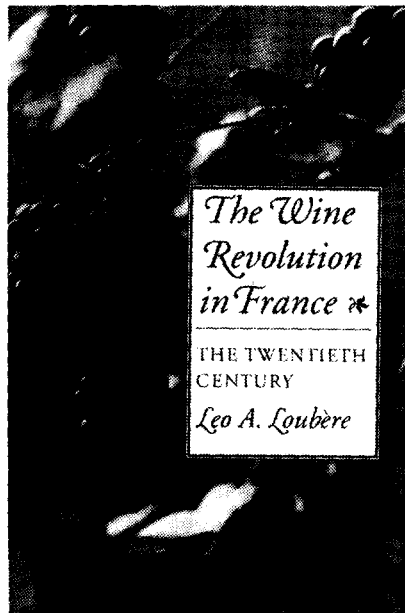
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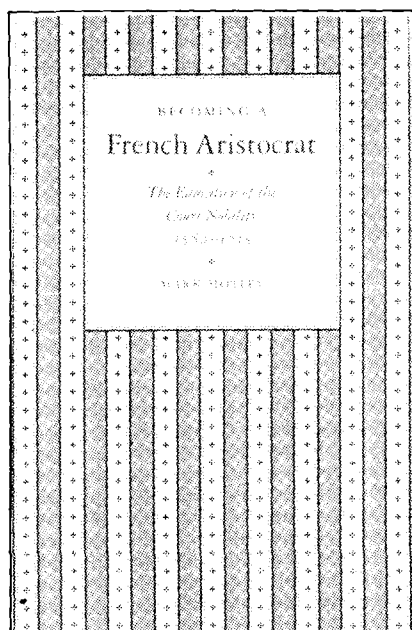
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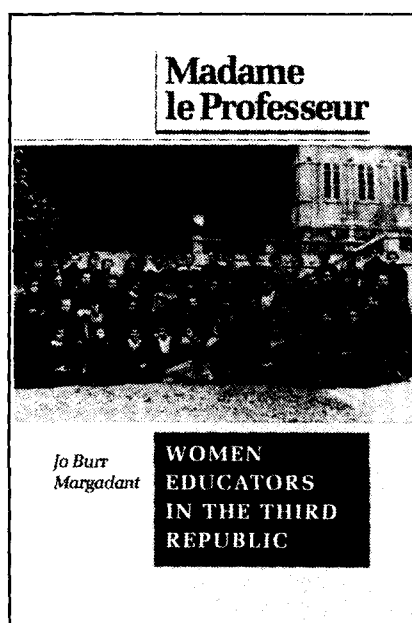
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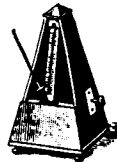
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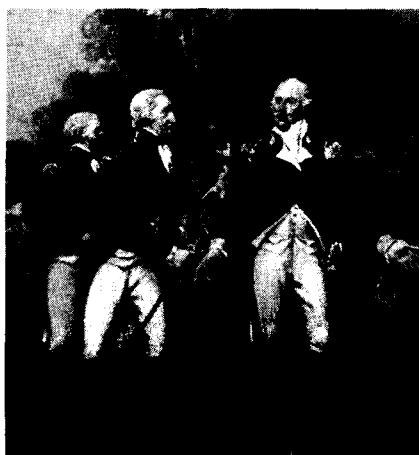
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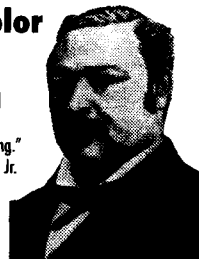
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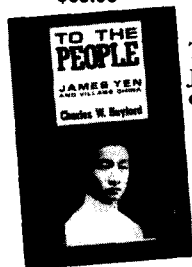
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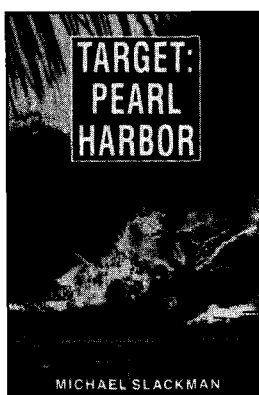
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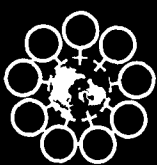
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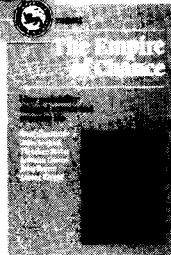
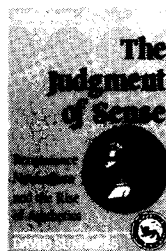
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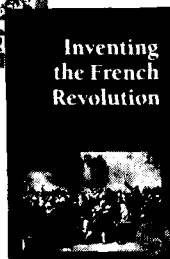
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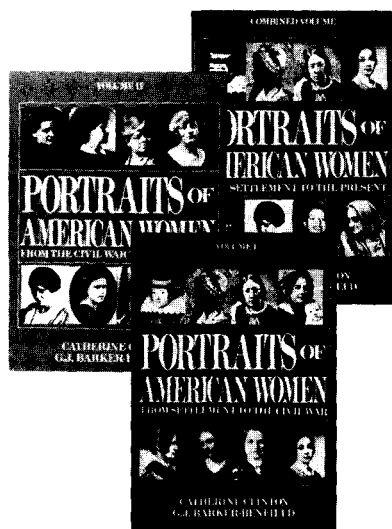
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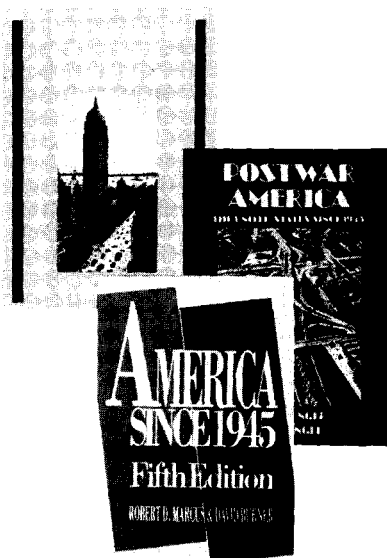


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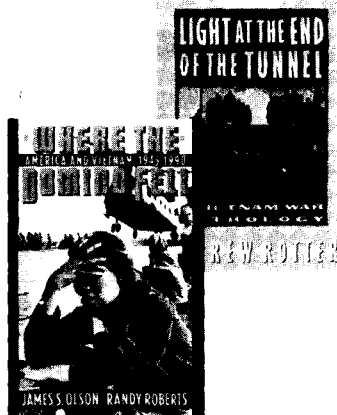
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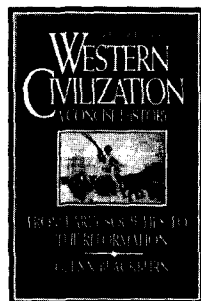
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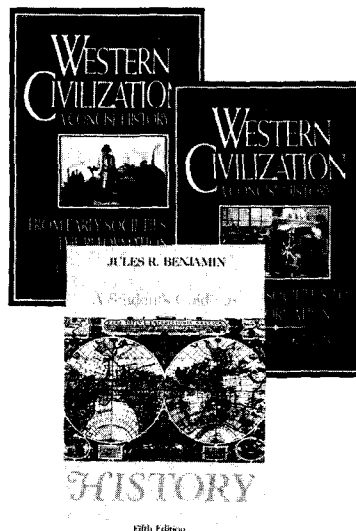
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